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H.R.H. THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

New and Revised Edition,

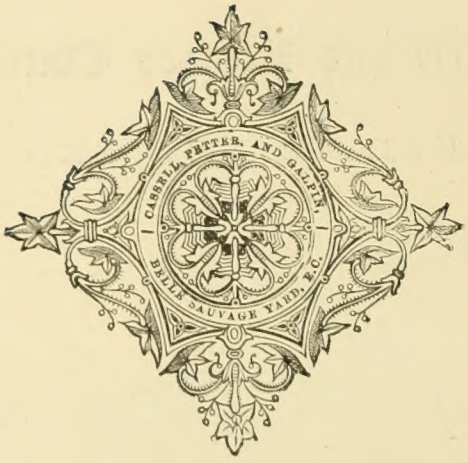
CONTINUED TO THE END OF 1873.

VOL. IX.

FROM THE DEATH OF THE PRINCE CONSORT TO THE GENEVA CONVENTION.

CASSELL PETTER & GALPIN:

LONDON, PARIS & NEW YORK.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PREFACE.

TEN years have passed since the publication of the Eighth Volume of CASSELL'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND, which originally ended with a notice of the lamented death of the late Prince Consort.* The reader is now presented with a continuation of the narrative nearly to the present day. He will not fail to note the striking difference between the complexion of the story of England's fortunes as traced in the preceding Volume, and that which is exhibited here. In the twelve years from 1860 to 1872, no Crimean War stirred every English heart to its depths—no mortal struggle against a revolted army made critical appeal to the valour and energy of the English race. As if dissatisfied with the result of the war with Russia, England has since that time retired more decidedly than ever from intervention in foreign politics; and neither the dismemberment of Denmark her ancient ally in 1864, nor the violent destruction of the independence of Hanover, nor the rending of Alsace and Lorraine from France, appeared to our Parliament and people a sufficient cause for armed interference. Yet, moving ever onwards in the path of industrial and social progress, England has effected, since 1861, a variety of changes in her domestic polity, and extended the dominion of man over nature by a thousand new applications of science to the useful arts, the record of which in the following pages will be found of no ordinary interest. A new Reform Bill has brought the masses who earn their bread by the labour of their hands within the pale of the Constitution; the Irish Church has been disestablished; finally, the education of the whole people, for the first time in English history, has been made a matter of public enactment and provision. Of the memorable struggles which attended the passing of these measures through Parliament, the reader will here find a full and coherent account. To the exposition of the industrial progress of the nation during the last twenty years, the six closing chapters of the Volume have been devoted. The movement of population, the development of commerce, the invention of new methods for facilitating human intercourse and quickening the transmission of ideas, and the wonderful growth of all forms of industry connected with the working of metals, especially of iron—on all these points the concluding chapters will be found to contain a large amount of accurate information, compiled from authentic sources.

The peaceful tenor of the public life of England, during the period comprised in the present Volume, has not been shared by our kinsmen across the Atlantic, nor by the neighbour nations of the Continent. A conflict of four years' duration was necessary before the Northern Americans succeeded in overcoming the resistance of the South, and preventing the dissolution of that federal union to which they are so justly attached. Since the date at which our last Volume closed, Denmark has been deprived of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, Austria utterly defeated in a seven weeks' war and driven out of Germany, the unification of the kingdom of Italy continued and completed, Germany transformed from an unwieldy

* In the new issue of the History, with a view to the preservation of the chronological order of events, various other important incidents have been treated in the last chapter of Vol. VIII., and the narrative of the Prince's last illness and death has been transferred to the first chapter of the present Volume.

confederation into a powerful Protestant empire; while France, crushed and conquered in a brief war, has been compelled to surrender two fair provinces to Germany. Perhaps no period of ten years in the history of Europe ever witnessed more memorable events, more extraordinary and unexpected vicissitudes. These things, in spite of our neutrality, cannot but be deeply interesting to Englishmen, and the reader will accordingly find the great wars, revolutions, and negotiations of America and the Continent described at some length in the following pages.

The differences between Great Britain and the United States arising out of the depredations of the *Alabama*, and other cruisers of her class—the negotiations which succeeded in adjusting those differences by a treaty referring them to international arbitration—and the proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration appointed under that treaty, will be found narrated, in their proper sequence and connection, in the forty-fifth and forty-sixth chapters.

A narrative of the progress of English Art during the last twenty years will be found in Chapter XLI.

Her Majesty Queen Victoria still reigns, as she reigned when the last preceding Volume of this History appeared, over a loyal and united people. After the great and crushing sorrow of her life, it has pleased Providence to send her no scanty share of those alleviations which help us to bear mortal ills with resignation; she has seen, since the death of the Prince Consort, most of her children happily and honourably married; death has made no more encroachments on the family circle; and the young life of blooming grandchildren has come to lead her thoughts towards the joys and interests of a new generation. That a similar immunity from great afflictions may attend Her Majesty during the next decennial period of English history, must be the sincere prayer of all her subjects.

That a due proportion has invariably been observed in the narration of events so near to us, or that amidst the embarrassing abundance of materials, nothing has been omitted which ought to have been noticed, nothing related which ought to have been omitted, it would perhaps be hazardous to assert. It is hoped, however, that the moving picture of English and European life, from 1861 to 1872, has, on the whole, been transferred to these pages with fidelity and impartiality; and in this hope the Ninth Volume of Cassell's Illustrated History of England is confidently commended to the indulgent judgment of the public.

The Portrait of H.R.H. the Princess of Wales (see *Frontispiece*) is copied, by permission, from a photograph by Messrs. W. and D. Downey.

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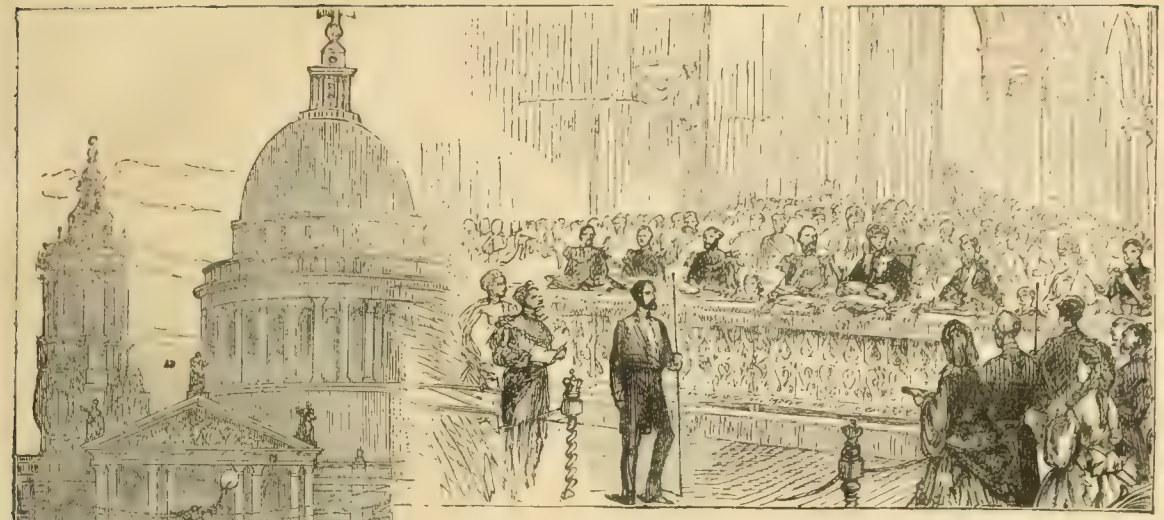
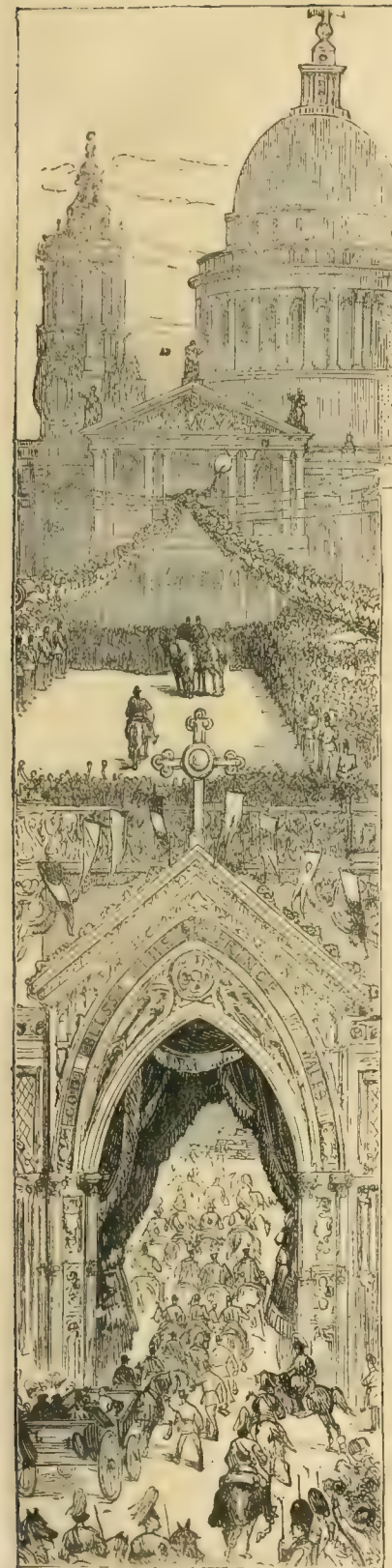




CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

The Queen's Visit to Ireland—The Queen at Balmoral—Felicity of the Royal Family—The Prince Consort at Edinburgh—The Court returned to Windsor—Investiture of the Order of the Star of India—Illness of the Prince Consort—His death—Its effect on the public mind Profound grief of the Nation—General and spontaneous mourning—The Funeral—Deep sense of the loss sustained by the country—Message of the Queen to Parliament—Tributes to the Prince's memory—Overwhelming grief of the Queen—Address from Maori chiefs—Services of the Prince Consort to the cause of social progress—Industrial Exhibitions—His interest in the working classes—The Prince as a landlord and employer—Encouragement of agricultural improvements—His management of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall—Last Report of the Commission of which the Prince Consort was President—General view of the Prince's character—His personal appearance—His talents and temperament—His love of truth, and strong sense of duty, candour, and tolerance—His intense sympathy with earnest workers—His abhorrence of flattery, vice, and meanness—His anxiety to attain perfection in everything—The freshness of his feelings—Sympathy with the young—Felicity of the Prince's marriage—His love to the Queen—Her Majesty's devotion to his memory—Notice of his speeches.

THE year 1861—in the earlier months of which the Queen had been called to sustain a severe affliction through the death of her mother, the Duchess of Kent—was destined not to close without bringing Her Majesty face to face with a still more terrible bereavement. But all looked bright and prosperous for a time. In the summer, the Queen paid a visit to Ireland, the third since she ascended the throne. In 1849, she made a voyage along the eastern coast, calling at Cork, Waterford, Dublin, and Belfast. In 1853, she visited the Dublin Exhibition, accompanied by the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, and Prince Alfred. In 1861, the Prince of Wales had been for some months learning the practical duties of a regimental officer

in the County Cavan, where, though holding the rank of ensign, he was attached for drill to the 1st Battalion of the Grenadier Guards, acting as captain of the 9th Company, without enjoying any distinction whatever beyond other captains, and undergoing all the toils and inconveniences of camp life, save only that he was [illegible] had time he obtained. On the 21st of August, the royal party, including the Queen, the Prince Consort, the Princess Alice, the Princess Helena, and Prince Arthur, crossed from Holyhead to Kingstown in the royal yacht, arriving in the night, and dropping anchor in the middle of the harbour. Next morning, the Lord Lieutenant (the Earl of Carlisle), Lord Gough, Sir Robert Peel (Chief Secretary), and Sir George Brown, went to the pier to welcome their Sovereign, and were received on board the yacht, which was alongside at ten a.m. The royal party proceeded to Dublin by train, and took up their residence at the Viceregal Lodge in the Park. During the day they drove about Dublin, visiting various public buildings. On the 23rd, the Prince Consort paid an unexpected visit to the Curragh Camp, where he had the satisfaction of seeing his eldest son with his regiment at drill, and acquitting himself well in the discharge of his duties. His royal father lunched with him in his hut, and then returned to Dublin. The Queen enjoyed a similar gratification on the 24th, when she witnessed a grand review of all the troops at the Curragh, which, however, was considerably marred by the heavy rain and storm which prevailed during a great part of the time. On the Monday, the royal party, including the Prince of Wales, started for the lakes of Killarney. The Queen was hailed with great enthusiasm along the whole line by the inhabitants, who thronged in multitudes to see her. The Queen took up her residence in Kenmare House, at Killarney—the beautiful mansion of the Earl of Kenmare, whose son, Lord Castlerosse, had prepared it for the occasion by the most costly decorations.

The correspondents of the London journals gave rapturous accounts of the scenery. The grounds which fringe the shore of the lake include the beautiful promontory and ruins of Ross Castle. It had been arranged that the Queen should divide her time equally between the two magnificent lakes which [illegible] the wondrous Killarney Lakes—the Earl of Kenmare and Mr. Herbert, whose seat at Muckross is placed amid scenery surpassing even that about Kenmare House, and takes in the interesting ruins of Muckross Abbey. The demesnes of these two lords of the soil surround all the three lakes and Killarney village, their precincts scenery surpassing in beauty [illegible] perhaps any other spot on the [illegible]. The royal party were received on the [illegible] by Lord Castlerosse and Mr. Herbert, and by the Knight of Kerry, chief of one of the ancient families of the Fitzgeralds, of the county. Lord Kenmare had [illegible] other distinguished persons. The view of the lake and mountains from the beautiful grounds of Kenmare House suited for the entertainment of that day, and the royal family proceeded to [illegible] their luncheon with the [illegible] and At night there was a display of fireworks from O'Sullivan's prison, which produced a beautiful effect.

On the day after her arrival, the Queen and her party embarked in two state barges, Lord Castlerosse standing by Her Majesty to point out the most remarkable spots around the lakes. More than a hundred boats laden with loyal subjects followed in the wake of the royal barges. They landed at some points, and as scene after scene, lit up with glorious sunshine, burst on the view, the Prince Consort exclaimed again and again, "This is perfectly sublime!" They were enchanted with the marvellous echoes awakened by the bugle, the music of which was repeated by mountain after mountain, till it died away in the far distance. In the evening, the royal party returned to Kenmare House, where the Queen left a memorial of her visit by planting a *Wellingtonia gigantea* on the lawn. The royal party next visited Muckross, the romantically beautiful seat of Mr. Herbert. In the afternoon, they were entertained with a stag-hunt among the echoing mountains, where the numerous red deer are the largest, fleetest, and wildest of their race. Unfortunately, they had been frightened away by the cheering crowds, and it was not without difficulty that, after long waiting, a hunt was got up. It is no unnoteworthy proof of how much things are changed in Ireland, that James O'Connell, the brother of the great agitator, was an honoured guest of Her Majesty at Muckross; and that O'Connell's nephews were the owners of the hounds and runners of the hunt which then turned out to amuse the Queen of England. On the following day, the Queen left Killarney *en route* for Scotland, by way of Dublin and Holyhead.

The Queen, the Prince Consort, and the royal family, proceeded at once to Balmoral on their return from Ireland, travelling by rail all night, and only stopping at Perth for breakfast next morning. From Aboyne they travelled by carriage, and arrived at their Highland home at three p.m. The time was spent there in the usual pursuits and exercises most conducive to health—in driving, riding, walking, sketching, fishing, deer-stalking, visiting, and rural sports of various kinds. It is not easy to conceive a picture of greater human felicity than the Queen and her family presented this year. Her eldest daughter had been married to the Prince of Prussia, and had given birth to an heir to the throne of that country. The Prince of Wales, the heir apparent to the throne of England, had, in his American tour and in his residence in Ireland, by the propriety of his conduct and the affability of his manners, won the hearts of all with whom he came in contact, giving promise that when the day which appeared far distant came, he would be a worthy successor of the best of Sovereigns.

Prince Alfred had entered the naval service, and was, if possible, a still greater favourite with the public. The Princess Alice had been engaged to His Royal Highness the Prince Louis of Hesse Darmstadt, who was now on a visit to Balmoral. The rest of the royal children were all that the fondest parents could desire. The Prince Consort was regarded as the best of husbands

and fathers; and if any one could have pointed out an individual in Her Majesty's dominions as singularly blessed in all the relations of life, and as likely for many years to enjoy his happy lot, he would have named the husband of the Queen. He enjoyed good health; he was in the prime of life, only forty-two years of age: and never perhaps had he enjoyed life with greater zest. But how soon was this bright prospect overcast! Who could have imagined that before the end of the year, that home would be visited by death, and that the Queen, then so happy, should become a heartbroken widow—smitten down by a calamity the shadow of which was to rest upon her spirit throughout the whole of her future life?

The Queen left Balmoral on the 22nd of October, and slept that night in the palace of Holyrood. On the following day, the Prince Consort laid the foundation-stone of the New General Post-office in Edinburgh, and afterwards performed the same ceremonial for the Industrial Museum of Scotland. On the same evening, the royal party resumed their journey to England, and arrived at Windsor Castle at half-past eight the following morning.

On the 1st of November, the Queen, as Sovereign of the most exalted Order of the Star of India, held her first investiture in great state. This Order had been instituted a few months before, to provide a means for adequately recognising and honouring services rendered to the British Crown in India, whether by native princes or by British subjects. It consists of a Grand Master (who is the Viceroy of India for the time being), and twenty-five knights, together with such extra and honorary knights as Her Majesty may from time to time see fit to appoint. The Queen wore the mantle of the Order, which is of light blue satin, lined with white satin, and fastened with a cordon of light silk, with blue and silver tassels. Over the mantle she wore a collar of gold and enamel, composed of the lotus of India, of palm branches, and the united white and red roses. There was an imperial crown in the centre of the collar, from which was suspended the badge, consisting of an onyx cameo of Her Majesty's effigy, set in an oval, which contained the motto of the Order—"Heaven's light our guide," surmounted by a star, all in diamonds. The Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales had been invested as extra knights previous to her entering the throne room. The following knights then received the insignia of the Order: Lord Harris, Lord Gough, Maharajah Duleep Singh, Lord Clyde, Sir John Laird, Sir Andrew Lawrence, and Sir George Pollock.

Nothing unusual was heard of the royal family till the middle of December; and the heavy toll of the great bell of St. Paul's gave the first intimation to many of the people of London that the Prince Consort had been suffering from any dangerous illness. On the previous Saturday, the *Court News* had announced that the Queen had driven out in an open carriage, and that the Prince had been confined to his apartments during the week by a feverish cold, attended with pains in the limbs. On the following Wednesday, a bulletin stated that he was suffering from fever unattended by unfavourable symptoms, but likely from its nature to continue for some time. On Saturday, however, rumours were abroad at the West-end that the Prince was dangerously ill, and that he was sinking fast. Then it was reported that he had rallied, and that even at the Castle no serious alarm existed. When, therefore, the bell of St. Paul's tolled at midnight over the hushed city, it inspired a feeling of apprehension which was too sadly realised next morning. The intelligence of the death of the Prince was then flashed along every wire throughout the United Kingdom and over the Continent of Europe. It being Sunday, it was not till the people went to church and noticed the omission of the Prince's name in the Liturgy, that the mournful truth was fully realised. The grief was universal, pervading every household, as if each had lost some dear and honoured relative. The death of the Prince was announced in an extraordinary gazette in the following terms:—"On Saturday night, the 14th instant, at ten minutes before eleven o'clock, the Prince Consort departed this life at Windsor Castle, to the inexpressible grief of Her Majesty and of all the royal family. The death of this illustrious Prince will be deeply mourned by all Her Majesty's attached and faithful subjects, as an irreparable loss to Her Majesty, the royal family, and the nation." There is no exaggeration in this language. There were manifestations of sorrow throughout the nation such as had never been witnessed since the death of the Princess Charlotte. All ranks and classes united in one spontaneous expression of sympathy with the widowed Queen and the bereaved family, who, without warning or presentiment, had suddenly lost the manly soul, the warm heart, the steady judgment, the accomplished mind, the tender voice, and the firm hand, that had cheered and guided them for twenty-one years. The outward symbols of the nation's grief did not wait for the usual formalities. For several days before the funeral, nearly the whole population appeared in mourning, not only in London and throughout England, but also in Scotland and Ireland. The appearance of the congregations on the Sunday before the funeral was most impressive. The pulpits and reading-desks were hung with the drapery of woe, the worshippers were all dressed in black, and the theme of every sermon on that morning was the death of the Prince.

The funeral took place on the 23rd of December. At the express desire of the departed Prince, it was of a private character; but all the chief men of the State attended the obsequies at the Royal Chapel. Nature seemed to sympathise with the national feeling of depression and gloom. The weather was cold and damp, the sky dull and heavy. There was a procession of state carriages to St. George's Chapel, at the door of which the Prince of Wales and the other royal mourners were assembled to receive the corpse. The grief of the royal children was very affecting; little Prince Arthur especially sobbed as if his heart were breaking. When all was over, and the last of the long, lingering train of mourners had departed, the attendants descended into the vault with lights, and moved the bier and coffin

along the narrow passage to the royal vault. The day was observed throughout the realm as one of deep solemnity. The bells of all the churches were tolled, and in many of them special services were performed. In the towns the shops were closed, and the window blinds of private residences were drawn down. No respectable people appeared abroad except in mourning, and in sea-port towns the flags were hoisted half-mast high. The words of the poet laureate were scarcely too strong when he said—

"The shadow of his loss moved like eclipse
Darkening the world. We have lost him: he is gone:
We know him now: all narrow jealousies
Are silent; and we see him as he moved,
How modest, kindly, all-accomplished, wise;
With what sublime repression of himself,
And in what limits, and how tenderly;
Not swaying to this faction or to that;
Not making his high place the lawless perch
Of wing'd ambitions, nor a vantage ground
For pleasure; but thro' all this tract of years
Wearing the white flower of a blameless life,
Before a thousand peering littlenesses,
In that fierce light which beats upon a throne,
And blackens every blot: for where is he
Who dares foreshadow for an only son
A lovelier life, a more unstain'd than his?"

The loss which the nation had sustained naturally occupied the attention of Parliament at the opening of the ensuing session. In the royal speech, which was delivered by commission, the following allusion was made to this all-engrossing subject:—"We are commanded by Her Majesty to assure you that Her Majesty is persuaded that you will deeply participate in the affliction by which Her Majesty has been overwhelmed, by the calamitous, untimely, and irreparable loss of her beloved consort, who has been her comfort and support. It has been, however, soothing to Her Majesty, while suffering most acutely under this awful dispensation of Providence, to receive from all classes of her subjects the most cordial assurances of their sympathy with her sorrow, as well as of their appreciation of the noble character of him, the greatness of whose loss to Her Majesty and to the nation is so justly and so universally felt and lamented."

Some beautiful and touching things were said about the Prince in both Houses of Parliament. Lord Dufferin, who moved the address in answer to the royal speech, spoke of him as one who—though occupying a position in its very nature incompatible with all personal preeminence, alike denying the achievements of warlike renown and political distinction—had succeeded in winning for himself an amount of consideration and confidence seldom attained by the most distinguished of mankind. The Earl of Derby expressed his conviction that deep and earnest as was the national sense of the loss we had sustained, the country was yet unable to do full justice to the Prince's memory. Comparatively few had enjoyed the advantage of his personal acquaintance, but only such were able to estimate at their proper value the powers and cultivation of his mind, and the unremitting personal attention he bestowed on all that tended to promote the happiness, domestic comfort, and mental and moral welfare of every class of Her Majesty's subjects. Lord John Russell ascribed to the impartiality displayed by the late Prince Consort, in viewing political affairs, the happy absence of bitterness between the great political parties which had prevailed for the last twenty years.

In the Queen's answer to the address we have the mournful key-note of many an utterance that has since come from her widowed heart. Her Majesty said:—"I return you my most sincere thanks for your dutiful and affectionate address, especially for the manner in which you have assured me of your feelings on the irreparable loss sustained by myself and the country, in the afflicting dispensation of Providence which *bows me to the earth*."

Not the least interesting of the addresses of condolence presented to Her Majesty upon this melancholy occasion was one that proceeded from the New Zealand chiefs, twenty in number. It was forwarded by Sir George Grey, then Governor of New Zealand, through the Colonial Secretary. In the poetical style natural to such primitive people, they said: "O Victoria, our mother! we greet you! You who are all that now remains to recall to our recollection Albert the Prince Consort, who can never be gazed upon by the people. We, your Maori children, are now sighing in sorrow together with you. All we can now do is to weep with you, who hast nourished us, your ignorant children of this island, even to this day. We have just heard the crash of the huge-headed forest tree, which has untimely fallen, ere it had attained its full growth of greatness. Oh, my very heart! thou didst shelter me from the sorrows and ills of life. Oh, my pet bird! whose sweet voice welcomed my glad guests; let, then, the body of my beloved be covered with purple robes. Yes, thou the pillar that didst support my palace hast been borne to the skies. Oh, my beloved! you used to stand in the very prow of the war canoe, inciting all others to noble deeds. Where, O physicians, was the power of your remedies? What, O priests, availed your prayers? for I have lost my love; no more can he re-visit this world!"

We have already, in the course of this History, repeatedly noticed the labours of the late Prince Consort in connection with various departments of social progress, especially the part he took in getting up the great Industrial Exhibition of 1851, which inaugurated a movement in art, manufactures, and industry in general, that has been productive of the greatest benefit, not only to the United Kingdom, but to Europe and the whole civilised world. What he thus encouraged others to do on a large scale for the improvement of mankind, he was doing himself in his personal relations as an employer of labour. In the admirable Introduction to the Collection of his Speeches, written under the Queen's superintendence, if not at her dictation, it is truly said, "If any man in England cared for the working classes, it was the Prince. He understood the great difficulty of the time as regards these classes; namely, the providing for them fitting habitations. He was a benificent landlord, and his first care was to build good cottages for all the labouring men on his

estates. He had entered into minute calculations as to the amount of illness that might be prevented among the poorer classes, by a careful selection of the materials to be used in the building of their dwellings. In a word, he was tender, thoughtful, anxious in his efforts for the welfare of the labouring man." The Prince was much attached to agriculture as a science, and was particularly skilful in his appreciation of improvements in management. No farms throughout the kingdom were more carefully kept, or presented finer examples of economical industry. He was one of the first to appreciate the advantages of deep drainage, to employ steam power in cultivation, and to apply the resources of chemistry to practical agriculture. In former reigns it had been the custom for the Sovereign to appropriate to himself the whole revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of the Prince of Wales; it had further been the evil custom to grant leases at nominal rents or fines, the whole of which went into the pocket of the recipient for the time being, without any consideration for future possessors. Her Majesty, on the contrary, deemed this appanage of the Prince of Wales was equitably his property, and that she was merely trustee for his benefit. On the birth of the Prince of Wales, a council was appointed for the management of the duchy property, of which the Prince Consort was president. "The whole aspect of affairs was rapidly changed. As the leases fell in, the farms were re-let on terms of years at full rents, responsible and improving tenants were preferred, the lands were drained, enclosed, and planted, excellent farmhouses and homesteads were built, roads laid out, quarries opened, and the whole property showed the unmistakable signs of able administration. Moreover, the scattered lands were sold, new lands conveniently placed purchased, and plots of ground that had become valuable for building sites were sold for large prices. Sites were granted for schools and chapels, churches were repaired, and the spiritual and educational welfare of the tenantry cared for in a liberal spirit." The lengthened period of the Prince of Wales' minority allowed space for this expenditure to prove reproductive. Before the appointment of the council the net revenue of the duchy had sunk to £11,000: when the commissioners, on the Prince of Wales attaining his majority, presented their final report, the annual gross income approached £50,000. In addition to this, there were accumulations, amounting to £54,000, ready for transference to the Prince's privy purse. The commissioners remarked, "It is unnecessary to allude to the deep interest which His Royal Highness took in all that related to an improved administration of the duchy possessions; but we should not do justice to our own feelings if we did not humbly ask leave to record on this occasion our sense of the irreparable loss which we sustained by his death. To his just mind and clear judgment, his quick perception of what is right, his singular discretion, his remarkable aptitude for the conduct of affairs, we never looked in vain for guidance and advice on any occasion of difficulty. The soundness of his opinions in all our deliberations was rendered more apparent by the toleration with which he listened, and was always ready to defer to those of others. He never lost sight of the improvement of the condition of the tenant and labourer, whilst anxiously seeking to restore the property of the duchy to a state of prosperity; and to him, we may truly say, it is mainly due that the Prince of Wales will now enter into the possession of an estate greatly increased in value, free from nearly all disputes with neighbouring proprietors and others which at one time prevailed."

The character of the Prince Consort was remarkable for its symmetry, the equal development of all the faculties, and for complete harmony between the intellectual powers and the moral feelings. The portraits of the Prince give a fair idea of his features; but there is something in the expression, when the face is lit up by thought, which no portrait can adequately convey. "The Prince had a noble presence, his carriage was erect, his figure betokened strength and activity, and his demeanour was dignified. He had a staid, earnest, and thoughtful look when he was in a grave mood; but when he smiled, his whole countenance was irradiated with pleasure; and there was a pleasant sound and heartiness about his laugh which will not soon be forgotten by those who were wont to hear it." He is said to have been very handsome as a young man. His face grew finer as he advanced in years; and it was remarked that his countenance never assumed a nobler aspect, nor had more real beauty in it, than in the last year or two of his life. It bore none of those fatal lines which indicate craft or insincerity, greed, or sensuality; but all was clear, open, pure-minded, and honest. Marks of thought, of care, of studiousness were there; but they were accompanied by signs of a soul at peace with itself, and which was troubled chiefly by its love for others and its solicitude for their welfare. His mind was in the best sense original; for, while free from everything like eccentricity, he thought for himself, and formed his own conclusions on all subjects. He was quick in perception, while the resources of his well-stored mind were readily producible on all occasions. Sincere and truth-loving, he delighted in earnest discussion, equally willing either to learn or instruct. He enjoyed wit and humour, and had a keen sense of the ludicrous. In relating amusing anecdotes, he threw just so much of imitation into his manner as to bring the scene vividly before the mind, without descending to anything ungraceful. Guided by a strong sense of duty, he was always sure to go through anything he had undertaken to do, without regard to self-interest or personal inconvenience—willingly taking the measure of responsibility put upon him, but never assuming more. Unlike many who are actuated by a rigid sense of duty, he was singularly free from prejudice, full of candour, and always ready to admit new facts, however they might militate against old convictions. His habit was to investigate carefully, weigh patiently, discuss calmly, and then not swiftly, but after much turning in his mind, to come to a decision. He had one characteristic of a rich and noble mind which is rare indeed. He had the greatest delight in anybody else saying a fine thing or doing a great deed, and would rejoice over it and talk of it for days. "He

THE QUEEN HOLDING THE FIRST INVESTITURE OF THE ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

delighted in humanity doing well on any occasion or in any manner. . . . But, indeed, throughout his career, the Prince was one of those who threw his life into other people's lives, and lived in them;" and, as we are assured on the best authority, "there never was an instance of more unselfish and chivalrous devotion than his love to his Consort-Sovereign and to his adopted country. That her reign might be great and glorious, that his adopted country might excel in art, in science, in literature, and—what was dearer still to him—in social well-being, formed ever his chief hope and aim." Notwithstanding a certain constitutional shyness sometimes associated with refined natures, which shrink from the expression of all they feel, he was blessed with a buoyant, joyous, happy temperament, which made his home and his household glad. Though not subject to sudden elations or depressions, beneath the joyous current of his feelings, "deep down in the character, there was a vein, not exactly of melancholy, but certainly of pensiveness, which grew a little more sombre as the years went on. It was a pensiveness bred from much pondering upon the difficulty of human affairs, and upon the serious thing that life is."

One of the finest traits in the Prince's character was his sympathy with earnest workers. He wished for success for all honest human endeavours, whether by the artisan or the statesman. His love of knowledge was intense. Being always singularly impressed with intellectual beauty, he remarked on one occasion to the Queen, "To me a long, closely-connected train of reasoning is like a beautiful strain of music; you can hardly imagine my delight in it." But he loved knowledge, not merely for its own sake, but for what it could do for mankind. On the other hand, to him the most hateful of all deformity was that of falsehood, especially when it assumed the form of flattery and of vice, whose presence depressed, grieved, and horrified him. He had, besides, an unutterable repugnance to what was mean and low in human nature. Accordingly, the conditions he drew up for the prize that is given by Her Majesty at Wellington College are very characteristic. "This prize is not to be awarded to the most bookish boy, to the least faulty boy, to the boy who should be most precise, diligent, and prudent; but to the noblest boy, to the boy who should afford most promise of becoming a large-hearted, high-motived man."

THE PRINCE CONSORT.

If those about the Prince could see any fault in his character, it was an exaggeration of virtue, an excessive anxiety that everything he did should be perfect, and that "he cared too much about too many things." Everything he did must be supremely well done if it was

to please and satisfy him. In the choice of a jewel, in the placing of a statue, in the laying out of a walk, in the direction of a party of pleasure, his reasoning mind must be satisfied; and he longed that everything that was to be should be the best of its kind. This anxious desire for perfection, and perpetual effort to reach its summit, put too great a strain upon his energies, which, no doubt, caused his health prematurely to give way, and predisposed him to the disease which terminated his career at the early age of forty-two. It has been well remarked by the author of the Introduction to his Speeches, "that if the Prince had lived to attain what we now think a good old age, he would have become the most accomplished statesman and the most guiding personage in Europe; a man to whose arbitrament fierce national quarrels might have been submitted, and by whose influence calamitous wars might have been averted." He was evidently one of those of whom it has been said, that their hearts never grow old. He had a peculiarly gentle, tender, and pathetic cast of mind; his nature being of a character more German than English. "Though eminently practical, and therefore suited to the people he came to dwell amongst, he had in a high degree that gentleness, that softness, and that romantic nature which belong to his race and his nation, and which make them very pleasant to live with, and very tender in all their social and family relations."

The following remarks, taken from the Introduction to the Collection of the Prince Consort's Speeches, considering the source from which they emanated, are peculiarly interesting:—"The Prince's marriage was singularly felicitous; the tastes, the aims, the hopes, the aspirations of the royal pair were the same; their mutual respect and confidence went on increasing. Their affection grew, if possible, warmer and more intense as the years of their married life advanced. Companions in their domestic employments, in their daily labours for the State, and, indeed, in almost every occupation, the burdens and the difficulties of life were thus lessened by more than half for each one of the persons thus happily united in this true marriage of the soul. When the fatal blow was struck, and the Prince was removed from this world, it is difficult to conceive a position of greater sorrow, and one, indeed, more utterly forlorn, than that which became the lot of the survivor—deprived of him whom she herself has described as being the 'life of her life.'

"To follow out his wishes, to realise his hopes, to conduct his enterprises to a happy issue, to make his loss as little felt as possible by a sorrowing country and fatherless children—these are the objects which since his death it has been the chief aim and intent of Her Majesty to accomplish. That strength may be given her to fulfil these high purposes is the constant prayer of her subjects, who have not ceased, from the first moment of her bereavement, to feel the tenderest sympathy for her; and who, giving a reality to that which in the case of most sovereigns is but a phrase, have thus shown that the Queen is, indeed in their heart, the mother of her people."

The speeches of the late Prince Albert are interesting remains in more senses than one. They are marked throughout with the peculiarities necessarily resulting from his anomalous position. It appears now, from the grateful acknowledgments of the Queen, which she has missed no opportunity of making in the most emphatic manner, that, in the discharge of her duties as sovereign, she was constantly guided and supported by the judgment and advice of His Royal Highness, in whom she placed unbounded trust. It follows that he enjoyed the reality of kingly power; yet he was obliged to speak and act as if he had no power at all. A position so anomalous imposed upon him continual restraint. As has been well remarked in the Introduction to his Speeches, in his case the principal elements that go to compose a great oration had often to be modified largely. "Wit was not to be jubilant, passion not predominant, dialectic skill not triumphant. There remained nothing as the staple of the speeches but supreme common sense. Looked at in this way, it is wonderful that the Prince contrived to introduce into his speeches so much that was new and interesting. It was like the movement of a man in chain armour, which, even with the strongest and most agile person, must ever have been a movement somewhat fettered by restraint." The same authority states that the leading idea of the speeches is "the beauty of usefulness." This is true, and the key-note of them all was heard in the first sentence of the speech delivered at the Lord Mayor's banquet in March, 1850, when the Prince said:—"I conceive it to be the duty of every educated person closely to watch and study the time in which he lives, and as far as in him lies to add his humble mite of individual exertion to further the accomplishment of what he believes Providence to have ordained." It is impossible to read those speeches without being struck with the contrast between the Prince Consort and every man who had occupied the throne of England from the time of William III. Compared with him, the Georges were a narrow-minded, bigoted, ignorant, selfish race. The times in which they reigned were not enlightened times, but the darkest spot in England was that which surrounded the throne; whereas during the reign of Victoria it might be truly said to be the brightest; and this was due pre-eminently to the Prince Consort. No man better understood his epoch, no man gave happier expression to the spirit of his age, or sympathised more thoroughly with the best influences of civilisation by which he was surrounded, and which he so powerfully directed. No philosopher or statesman was in advance of him in any movement that was really beneficial to mankind. If he presided at a meeting for the abolition of slavery, he denounced "the atrocious traffic in human beings as the blackest stain upon civilised Europe;" and he trusted that this "great country would not relax in its efforts until it had finally and for ever put an end to a state of things so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity and of the best feelings of our nature." At the meeting of the Literary Fund he showed how he could respect the feelings of the man of letters, though struggling with poverty. "The institution," he said, "ought to command our warmest sympathies, as providing for

the exigencies of those who, following the call of genius, and forgetting every other consideration, pursue merely the cultivation of the human mind and science. What can be more proper for us," he asked, "than gratefully to remember the benefits derived from their disinterested exertions, and cheerfully to contribute to their wants?" The interest which he took in the improvement of the labouring classes was one of the most admirable features in his character. He advocated the establishment of loan funds, model lodging-houses, and allotments of ground, in which he himself set an example of what might be done by men of property for the working classes. In the counsels which he gave on such subjects to men of rank and wealth, he always laid down some great Christian principle for their guidance. "Depend on it," he said at the meeting of the Society for the Improvement of the Labouring Classes, "the interests of classes, too often contrasted, are identical; and it is only ignorance which prevents them uniting for each other's advantage. To dispel that ignorance, to show how man can help man, notwithstanding the complicated state of civilised society, ought to be the aim of every philanthrophic person; but it is more peculiarly the duty of those who, under the blessing of Divine Providence, enjoy station, wealth, and education. Let them be careful, however, to avoid any dictatorial interference with labour and employment, which frightens away capital, destroys that freedom of thought and independence of action which must remain to every one, if he is to work out his own happiness, and impairs that confidence under which alone engagements for mutual benefit are possible. God has created man imperfect, and left him with many wants, as it were to stimulate each to individual exertion, and to make all feel that it is only by united exertion and combined action that these imperfections can be supplied, and these wants satisfied. This pre-supposes self-reliance and confidence in each other." *

This was not language assumed, like the putting on of a court dress, for state occasions. It was the sincere expression of honest convictions. The Prince was a truly conscientious and earnest man, who gave his whole mind to the solution of social problems, and his whole heart to the performance of his duties. What can be more beautiful, as an illustration of this habit of mind, than the speech which he made at the Servants' Provident and Benevolent Society? "Whose heart," he asked, "would fail to sympathise with those who minister to us in all the wants of daily life, attend us in sickness, receive us on our first appearance in this world, and even extend their cares to our mortal remains—who live under our roof, form our household, and are a part of our family? And yet, upon inquiry, we find that in this metropolis the greater part of the inmates of the workhouses are domestic servants. I am sure that this startling fact is no proof, either of a want of kindness and liberality in masters towards their servants, or of vice in the latter, but is the natural consequence of that peculiar position in which the domestic servant is placed, passing periods during his life in which he shares in the luxuries of an opulent master, and others in which he has not even the means of earning sufficient to sustain him through the day. It is on that account that I rejoice at this meeting, and have gladly consented to take the chair at it, to further the objects of the Servants' Provident and Benevolent Society. I conceive that this society is founded upon a right principle, as it follows out the dictates of a correct appreciation of human nature, which requires every man by personal exertion, according to his own choice, to work out his own happiness—which prevents his valuing—nay, even his feeling satisfaction at—the prosperity which others have made for him. It is founded upon a right principle, because it endeavours to trace a plan according to which, by providence, by present self-denial and perseverance, not only will the servant be raised in his physical and moral condition, but the master also will be taught how to direct his efforts in aiding the servant in his labour to secure to himself resources in cases of sickness, old age, and want of employment." *

The Prince evinced the same kind, genial, sympathetic spirit with reference to the highest order of intellectual workers. He said, at the dinner of the Royal Academy, that "the production of all works in art or poetry requires in their conception and execution, not only an exercise of the intellect, skill, and patience, but particularly a concurrent warmth of feeling and a free flow of imagination. This renders them most tender plants, which will thrive only in an atmosphere calculated to maintain that warmth; and that atmosphere is one of kindness—kindness towards the artist personally as well as towards his production. An unkind word of criticism passes like a cold blast over their tender shoots, and shrivels them up, checking the flow of the sap when it was rising to produce, perhaps, multitudes of flowers and fruit. But still criticism is absolutely necessary to the development of art, and the injudicious praise of an inferior work becomes an insult to superior genius." †

Surely, never royal personage was more at home at a literary or scientific meeting. Speaking at the Midland Institute, he gave an admirable exposition of the laws of social advancement, showing that no human pursuits make any material progress until science is brought to bear upon them. "We have seen, accordingly," he said, "many of them slumbering for centuries and centuries; but from the moment that Science has touched them with her magic wand, they have sprung forward, and taken strides which amaze and almost awe the beholder. Look at the transformation which has gone on around us since the laws of gravitation, electricity, magnetism, and the expansive power of heat, have become known to us. It has altered our whole state of existence—one might say, the whole face of the globe. We owe this to Science, and to Science alone; and she has other treasures in store for us, if we will but call her to our assistance." ‡

With the same comprehensive and enlightened views he enlarged on this theme at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, of which

* Speeches, p. 89.

* Speeches, p. 98. † *Ibid.* p. 128. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 168.

he was chosen president in 1859. If he had devoted his whole life to the study and teaching of science, and had occupied a professor's chair, he could not have spoken more to the point, or more in the spirit of philosophy. But it was in connection with the Great Exhibition of 1851, with which his name will be for ever associated in history, that he became more especially the exponent of social progress. On the 21st of March, 1850, the Lord Mayor of London, Thomas Farncomb, gave a banquet to Her Majesty's Ministers, the Foreign Ambassadors, the Royal Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, and the mayors of 180 towns. In responding to the toast of his health on that occasion, the Prince said: "Nobody who has paid any attention to the peculiar features of our present era, will doubt for a moment that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accomplish that great end to which, indeed, all history points—the realisation of the unity of mankind: not a unity which breaks down the limits and levels the peculiar characteristics of the different nations of the earth, but rather a unity the result and product of those very national varieties and antagonistic qualities. The distances which separated the different nations and parts of the globe are rapidly vanishing before the achievements of modern invention, and we can traverse them with incredible ease; the languages of all nations are known, and their requirements placed within the reach of everybody; thought is communicated with the rapidity, and even by the power, of lightning. On the other hand, the great principle of the division of labour, which may be called the moving power of civilisation, is being extended to all branches of science, industry, and art. . . . So man is approaching a more complete fulfilment of that great and sacred mission which he has to perform in this world. His reason being created after the image of God, he has to use it to discover the laws by which the Almighty governs his creation; and by making these laws his standard of action, to conquer Nature to his use, himself a Divine instrument."*

Nor was the Prince less enlightened or less earnest as a Christian man than as a philosopher and a political economist. Referring, on one occasion, to dissensions in the Church, he said: "I have no fear, however, for her safety and ultimate welfare, so long as she holds fast to what our ancestors gained for us at the Reformation—the Gospel and the unfettered right of its use." Again, at the anniversary of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, in 1854, he remarked: "When our ancestors purified the Christian faith, and shook off the yoke of a domineering priesthood, they felt that the key-stone of that wonderful fabric which had grown up in the dark times of the Middle Ages was the celibacy of the clergy, and shrewdly foresaw that their reformed faith and newly-won religious liberty would, on the contrary, only be secure in the hands of a clergy united with the people by every sympathy—national, personal, and domestic. This nation has enjoyed for 300 years the blessing of a church establishment which rests upon this basis, and cannot be too grateful for the advantages afforded by the fact that Christian ministers not only preach the doctrines of Christianity, but live among their congregations, an example for the discharge of every Christian duty, as husbands, fathers, and masters of families, themselves capable of fathoming the whole depth of human feelings, desires, and difficulties."* Alluding on the same occasion to the progress of civilisation, the Prince remarked: "And this civilisation rests on Christianity—could only be raised on Christianity—can only be maintained by Christianity!"

In a History of England for the People, we cannot better close this sketch of the Prince's character than by quoting the concluding sentences of his speech on national education. After eloquently enforcing the duty of every man to develop his faculties, and place himself in harmony with the Divine prototype, so as to attain that happiness which is offered to him on earth, to be completed hereafter in entire union with him, through the mercy of Christ, he said: "But he can also leave these faculties unimproved, and miss his mission on earth. He will then sink to the level of the lower animals, forfeit happiness, and separate from his God, whom he did not know how to find. I say man has no right to do this; he has no right to throw off the task which is laid upon him for his happiness; it is his duty to fulfil his mission to the utmost of his power; but it is our duty, the duty of those whom Providence has removed from this awful struggle, and placed beyond this fearful danger, manfully, unceasingly, and untiringly to aid, by advice, assistance, and example, the great battle of the people, who, without such aid, must almost inevitably succumb to the difficulty of their task. They will not cast from them the aiding hand, and the Almighty will bless the labours of those who work in his cause."†

CHAPTER II.

The Year 1862 — Affair of the *Nashville*—Meeting of Parliament — Speech of Mr. Disraeli on the death of the Prince Consort — The Revised Code — Reasons for its introduction — Adopted with modifications — Church Rates — Debates on the Civil War in America — Marriage of the Princess Alice — State of things in China — New Game law introduced by Sir Baldwin Leighton — Reflections on it — Mr. Cobden attacks the Ministry — Reply of Lord Palmerston — Garrote robberies—Gift of Mr. Peabody — Affair of Aspromonte — Revolution in Greece — Banishment of King Otho — Election of Prince George of Denmark — Cession of the Ionian Islands — War in America — Operations in Tennessee — Battle of Pittsburg — Landing — Campaign in Virginia — M'Lellan Commander-in-Chief — Lands his army on the York peninsula — Advances on Richmond — Battles of the Chickahominy — M'Lellan retreats—The troops re-embarked — Jackson forces Pope back upon Washington — Lee invades Maryland — Fall of Harper's Ferry — Battle of Antietam — Lee retreats — Burnside supersedes M'Lellan — Battle of Fredericksburg — Bragg's invasion of Kentucky — Results in failure — Naval operations — Taking of Roanoke — Exploits of the *Merrimac* — Her fight with the *Monitor* — Farragut passes the forts and captures New Orleans — Butler is made Governor — His famous proclamation — Execution of Mumford — Steps taken towards the emancipation of the slaves — Mr. Lincoln's message on the indivisibility of the United States—Reflections on it.

THE year 1862, which brought the terrors and the calamities of war home to ten thousand American hearths

* Speeches, pp. 110–112.

* Speeches, p. 146. † *Ibid.* p. 192.

was for Europe a time of profound peace. Nothing more alarming has to be chronicled than a foolish filibustering movement by Garibaldi, and the overturn of a dynasty in Greece. Only a prescience more than human could have seen in the sinister apparition of Count Bismarck on the political stage of Prussia, and in the masterly manner in which he out-generalled the Chambers and crushed their attempts to circumscribe the power of the Crown, the inauguration of that policy of "blood and iron" which was, in a few years, to result in two bloody wars, to tear up finally and for ever the treaties of 1815, and to alter the international relations of every state in Europe.

An incident happened in January, which brought forcibly home to the minds of Englishmen the difficulties and embarrassments of that neutrality in the American struggle which we had proclaimed, and were resolved honestly to maintain. An armed steamer, named the *Nashville*, ran up the Southampton Water, and anchored near the town. It soon transpired that she was a Confederate cruiser, and that, having just captured at sea a large American merchant ship, the *Harvey Birch*, she had, after removing her crew and such plunder as was not too bulky, set fire to and destroyed her. This proceeding was an inevitable consequence of the British proclamation forbidding either belligerent to bring prizes into any British port. In a few days, the U.S. steam frigate *Tuscarora*, her captain and crew boiling over with wrath and the desire for battle, came up the Southampton Water, and anchored within a short distance of the *Nashville*. To avert a collision, the Admiralty immediately sent a man-of-war to Southampton. Greatly to his chagrin, the captain of the *Tuscarora* found himself compelled to conform to the provisions of our Foreign Enlistment Act, which enjoin the authorities of any port in which two vessels belonging to belligerent states may be present at the same time, to allow to the one that leaves first a clear interval of twenty-four hours before the other may pursue. Thanks to this provision, the *Nashville* (which was no match for the *Tuscarora*) made her escape; but her career was of no long continuance, as she was soon afterwards chased into Gibraltar, and there sold.

Parliament met on the 6th February. In the royal speech the death of the Prince Consort was naturally the prominent topic. Among other results of the deep and universal sympathy with the Queen in her sorrow, was a general determination, rather tacit than expressed, on the part of statesmen of all parties, that the session should be a quiet one. In the debate on the address many things were eloquently and feelingly said, and it may be well to place on record here a portion of the remarks made by Mr. Disraeli, the spokesman of the Conservative party. After speaking of the common sentiment which, during the preceding ten years, had united the leaders of both parties in veneration for, and confidence in, the Throne, he continued:—

"All that is changed. He is gone who was the comfort and support of that Throne. It has been said that there is nothing which England so much appreciates as the fulfilment of duty. The Prince whom we have lost not only was eminent for the fulfilment of duty, but it was the fulfilment of the highest duty under the most difficult circumstances. Prince Albert was the consort of his sovereign; he was the father of one who might be his sovereign; he was the prime Councillor of a realm the political constitution of which did not even recognise his political existence. Yet, under these circumstances, so difficult and so delicate, he elevated even the Throne by the dignity and purity of his domestic life. He framed and partly accomplished a scheme of education for the heir of England which proved how completely its august projector had contemplated the office of an English king. In the affairs of state, while his serene spirit and his elevated position bore him above all the possible bias of our party life, he showed on every great occasion all the resources, all the prudence, and all the sagacity of an experienced and responsible statesman. I have presumed to touch upon three instances in which there was on Prince Albert's part a fulfilment of duty—duty of the highest character under circumstances of the greatest difficulty. . . . There is one point, and one point only, on which I will presume for a moment to dwell; and it is not for the sake of those who hear me, or of the generation to which we belong, but it is that those who come after us may not misunderstand the nature of this illustrious man. Prince Albert was not a patron; he was not one of those who by their smiles reward excellence or stimulate exertion. His contributions to the cause of progress were far more powerful, and far more precious. He gave to it his thought, his time, his toil; he gave to it his life. . . . But what, Sir, avail these words? This House to-night has been asked by the honourable gentleman to condole with the Crown upon this great calamity. That is not an easy office. To condole, in general, is the office of those who, without the pale of sorrow, still feel for the sorrowing. But in this instance the country is as heart-stricken as the Queen. Yet in the mutual sensibility of sovereign and people there is something noble, something which elevates the spirit beyond the ordinary calamity of earthly sorrow. The counties, the cities, and the corporations of the realm, the illustrious associations of learning, science, art, and skill, of which he was the bright ornament and inspiring spirit, have bowed before the throne in this great calamity. It does not become the Parliament of the country to be silent. The expression of our feelings may be late, but even in that lateness some propriety may be observed. We, to-night (the two Houses), sanction the expression of the public sorrow, and ratify, as it were, the record of a nation's woe."

There are sentences in this oration which read a little grandiose, it must be confessed; nevertheless, similar language was employed by all the leading men on both sides, doubtless with general sincerity; and the fact may be taken as a gauge of the strength of the monarchical principle in this portion of Europe ten years ago.

The first question warmly debated this session related to the new code of regulations, commonly called "the Revised Code," which had been promulgated by the

Committee of Council for Education in the preceding summer. Two great defects had gradually become apparent in the working of the system by which state aid was extended to primary schools—the one administrative: the other educational. The nature of the first will be apparent when it is stated that, till now, every teacher in a school receiving an annual grant, and every pupil teacher, had been separately recognised and dealt with by the Education department; and since the number of such schools had been enormously increased since the Committee of Council commenced its operations, the strain on the organisation of the department had by this time become nearly intolerable. Conceive a department having to make out monthly or quarterly pay-warrants, often for ridiculously small sums, for twenty thousand pupil teachers! The other defect of the system of annual grants Mr. Lowe (then Vice-President of the Council) considered to be this, that, notwithstanding the check of Government inspection, it did not provide sufficient security for the economical application of the public money. The grants often answered, he thought, showy rather than useful purposes. A large proportion of the teachers—such was his argument—concentrate their attention on their highest classes, their extra subjects, and their cleverest boys; the annual examination thus becomes an occasion for the display of carefully selected pupils, and for the gratification of their master's vanity, and ceases to be a careful scrutiny, probing into the state of the school from top to bottom, and testing the progress made by the younger and duller, no less than that made by the older and cleverer boys. Nor was it in human nature, he thought, for the Government inspectors, though men of the highest character and ability, not to give in to some extent to this inevitable bias of teachers, and, however unconsciously, to be "carried away by their dissimulation." To inspectors also, it was a thousand times pleasanter to examine ten sharp boys than fifty stupid ones, and a saving of trouble to assume, without actually testing it, that the lower classes were relatively as far advanced and as well taught as the top class.

It was on the strength of considerations such as these that Mr. Lowe drew up his Revised Code, which was at once to relieve the strain on the administrative machinery of the department, and to introduce the principle of "payment by results." All recognition of, and all grants to, teachers and pupil teachers were to cease, and the department was henceforward to have dealings with none but the managers of schools. Secondly, the establishment grants for fixed sums, which had been hitherto made to teachers and pupil teachers certified to be efficient by the Government inspector, were to be replaced by capitation grants, regulated in the following manner:—On the day of the annual examination, all pupils who during the previous twelve months had attended school at least one hundred times, might be presented by the teacher to be examined by the inspector in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Six "standards," varying in difficulty with the age of the pupils, were settled in each of these subjects; and a certain small grant was to be obtainable in respect of any pupil who might pass satisfactorily in any one of the three.

The plan of the Government was severely criticised by many Conservative members, and met with little favour out of doors among those who had been most active in the establishment, and continued most zealous in the support, of primary schools. Especially the clergy of the Church of England complained of the suddenness of the change, of the utter disregard which it showed to the claims and services of the pupil teachers, of the pecuniary difficulties in which they themselves as managers would in many cases be involved by it. There were some who went so far as to say that the teachers and pupil teachers had obtained a kind of vested right in their annual grants; but this was soon shown to be a mistaken opinion. Mr. Walpole moved, on the 11th March, a series of resolutions, declaring it to be inexpedient to adopt the principle of payment by results exclusively, and censuring many other portions of the Code. The House, however, went into Committee; but shortly before the Easter recess the Government took into its serious consideration the objections which had been raised to their plan, and resolved to introduce such modifications as would disarm the opposition of the more influential and reasonable objectors. The chief concession was the re-introduction of a small establishment grant, having nothing to do with "payment by results," to the extent of 4s. per annum for each child in daily attendance; something also was done for the pupil teachers. The opposition was satisfied, and Mr. Walpole withdrew his resolutions; and the scheme thus sanctioned by Parliament regulates to this day the apportionment of the public grant in aid of primary schools.

The attempt made in 1861 to pass a bill for the abolition of Church rates was renewed by Sir John Trelawny in the present year, but fared rather worse than before, the bill being rejected on the second reading by a majority of one in a full House.

The progress of the civil war in America—of which a connected account will be given farther on—excited a restless feeling in England, which naturally found its expression within the walls of Parliament. The tidings of sanguinary conflicts occurring along the whole frontier territory, from the west of Missouri to the shores of Virginia—of cities in flames, industry wrecked, hundreds of persons arrested under martial law and languishing in state prisons, relentless executions, and wholesale plunder—shook the mind of England to its inmost depths, and, according to the pre-conceived sympathies of different characters and classes, were variously judged and interpreted. Merchants, impatient at the cotton famine, found spokesmen in Parliament to inveigh against the fitfulness and inefficiency of the blockade of the Southern ports, and to urge the Government to interfere. But since, to say nothing of the strong evidence produced on the other side proving that the blockade was as effective as was possible under the circumstances, the very fact that there was a cotton famine established the point to any reasonable mind without more ado, the advocates of English interference on this ground took nothing by their motion. The language used by General Butler in his

famous proclamation at New Orleans * was reprobated with abhorrence on all sides, no speaker expressing himself more strongly than Lord Palmerston. Mr. Lindsay, the chief representative of that portion of the mercantile community of England which desired the recognition of the Confederacy as an independent state, proposed a resolution, in July, suggesting the propriety of offering mediation with a view of terminating the hostilities between the contending parties. The matter was warmly discussed, but in the end the counsels of prudence and caution prevailed, and the resolution was rejected.

GEORGE PEABODY.

With the exception of the new Game Law, to which we shall advert presently, the remaining proceedings of this Parliament were of minor importance, and may be dismissed in a few words. A dowry of £30,000, and an income of £6,000 a year, were voted without a dissentient voice to the Princess Alice, on the occasion of her marriage to Prince Louis of Hesse. In order to meet the distress in Lancashire occasioned by the cotton famine, a measure was passed, called the "Union Relief Aid Bill," for enabling the Unions in that county to borrow money, when the pressure and burden of pauperism had reached a certain point, upon the security of the rates. Alarmed by the formidable destructive efficacy which the Confederate iron-clad the *Merrimac* (or *Virginia*) had exhibited in her attack upon the wooden ships of the Federals, the Government proposed, and the House readily sanctioned, a vote of £1,200,000 for the strengthening and re-construction of our forts and arsenals. Lastly, a debate on the affairs of China disclosed a singular state of relations existing between Great Britain and the Celestial Empire. While trade on the coast had increased enormously, inland all was disorganisation. Seriously weakened in prestige by the result of the late war with England and France, the Chinese Government had in a great measure lost its hold of the reins of social and political order; society was crumbling to pieces in every direction, and the central power could give no effectual protection to the treaty ports. The rebel Tae-pings—anarchists and fanatics of the worst description—had agreed to a convention with the admiral on the station, whereby they undertook not to approach within thirty-four

* See p. 24.

miles of Shang-hai, the great port near the mouth of the Yang-tse Kiang. But the Tae-pings broke this treaty, and spread terror and confusion almost to the gates of Shang-hai; trade was consequently deranged; and the British authorities, with the full sanction of the Chinese Government, raised an armed force, retook Ning-po from the Tae-pings, and made permanent and effectual arrangements for the defence of all the treaty ports. If events do not take in China the turn that they have taken in India, it will be rather owing to the mutual surveillance and jealousy of the Western Powers, than because the process of gradual subjugation would in itself present much difficulty.

Sir Baldwin Leighton's Act, the object of which was to enlist the services of the county police as assistant gamekeepers to the country gentlemen, deserves our particular attention; for the time will come, and that speedily, when the enactment of such a law by the Parliament of a civilised nation, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, will appear something monstrous and incredible. The numerous opponents of the bill asked, Is this for England, or for Turkey? is it a law passed for the public good by the representatives of a free people, or a forest edict framed in the interest of his own pleasures by a Norman tyrant? The measure had been originally introduced in the Upper House by Lord Berners, but the Lords were too sensible to entertain it, and turned it out of doors with ignominy. The bill was then adopted by Sir Baldwin Leighton in the Lower House, and by careful tactics, and arranging that a sufficient number of its friends should always be within call so as to ensure a superiority of force at the decisive moment, the country gentlemen carried it through all its stages and passed it. The Lords then had no scruple about accepting a bill which naturally could not but command their sympathies, and the bill became law. This result was the more singular, inasmuch as the Government and all the sincere Liberals opposed the bill on every stage. Mr. W. E. Forster moved that it be read a second time that day three months, saying that, although it might not be the object of the promoters of the bill, it was certainly regarded out of doors as a proposal to turn the county police into gamekeepers, a service which would prove very detrimental to the execution of their other duties. Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, warmly opposed the measure, both in principle and details; and stated that twenty-eight chief constables had signed a memorial the year before against the employment of the police in the preservation of game. But, owing to the apathy of the borough members (an apathy proved by the smallness of the numbers on the division lists), the opposition failed. Let us now examine the Act itself, which is extremely short, because its promoters had no other thought but that of protecting their own pleasures; to introduce safeguards and provisoes tending to preserve the rights and dignity of free Englishmen from encroachment, was a matter about which they do not appear to have troubled themselves in the least.

The first clause gives a new definition of "Game." According to this, a pheasant's or a partridge's eggs are as much "game" as the pheasant or partridge itself. Snipe, being barbarously described in the Act as "snipes," may be said to be made game of in a double sense. Further, *rabbits*, which have never before come within the scope of the Game Laws, any more than sparrows, are made game for the purposes of this Act.

But the sting of the Act was in the second clause; in it could be seen, it was said, the motive of the large and sweeping definition contained in the first. Under this second clause, it is lawful "for any constable or peace-officer, in any county, borough, or place in Great Britain and Ireland, in any highway, street, or public place, to search any person whom he *may have good cause to suspect* of coming from any land where he shall have been unlawfully in search or pursuit of game, or any person aiding or abetting such person, and having in his possession any game unlawfully obtained, or any gun, part of gun, or nets or engines used for the killing or taking of game, and also to stop and search any cart or other conveyance in or on which such constable or peace-officer *shall have good cause to suspect* that any such game or any such article or thing is being carried by any such person, and should there be found any game or any such article upon such person, cart, &c., to seize and detain" the same, and apply to some magistrate for a warrant. The said magistrate may, upon conviction, fine the delinquent to the extent of five pounds.

Although, in the debates of the session there had been, according to that joint understanding with which it was begun, little exhibition of party heat or rancour, yet the spectacle of a large section of the Tory party almost openly avowing their sympathy with Lord Palmerston and his policy, and the evident congeniality between him and them, were not suffered to pass without observation. Towards the close of the session, Mr. Cobden, in a carefully prepared and powerful speech, arraigned the policy of the Prime Minister as that of a man who was fighting, or pretending to fight, under a banner not his own, and whose acts were nicely calculated to gain the approval of his ostensible adversaries, and carry discouragement into the ranks of his nominal adherents. He asked, What had been the professed principles of the Liberal party? They were economy, non-intervention, and reform. But the present was the most extravagant Government which had administered the affairs of the country in time of peace during the present generation. This assertion he supported by an elaborate comparison, and proceeded to ascribe the whole of this increased expenditure to Lord Palmerston, who himself represented a policy, and who had cost the country no less a sum than £100,000,000. After adverting to the wars with China as instances of the departure of the Ministry from the policy of non-intervention, he turned to the state of great Liberal questions and of parties in the house, which, he said, was not an honest state. Lord Palmerston was not governing the country by his own party, but with the aid of his political opponents, who were then in power without the responsibility of office. He analysed Lord Palmerston's liberalism by his acts. The ballot, and other questions in which members on that side of the house took an interest, were going back under the noble lord's leadership. Rather than continue as they were, he would prefer being in opposi-

tion. Comparing Lord Palmerston with Mr. Disraeli, he thought the latter would be quite as desirable upon the Treasury bench.

The veteran Premier defended himself against this vehement attack with the skill and adroitness which his thorough knowledge of Parliament, his tact, *bonhomie*, and cheerful elasticity of temper, rendered habitual and natural to him. He urged that if his zeal in the cause of Reform appeared to have grown somewhat cold, he was therein only reflecting faithfully the general feeling of the House, while the House no less faithfully reflected the general feeling in the country. As to economy, he could, of course, urge the continual rise in the costliness of national armaments, owing to the invention of new engines of destruction, and maintain that to spend money on fortifying the points where it was vulnerable to attack, was, in fact, a nation's best and truest economy. On the delicate question of the state of parties and Conservative support he said little, and that little was eminently judicious and discreet.

About this time the *Alabama* escaped from the Mersey through a want of vigilance on the part of the British authorities; and, inasmuch as her evasion led to such momentous consequences, we propose to narrate in some detail the circumstances connected with that event.

There can be no doubt that, on the part of those who ordered and paid for her, the *Alabama* was intended from the first for a Confederate vessel of war. She was a steamer of about 900 tons burden, with long raking masts, and engines of 300 horse-power, being evidently designed rather as a scourge of Federal commerce than to encounter Federal cruisers. Her armament consisted of eight guns—six 32-pounders in broadside, and two pivot guns amidships, one of which was a rifled 100-pounder Blakeley gun. She was built in the yard of the Messrs. Laird, Birkenhead. Of course, her armament was not put into her till after she had left the Mersey. But that she was being built and fitted for a vessel of war no one who knew anything about naval architecture could doubt. Indeed, the matter was notorious at Liverpool, where the sympathies of the mercantile community ran strongly in favour of the Confederates. While she was building much correspondence passed between the Federal consul at Liverpool and his Government and the American minister in London; but Mr. Adams desired to wait until he could lay before Earl Russell sufficient evidence to justify him in attaching the vessel and prosecuting the builders under the Foreign Enlistment Act. Meantime, on the 15th May, the vessel was launched under the name of the "290."

On the 23rd June, Mr. Adams thought that he had acquired sufficient proof. On that day he wrote to Earl Russell, saying that a new and powerful vessel was being fitted out at Liverpool "for the especial and manifest object of carrying on hostilities by sea," and soliciting such action as might "tend either to stop the projected expedition, or to establish the fact that its purpose is not inimical to the people of the United States." Before replying, Earl Russell obtained a report on the subject from the Customs department at Liverpool, which, on the 4th July, he inclosed to Mr. Adams. The report stated that there had been no attempt on the part of the builders of the "290" "to disguise, what is most apparent, that she is intended for a ship of war." It proceeded to recommend that the American consul at Liverpool should submit such evidence as he could obtain to the collector there, who would, thereupon, take such measures as the Foreign Enlistment Act would require, and concluded by saying that the officers at Liverpool would keep a strict watch on the vessel. Mr. Adams then instructed the consul to follow the course indicated in the Customs' report. The consul accordingly submitted a statement on the 9th July, but the collector replied that the details given were not, in a legal point of view, sufficient to justify him in taking upon himself the responsibility of the detention of the ship. Mr. Dudley (the consul) then directed his utmost endeavours to obtaining direct legal proof, and in this he at last succeeded, laying it, in the form of affidavits, before the collector on the 21st July. The affidavits were on the same day transmitted by the collector to the Board of Customs at London, with a request for instructions by telegraph, "as the ship appeared to be ready for sea, and might leave any hour."

Up to this point, if the action of our authorities had not been all that the Federal Government might have desired, at any rate, it had been neither unfriendly nor inefficient. The collector at Liverpool could not proceed to detain the vessel without legal evidence; but as soon as such evidence was supplied, he immediately sent it to the head of his department, and, while requesting instructions, indicated the extreme urgency of the case. But now there unfortunately occurred an act of gross administrative *laches*, of which the American Government and people had just reason to complain.

From the Board of Customs at London, the affidavits and the collector's letter were sent to the Treasury. This must have been done—at any rate, ought to have been done—on the 22nd July, and the Treasury, seeing the urgency of the case, should, if unwilling to act on its own responsibility, have laid the affidavits immediately before the law officers of the Crown, and requested their opinion. Nor was it by this channel only that the affidavits showing the true character of the *Alabama* reached our Government. Copies of the most material among them were sent by Mr. Adams to Earl Russell on the 22nd July, and again on the 24th. One would have thought that here again, either immediate action would have been taken or the opinion of the law officers obtained with all practicable expedition. But what happened? The affidavits were considered by the law officers of the Crown *on the 28th July*, six days after the letter from Liverpool had reached London, stating that the vessel might leave any hour. They soon made up their minds, and their report was in Earl Russell's hands on the morning of the 29th. Orders were then immediately sent to Liverpool to stop the vessel. But it would appear that in some mysterious manner intelligence of the intention of the Government to detain the vessel had reached the persons at Liverpool who had charge of her. The Customs department at Liverpool, on receiving the order for detention, tele-

graphed that "the vessel '290' came out of dock last night, and left the port this morning."

In a conversation with Mr. Adams, two days afterwards, at the Foreign Office, Earl Russell remarked that a delay in determining upon the case of the "290" "had most unexpectedly been caused by the sudden development of a malady in the Queen's advocate, Sir John D. Harding, totally incapacitating him for the transaction of business. This had made it necessary to call in other parties, whose opinion had at last been given for the detention of the gunboat, but before the order got down to Liverpool the vessel was gone." Such an excuse could not be expected to satisfy the American Government, but neither is it satisfactory from the English point of view. The matter being known to be urgent, if, on its being referred to Sir John Harding, that official was found to be incapacitated by ill health or any other cause, what was done ultimately should have been done at first—viz., "other parties" should have been called in. This too easy-going, *laissez aller* mode of conducting public business on the part of Government departments in 1862 cost us three millions sterling in 1873.

The *Alabama* steamed down the Mersey, and proceeded to Moelfra Bay, on the coast of Anglesey, where she lay two days. The American Government considered,* and it is difficult to contravene their opinion, that there was culpable negligence somewhere in permitting a ship, the seizure of which had been ordered, to lie unmolested in British waters for two whole days. From Moelfra Bay the vessel proceeded to the Azores, and remained at Terceira till the arrival of a vessel from London, having on board six guns, ammunition, coals, &c., for the new cruiser. Two days afterwards, the screw-steamer *Bahama* arrived, having on board Commander Raphael Semmes, of the Confederate navy, and other officers, besides two more guns. The transfer of the guns and stores having been completed without hindrance from any one, Captain Semmes hoisted his flag on the 24th August, and the *Alabama*, now first known by that name, sailed from Terceira with twenty-six officers and eighty-five men.

Parliament was prorogued on the 7th August, and home affairs went on as quietly as usual for the remainder of the year. Pauperism increased, owing to the collapse of industry in Lancashire; nevertheless, the population was greater by a quarter of a million at the end of the year than it had been at the beginning of it. But a number of persons equivalent to about one half of this increase emigrated in the course of the year. In the autumn, the honest and law-abiding citizens of London were alarmed by the outbreak and rapid increase of a new species of crime, the "garotte robbery." The villains who introduced it did not observe an absolutely uniform practice, but the usual *modus operandi* was this:—the victim who had been marked out for attack was seized from behind round the throat by one of the confederates; at the same instant another coming up in front dealt him a violent blow in the stomach; he was then thrown violently down on his back, thus being rendered insensible, and in this position his pockets were rifled, murderous blows and kicks being freely administered in case of any symptom of returning consciousness. After many cases of garotte robbery had occurred, in some of which the victims had died of the injuries received, while in all the constitution and health were permanently shaken, the garotting of a member of Parliament, Mr. Pilkington, drew the special attention of the Home Secretary to the condition of the streets. The police became suddenly active, and arrested a number of known criminals on suspicion; these were tried *en masse* by Baron Bramwell, and all who were identified as having been implicated in garotte robberies were sentenced to heavy terms of penal servitude. The class of ferocious human wolves to which the condemned persons belonged was partly dispersed, partly cowed, by this judicious severity.

The benevolent act of a philanthropic American merchant, Mr. George Peabody, who, in March, 1862, made a free gift of £150,000 to the London poor, must not be passed over in silence.

The admirers of Garibaldi in this country witnessed with sorrow the failure of a rash enterprise made by him in August, the object of which was the conquest of Rome. M. Thouvenel, writing to the French ambassador at Rome, in this very year, in the name of the Emperor, had again declared in positive terms that "the capital of Catholicism could never at the same time become, with the consent of France, the capital of Italy;" and Rattazzi, who had succeeded Ricasoli as Italian premier in February, had declared that his Ministry, while remaining faithful to the vote of the Chambers asserting Rome to be the capital of the Italian kingdom, "would go to Rome by moral and diplomatic means, always hand in hand with France." In spite of these public and official declarations, Garibaldi resolved to try whether the Rome-ward progress of the revolution could not be accelerated. Having raised a band of volunteers, he landed in Sicily, and at Palermo, on the 26th July, issued one of those turgid manifestoes for which he is notorious, calling upon the Hungarians to rise in arms, and, having disposed of the "ferocious despotism" of the Hapsburgs, join the Italian revolutionists in effecting the complete liberation of Italy. But the Hungarians, led by the wise Deak, were at that time engaged in those struggles, within the pale of the laws and the constitution, which have since resulted for them in such a splendid recognition of their national integrity and dignity. In a calmly reasoned letter, General Klapka replied to the revolutionary rhetoric of Garibaldi, pointing out the folly of his enterprise, and the want of true patriotism which he was exhibiting.

Crossing to Melito, Garibaldi made a fruitless attempt on Reggio, and then commenced his march northwards. But the Italian Government was on the alert, and had given orders to Cialdini to put the thing down. That general detached Colonel Pallavicino, who, having come on Garibaldi's track, pursued and overtook him, on the 29th August, at Aspromonte. His followers were dispersed with little difficulty, and Garibaldi himself was wounded in the foot and taken prisoner. The Italian Government behaved with great leniency; Garibaldi him-

* "Case of the United States," p. 377. London, 1872.

self was released, and a decree of amnesty issued to all his followers, except those who belonged to the Italian army or navy.

A revolution, more akin to the ridiculous than to the sublime, took place this year in Greece. In October, while King Otho and his queen were absent from Athens, the people rose, the troops mutinied, the Bavarian dynasty was declared to have ceased to reign, and a provisional Government installed itself in office, with Demetri Bulgari at its head. From the vaguely grandiloquent phrases of the manifesto published by the provisional Government, it would not be easy to discover what was the misconduct alleged against Otho, or whether there was any misconduct at all. It seems that he was not considered faithful to the "grande idée," on which the imagination and ambitious hopes of every true Greek are fed—the idea of the extension of the frontiers of the Hellenic state, and the deliverance of the millions of their countrymen who still groan under Turkish misrule. In a word, the crime of Otho was that he was *unpatriotic*. A plébiscite was decreed, in humble imitation of the Napoleonic prototype, for the election of a king of Greece; every Greek above twenty years of age was to have a vote. The result of the voting was, that Prince Alfred, second son of Queen Victoria, was chosen king by an overwhelming majority. But it had been previously agreed between the plenipotentiaries of the protecting Powers, England, France, and Russia, that all members of the reigning families of those nations should be excluded from the Greek succession. The election of Prince Alfred was thus nullified. The further progress of the Greek revolution belongs to a later year; nevertheless, it will be convenient to give at this place a connected view of the whole series of transactions, so that it will be unnecessary hereafter to return to the subject. At the end of December, 1862, Mr. H. Elliot was commissioned by our Government to make it known to the provisional Government at Athens, that England was disposed to cede the Ionian Islands (over which she had exercised a protectorate since the Congress of Vienna) to Greece, provided that the form of government remained monarchical; that Greece abstained from aggression against neighbouring states; that the king selected were a prince "against whom no well-founded objection could be raised;" lastly, that the cession were shown to be in accordance with the unanimous, or nearly unanimous, wish of the Ionian population. The Greeks and Ionians accepted the proffered terms with enthusiasm. After long consideration and discussion, a suitable occupant for the throne was found in Prince George, son of the King of Denmark, and brother to the Princess of Wales. A Greek deputation, proceeding to Copenhagen in June, 1863, tendered the crown to Prince George, who graciously accepted it, and soon afterwards proceeded to Greece, where he was received with general enthusiasm. England, thoroughly satisfied with this selection, proceeded to carry out her promise. Sir Henry Storks, the Lord High Commissioner, dissolved the Ionian Parliament in August, and summoned a new one, on which the express mandate should devolve of taking into consideration the contemplated re-union of the islands to Greece. The new Parliament met, and unanimously ratified the cession. One difficulty, however, still remained. Greece was a weak state; Corfu possessed a capacious and important harbour, and, by the care of the protecting state, had been converted into a formidable fortress; were the fortifications handed over intact, it might be apprehended that, in some future European war, a great Power allying itself to Greece would employ the fortifications of Corfu for the purpose of strengthening its own position in the Mediterranean. The British Government therefore, in concert with the four other great Powers, decided that the Ionian Islands (Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxo) should, from the time of their cession to Greece, "enjoy the advantages of a perpetual neutrality," and that the fortifications which had been constructed in Corfu, as no longer required after the concession of such neutrality, should be demolished previously to the evacuation of the island by the British garrison. This was in November, 1863; the demolition was at once proceeded with; but it was not till far on in 1864 that the troops finally quitted the island, and the annexation to Greece was consummated.

A fierce struggle raged during the whole of this year between the Federals and Confederates in America. Into the details of this struggle the historian of England is not called upon to enter, but he may justly be expected to make his readers acquainted with its general features, since it was a strife which, in determining for a long period the destinies of the most important portion of the northern continent, affected powerfully the position of England in the world, no less than the interests of millions of British and Irish emigrants, in this and future generations. If the Confederates had broken up the Union, it is hard to believe that an English Ministry, however unwarlike, would have courted humiliation, as in the Treaty of Washington and its preliminaries; or knowingly so framed an arbitration as to lose an island belonging to us by the clearest right, as in the case of San Juan.

The operations to be described fall under the head of military and naval—the first embracing the minor contests in Tennessee and Arkansas, together with the great struggle in Virginia; the second comprising the operations of the Federal fleets on different points of the Confederate coast, the battle of the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*, and Farragut's gallant capture of New Orleans.

1. The state of Tennessee, which had been one of the last to secede, was not left long in the hands of the Confederates. Lying along the southern border of Kentucky, open to the Mississippi, and watered by navigable rivers which run into the Ohio, it was peculiarly open to attack from those who held the upper course of the former, and the whole basin of the latter river. Its capital, Nashville, on the river Cumberland, was secured, the Confederates hoped, by the erection of two forts, Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, the one on the Tennessee river, the other on the Cumberland, at a point in Kentucky where the streams approach within twenty miles. But, in February, a strong force, under the command of General

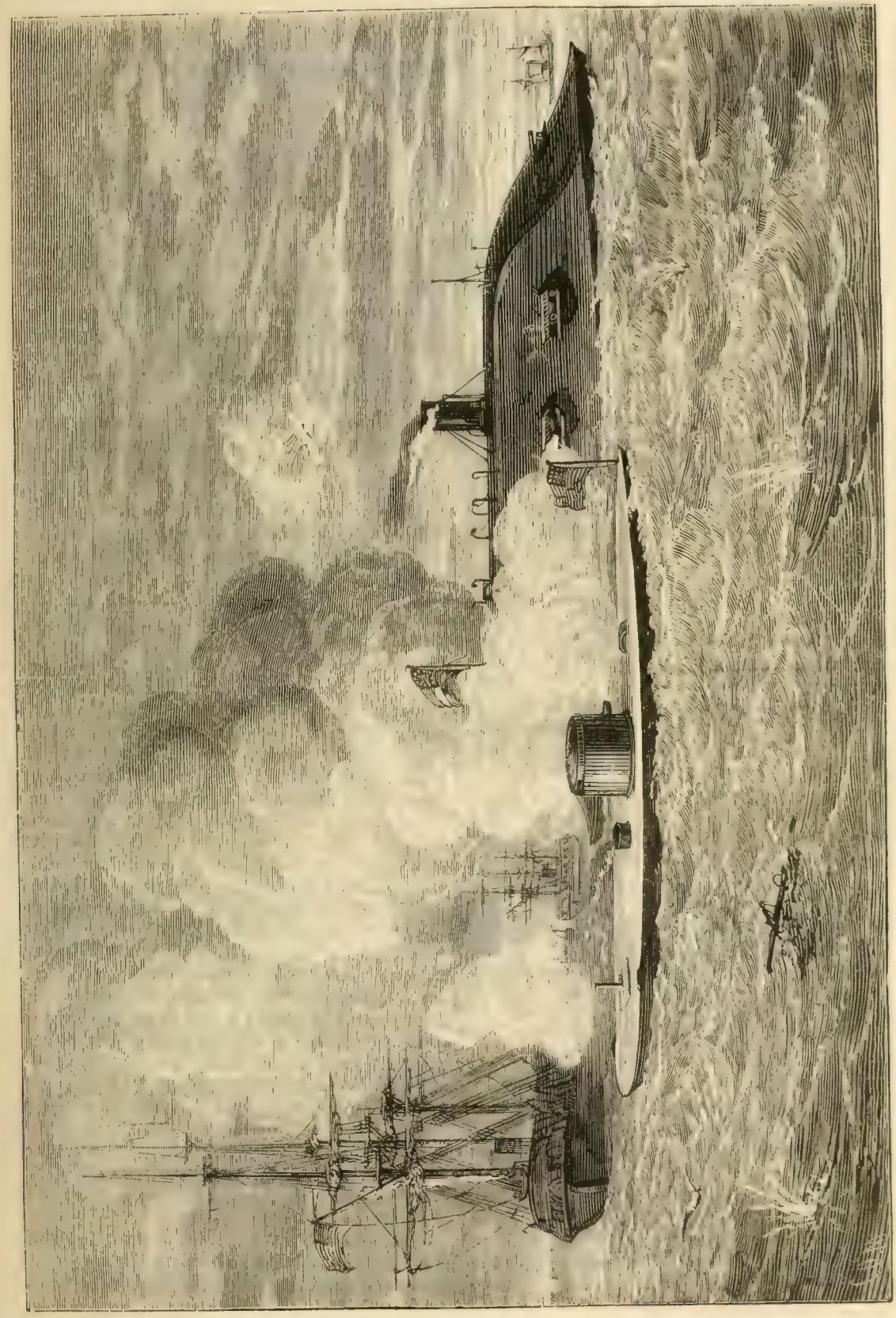
Ulysses Grant, moving up from the Ohio, captured both forts with little difficulty. Nashville, being thus left defenceless, fell into the hands of the Federals soon after, and the major part of the state was recovered. A desperate attempt to reverse the course of fortune was made by the Confederates in April, when, under their ablest general, Albert Sidney Johnston, they attacked in force the scattered divisions of Grant around Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee. On the first day of the conflict, the Confederates were successful along the whole troops presently came into line, and the exhausted Confederates, disappointed of a victory that was just within their grasp, retired towards the frontier of Mississippi. The loss of the Federals in this bloody and critical engagement was 14,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the Confederates 11,000.

In the state of Arkansas, west of the Mississippi, a battle was fought at Pea Ridge, in March, between the Federal general Curtis and the Confederate Van Dorn; and another at Prairie Grove, in December, between the

BATTLE OF PITTSBURG.

line; Grant's army was driven so close to the bluff overhanging the river, that one resolute charge seemed all that was wanted to push them in headlong rout into and across the river. On the next day, news arrived that General Buell was hurrying up to the aid of Grant with reinforcements; Johnston, however, still pressed on, and was making preparation for the final charge, when the bursting of a single shell changed the fate of the battle, and decided the destiny of the West. Johnston fell mortally wounded: the command devolved upon Beauregard; there was an interval of fatal indecision; the "native hue of resolution was sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;" the Confederate general began to concentrate his guns, instead of advancing his masses; and the Federals, feeling themselves no longer pressed, recovered courage. Buell's forces under the command of Blunt and Hindman. Neither action was decisive, but the general course of the year's campaign in this state was unfavourable to the Confederates.

But the great blow was struck—the gigantic failure sustained—in Virginia. Since the resignation of Scott, the new general, M'Lellan, had been labouring incessantly to augment the number and perfect the discipline of the army. When a force had been collected of nearly 200,000 men, the most efficacious mode of employing it had to be considered. The attempt to march to Richmond the year before had been baffled within a few miles of Washington by the catastrophe of Bull Run; and although M'Lellan knew by his scouts that the Confederates were no longer in force on that line, the thought of crossing so many rivers, and transporting his stores along so



FIGHT BETWEEN THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMAC.

many forest roads, in the face of a determined and infuriated enemy, deterred M'Lellan from attempting to penetrate to Richmond overland. But there was a Federal stronghold considerably nearer to Richmond, Fortress Monroe, acting from which as his base, M'Lellan thought that he might, without great risk, extend his army along the peninsula lying between the York and James rivers, and so reach Richmond. Acting on this idea, of the soundness of which he had convinced President Lincoln, he caused a great quantity of transports to be provided, and embarking his troops in the *Chesapeake*, landed at Fortress Monroe on the 2nd April. Gradually concentrating his forces, he advanced along the peninsula above mentioned, and while encamped before Yorktown, on the 30th April, found that he had 130,000 men at his standards. From Yorktown he advanced towards Richmond; but now the difficulties of the enterprise began to appear. A small sluggish river, the Chickahominy, running much through marshes and scattered woods, divides the peninsula nearly in two equal halves, or long narrow strips, for forty miles and more to the east of Richmond, bending round suddenly at last, and flowing into the James. General J. E. Johnston, who was in command of the main army of the Confederates, allowed his enemy to march on unchecked, until a considerable part of his troops was well entangled in the swamps of this treacherous valley, and then commenced a series of vigorous and well-planned attacks. The first collision took place at New Bridge, on the Chickahominy, on the 24th May. On the 27th, General Porter, sent to clear the Federal right in the direction of Hanover Court House, dispersed with some loss the Confederate division which opposed his march. But the first serious action was the battle of Fair Oaks, or the Seven Pines, on the 31st May. The divisions of Generals Casey and Couch having been thrown forward by M'Lellan to the point, or points, indicated by those names, without, it would seem, adequate provision for their support in case of need, the Confederate army, marching out of Richmond simultaneously along several roads which led towards the scene of action, fell upon the Federals while the breastworks with which they were preparing to secure their position were still incomplete. Couch's division was the first attacked; it was enveloped, broken, and forced back on the division of Casey; which, also, was unable to stand its ground. The camps of these two divisions, with many guns and stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Heintzelman was promptly summoned to the aid of the beaten generals, but we are told that "some of his regiments did not rush to the front quite so impetuously as a good portion of Couch's made tracks for the rear."* The task of relief now passed into the able hands of General Sedgwick, who, coming up with fresh troops, and handling them well, checked the further advance of the Confederates, and even recovered a portion of the lost ground. The total loss of the Federals in this battle was about 5,700 men; that of the Confederates 4,200.

M'Lellan seems to have been, as it were, stunned by this battle of Fair Oaks, for he kept his army, still vastly superior to that of the Confederates, for more than three weeks in camp, without attempting any movement of importance. The Confederate generals had thus full leisure to mature a great combined movement, the object of which was to turn the Federal right and force the whole army down on the shore of the James river. Johnston having received a severe wound in the battle of Fair Oaks, the command had devolved on General Robert Lee, a gallant gentleman of the old Virginian stock, aided by that thunderbolt of war, "Stonewall" Jackson, by Stuart, the "beau sabreur," by Ewell, Longstreet, and other brave and able officers. Jackson had just returned from the Shenandoah valley, where, with skill and daring seldom equalled, he had defeated or foiled all the Federal corps that he had come across, driving most of them right out of the valley. On the 26th June, General Porter, commanding the right wing of the Federal army, was attacked at Mechanicsville, on the north side of the Chickahominy, by the divisions of Longstreet and Hill. On that day Porter appears to have stood his ground; but on the 27th Jackson came up and mingled in the fight; and the Federal general, after having fallen back from Mechanicsville to Gaines' Mill, was dislodged from that position also, and completely defeated. M'Lellan, with a force immensely outnumbering anything that was in his own front, was within three or four miles of his defeated subaltern; but, being a man of no true military insight, he was deceived by the feigned attacks which the Confederate troops in his front had been instructed to keep up during the day, and sent across the Chickahominy, in compliance with Porter's urgent messages, reinforcements too weak to turn the tide of battle, but large enough to give additional magnitude to the catastrophe. The right wing of the Federal army being thus turned, its communications with its base at West Point on the York river were cut, and immense quantities of stores were captured by Stuart and his cavalry, while as much more was destroyed by the Federal officers in charge. M'Lellan, in pursuance of the decision of a council of war, ordered a retreat. He wrote to Secretary Staunton, and was doubtless sincerely convinced, that the enemy with whom he had to contend numbered from 150,000 to 200,000 men, the fact being that the entire force under Lee's command, even after Jackson's army had joined him, never exceeded 70,000 men. Pursued and harassed by the victorious Confederates, yet turning to bay readily and often, and fighting stubbornly, the Federal army marched by Malvern Hill upon the James river. There fevers broke out among them, exposed as they were to the fierce summer sun of Virginia and to the malarious exhalations of a marshy region; and as soon as sufficient transport could be provided, the remains of that imposing array which had gone forth three months before with such proud hopes, were transferred by sea to Acquia Creek, on the Potomac. This took place in the first half of July.

M'Lellan had been thoroughly discomfited; but another Federal army still kept the field in Virginia, covering Washington, and occasionally making forward movements

* Greeley, "American Conflict," vol. ii.

as far as the Rappahannock. This was the army, numbering about 40,000 men, under the command of General Pope. On taking the command, Pope had issued a boastful and grandiloquent manifesto, some of the expressions of which were understood to glance at the luckless M'Lellan. "I hear constantly," he said, "of taking strong positions and holding them—of lines of retreat and of bases of supplies. Let us discard such ideas. . . . Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves. Let us look before, and not behind. Success and glory are in the advance. Disaster and shame lurk in the rear." But

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu ?

After the greater part of M'Lellan's beaten army had taken up its quarters again within the lines of Alexandria, Lee, with Jackson, his indefatigable lieutenant, resolved to pay his undivided attention to Pope. In the first battle, at Cedar Mountain, near the Rapidan, a portion of Pope's army attacked, without knowing it, nearly the whole of Lee's, and, of course, received a terrible and bloody repulse. The next fifteen days were a maze of marches and combats, in the course of which Jackson, with an audacity defensible rather on moral than on military grounds, and evidently proceeding from an exact appreciation of the calibre of the man and the troops opposed to him, marched round Pope's right and seized his magazines at Manasses Junction, exactly in his rear; yet managed to extricate himself in time from a position which, with an abler adversary, would have been his certain destruction, and succeeded in rejoining Longstreet before he was compelled to fight the battle of Gainesville, in which Pope's generals of division sustained a crushing defeat. Pope retreated to Centerville; again his flank was turned, and he found himself compelled to fall back on the line of Alexandria, having been incessantly engaged, ever since the Confederate army turned against him, in that very operation of retreating which he had vain-gloriously announced would, under his auspices, be the exclusive portion of "our opponents."

But Lee was not satisfied with having defeated two Federal armies, and nearly cleared Virginia of invaders; he determined to carry the war across the Potomac, and enter Maryland at least, if not Pennsylvania. The bulk of his army crossed the Potomac near Leesburg on the 5th September, and advanced to Frederick, whence Lee issued an address to the people of Maryland, to whom he held forth the prospect of deliverance from their oppressors. He appears to have hoped that the Confederate ranks —not over well filled at the first, and now sadly thinned by the drain of incessant warfare and hardship—would be recruited by a large accession of enthusiastic Marylanders. But most of the more ardent spirits among these had already crossed the border and enlisted in the Confederate armies, while of the remainder many doubtless shrank from the peril of confiscation and other trouble which their joining Lee might bring upon their friends and relations. Thus it happened that not more than between 200 and 300 Marylanders enlisted. Failing this object, or along with it, Lee had formed a plan for the reduction of Harper's Ferry, an important post at the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac, and the capture of its garrison. By one of the accidents of war, a copy of Lee's general order, giving clear instructions to his divisional commanders with a view to this important capture, fell into M'Lellan's hands; yet, although it was an operation which involved the cutting of Lee's army in two, and the separation of the two halves by a considerable river, the Federal general was so poor a tactician that he could neither prevent the fall of Harper's Ferry, nor fall with overwhelming force upon the portion of the Confederate army that remained to the north of the river. The active Jackson opened fire on Harper's Ferry on the 13th September, and the place surrendered on the 15th, nearly twelve thousand men laying down their arms. Not delaying a moment, Jackson hurried his division across the Potomac again, and, marching day and night, reached Lee's head-quarters behind the Antietam Creek on the 16th, in time to help him in repelling the great Federal attack of the next day. The indecisive battle of Antietam was the most bloody of the whole war; the loss on each side exceeded twelve thousand men. M'Lellan, according to his own statement, had 87,000 men in line on that day; the Confederates stood their ground with only 45,000 for the first half of the day, and for the remaining half with no more than an aggregate of 70,000; yet the last incident of all was the driving of the Federal left down the hills, up which they had gradually advanced, and across the creek again. The stubborn valour of the Confederate soldiers, and the high qualities of their officers, were never more nobly exemplified than on this bloody field of Antietam. On the following day, the 18th, both armies rested; but M'Lellan was joined by a reinforcement of fourteen thousand men; and Lee knew that he could do no more. He crossed the Potomac with his whole force on that night, and retired upon Winchester, in the Shenandoah valley; nor did M'Lellan pursue. Emboldened by this inaction, Lee detached Stuart with eighteen hundred horsemen on a raid into Pennsylvania. Stuart penetrated into that state as far as Chambersburg, where he destroyed a large quantity of military stores; he then rode right round the Federal army, doing what damage he could by the way, and recrossed without loss into Virginia below Harper's Ferry.

Gallant and unfortunate men! brave gentlemen of Virginia and the Carolinas! genuine strain of the old English blood! worthy countrymen of the Mannys and Raleighs of former times! defenders of your native fields against a motley host representing twenty different nationalities, a "*colluvies omnium gentium*" pouring upon you from the North — Scotch, Irish, Dutch, Germans, and many more,—surely, if mortal heroism could avail to bar the irresistible decrees, your blood would not have been shed in vain, and your names would have shone in the page of history as the founders of a new nation. But you fought not against overwhelming numbers only, but against the eternal law of justice,

though you knew it not; and therefore you could not prevail. Your chiefs prated about liberty, but in their hearts designed to establish their state on the perpetual enslavement and inequality of a race of men that deserved not such a fate; and you, imagining your cause to be just and holy, sacrificed your lives for ends that in the last analysis were plainly irreligious and immoral.*

Yet one more day of slaughter was to close this year of carnage. In November, M'Lellan had been relieved of his command, which had been turned over to Burnside. The sole military conception of this general, with reference to the taking of Richmond, appears to have been that he must march straight at it along the direct road until he arrived there. He pressed on as far as the Rappahannock, and occupied Fredericksburg, on the southern bank of that river; but the heights behind the town offered a strong position, which Lee at once seized and carefully fortified; so that when, on a beautiful sunny day of the Indian summer, December 12th, Burnside flung his masses against the heights, they were repulsed with fearful slaughter. During the remainder of the winter the armies of the Union and the Confederacy faced one another on opposite sides of the Rappahannock, which, by a sort of tacit consent, was accepted as the dividing line of the two powers. But cavalry raids, most of which were successful, were the order of the day with the Confederate officers all through the winter. In January, 1863, the command of the army of the Potomac was transferred from Burnside to Hooker, who had greatly distinguished himself at Antietam.

In the autumn, General Bragg led a Confederate army from Chattanooga, on the confines of Alabama, across Tennessee, into the state of Kentucky, routing in succession all the troops that opposed his march. Occupying Frankfort, the state capital of Kentucky, he then issued a skilfully worded address to the Kentuckians, whom he professed an ardent desire to liberate from the thraldom in which they were held by the Federal Government. Great was the alarm in the wealthy cities on the Ohio, Louisville and Cincinnati. But on this, as on many other occasions during the war, it was seen that the sheer weight of numbers was enough to neutralise all the advantage which the superior *élan* of the Confederate troops, and the finer strategy of their generals, had for a time obtained. General Buell, who had slowly followed Bragg from the vicinity of Chattanooga, reached Louisville towards the end of September. Reinforcements now joined him to such an extent that, at the beginning of October, he found himself at the head of 100,000 men, the greater part of them indeed raw troops, but outnumbering the Confederates in the ratio of more than two to one. So far from advancing on Louisville, Bragg felt that he was no longer safe at Frankfort, and he resolved to retreat. But in order to protect the march of his immense trains, loaded with the plunder of Kentucky, he gave battle to Buell at Perryville, on the 9th October, and signally defeated him. After this he retired through Cumberland Gap into Eastern Tennessee, which at this period was firmly held by the Confederates. Dissatisfied with the dilatory proceedings of Buell, the Federal Government superseded him at the end of October by General Rosecranz, who, on the 4th instant, had repelled, with heavy loss to the assailants, a combined attack of Generals Van Dorn and Price upon the lines of Corinth. The expedition of Bragg was, upon the whole, a failure; since it demonstrated that in spite of the incapacity of generals and the rawness of soldiers, the resources of the Federal power were far too solid, far too elastic, to permit of the Confederacy making conquests on Federal ground. Would the Confederacy be able to hold its own? That was now the question of questions.

2. The naval portion of the war must now be briefly described. In the course of January and February, Commodore Goldsborough and General Burnside, at the head of a powerful expedition, attacked the coast defences of North Carolina, capturing the island of Roanoke, and compelling the surrender of Fort Macon, Newbern, and other places. In March occurred the famous conflict of the *Merrimac* and *Monitor*. When the navy-yard at Norfolk, in Virginia, opposite Fortress Munroe, on the south side of the James river, was abandoned by the Federals, they endeavoured, but without success, to destroy the forty-gun steam frigate *Merrimac*. The Confederates, having repaired this vessel, cut her down nearly to the water's edge, built up over her a sort of deck-house, sloping inwards, of solid timber strongly plated with railway iron, armed her with ten heavy guns and a formidable iron beak, rechristened her the *Virginia*, and sent her out to burn, sink, and destroy. On the 8th March, the officers on board the Federal fleet stationed in Hampton Roads beheld a strange black object, showing nothing but a funnel and a sloping roof above water, moving rapidly down upon them, followed by two small war steamers. Before they could decide on any course of action, the monster ran at the *Cumberland* frigate, and opened a gaping breach in her side with her iron beak, so that she sank at her anchors in a brief space of time, carrying to the bottom about a hundred sick and wounded men. Two other frigates, the *Congress* and the *Minnesota*, came to the assistance of the *Cumberland*, and rained heavy shot on the sides of the iron-clad, which glanced ineffectively off her mail. To avoid the fate of the *Cumberland*, the *Congress* ran herself aground; but being exposed in that position to a raking fire from the *Merrimac*, and having lost many men, she hauled down her colours. But the fire from the Federal soldiers on shore prevented the Confederates from taking possession of her, and in the end she was set on fire and destroyed. The *Minnesota* also got aground, but in a position where the *Merrimac* could not approach within a considerable distance. On the next day, the battle was renewed, and the *Merrimac*, having made out the channel by which the *Minnesota* had reached the bank on which she lay, was proceeding to attack her at close quarters, when a new combatant appeared on the scene. This was the *Monitor*, a small turreted iron-clad, just arrived from New York. Steaming in between the *Minnesota* and

* "Had I a million slaves," said Lee (we quote from memory from his Life by Cooke), "I would sacrifice them all to the Union; but how can I act on those who are invading my native land?"

her assailant, the *Monitor* commenced a duel with the latter, which lasted some time without much apparent damage being done on either side. At last, as if in desperation, the *Merrimac* ran at the *Monitor*, and butted at her with all her force; the shock, however, did little or no injury to the turret ship, while in it the *Merrimac* carried away her enormous beak, and is supposed to have seriously damaged her machinery. Certain it is, that although she was got safely into Norfolk, she never made a second appearance; and not long afterwards, when the progress of the Federal arms in North Carolina rendered Norfolk untenable except by leaving there a larger garrison than the Confederates could spare, the place was evacuated, and the *Merrimac*, whose fame had flown already round the civilised world, was blown up and destroyed.

The fall of New Orleans, which took place in April of this year (1862), was the first crushing and irremediable blow which the Confederacy had sustained. An expedition for the purpose had been long since projected by General Butler, and approved by President Lincoln. Various delays prevented its being brought to full maturity till near the end of March, when Butler landed at Ship Island (in the Gulf of Mexico, between Mobile and the mouth of the Mississippi) and proceeded to concert with Captain Farragut, of the U.S. steam sloop *Hartford*, the details of the enterprise. The land forces here concentrated did not much exceed 13,000 men, and would have been of themselves insufficient to make an impression on so large a city as New Orleans, which at that time had a population of 170,000 inhabitants, and the defence of which was in the hands of an able and energetic governor, General Lovell. But the naval force at Ship Island numbered forty-seven vessels, of which eight were large and powerful steam sloops-of-war, and twenty-one mortar-boats, each throwing a 215-pound shell, the whole under the command of David Farragut, a man in whom the approach of age (he was sixty-three years old, fifty of which he had passed in the navy) had not chilled the fire or damped the enthusiasm of his youth. The principal defences of New Orleans were the forts Jackson and St. Philip, on opposite sides of the river, seventy-five miles below the city. An immense boom, composed of cypress-trees and chain cables, had been prepared with great labour and stretched across the current, just under the guns of the forts; but the flood in the Mississippi, rising this year to an unusual height, had carried the chief part of it away. Attempts, indeed, had been made to patch it up, but the obstruction thus presented was more formidable in appearance than reality. The plan agreed upon between the Federal commanders was this: that Captain Porter, who had charge of the mortar-boat squadron, should commence operations by bombarding the forts; that General Butler —after they had been sufficiently dismantled and disarmed by the heavy shelling they would receive—should attack them on the land side with his troops; lastly, that upon the fall of the forts Captain Farragut should, with his men-of-war, break the boom, engage and overpower the Confederate squadron, and steam up to the city.

The actual course of events was somewhat different. Captain Porter with his mortar-boats commenced shelling the forts on the 17th April; but the defence was well conducted, and little progress was made. On the other hand, all the attempts of the Confederates to set fire to the fleet of Federal transports and other vessels, by sending down fire-rafts among them, were neutralised by the carefully planned precautions of Farragut. On the third day of the bombardment, the gallant veteran called a council of war on board the *Hartford*, and it was decided that the attempt should be made to run past the forts with the fighting portion of the fleet. But it was necessary that the boom should first be broken, and this service was ably performed by Captain Bell that very night. The grand attack was fixed for the night of the 23rd April. The fleet was arranged in three divisions, that on the left led by Farragut in the *Hartford*, that on the right by Captain Bailey in the *Cayuga*, while Captain Bell, with a smaller division, was to keep the centre of the river. The ships under Captain Bell's command were unable to sustain the heavy fire of the forts, and retired down stream; but both Farragut and Bailey, after running the gauntlet past the forts with little loss, engaged in a strange midnight conflict with the Confederate flotilla, which they succeeded, being in greatly superior force, in destroying or putting to flight. "Captain Farragut, in the fore-rigging of the *Hartford*, anxiously watching every visible movement through his night glass, had advanced within a mile and a quarter of Fort Jackson, when he was opened upon from that fort and repeatedly struck. Still steaming directly for the fort, and replying only from his two fore-castle guns, when within half a mile he sheered and gave them broadsides of grape and canister, which soon drove every man from their barbette guns; but those in the casemates rendered full and quick returns for every volley received. The *Richmond*, closely following, hurled grape and canister in profusion. The *Brooklyn*, bringing up the rear, ran over one of the hulks which had upheld the chain, during a hot fire from Fort St. Philip. Hardly had she been freed from the hulk and her head turned up stream, when the ram *Manasses* came butting into her starboard gangway, first opening her iron trap door at ten feet distance and firing at the smoke-stack of the *Brooklyn* a heavy bolt, which was caught and stopped by the sand bags protecting her steam-drum. A guard of chain armour which had been woven over her sides" (Farragut had ordered the adoption of this simple precaution in all the large steamers, viz., the protection of the machinery by chain cables, and the result proved with what accurate judgment) "shielded her from destruction by the ram, which soon slid off and disappeared in the darkness. A few minutes later, while still under a raking fire from Fort Jackson, the *Brooklyn* was attacked by a large rebel steamer, to which she gave a broadside at fifty yards, setting it instantly on fire, and putting an end to its career. Still groping onward in the thick darkness, Captain Craven soon found himself abreast of Fort St. Philip, and so near that his leadsman reported thirteen feet of water. Bringing all his guns to bear for a few

moments, he poured in grape and canister so that the fort was completely silenced, and her garrison were seen by our men in the tops of the *Brooklyn*, by the fitful flashes of their bursting shrapnel, running like sheep to their coverts. Thus passing the upper fort, Captain Craven engaged several of the rebel gun-boats at sixty to a hundred yards. He was an hour and a half under fire, lost eight killed and twenty-six wounded, while his ship was badly cut up by shot and shell; but she bore her full part in the attack on the rebel batteries below New Orleans next morning." *

The rest may be briefly told. On the next day, April 25th, Farragut steamed up to the wharves of New Orleans, the inhabitants of which, knowing that the city could be easily laid in ashes by the Federal squadron, abandoned the thought of further resistance. Very firm language was required from Farragut before the irritated people would leave the Union flag to fly undisturbed from the top of the City Hall. The civil government was committed to General Butler, and was by him administered with great firmness, and perhaps with no greater severity of repression than the circumstances substantially required. But being without the breeding of a gentleman, Butler did not know or feel that there are some means of repression which, whatever may be the previous provocation, must not be employed. He thus came to issue the celebrated proclamation, ordering that "hereafter, when any female shall, by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation." The civilised world received this ebullition with astonishment and indignation, Lord Palmerston declaring, in the House of Commons, that "Englishmen must blush to think that it came from a man of the Anglo-Saxon race." Yet there is no ground to think that Butler's order, hateful as it is, was ever put in force—that it was more than a *brutum fulmen*; and, on the other hand, Englishmen who have known their countrymen order the living bodies of Hindoo prisoners to be blown into ghastly and gory fragments of quivering flesh from the mouths of cannon, cannot predict to what lengths even their portion of the "Anglo-Saxon race" may not proceed under circumstances of pressure. The execution of Mumford by Butler's order, for having been the ringleader of a mob which tore down the Federal flag from the roof of the Mint, after the Confederate forces had evacuated the city, was, perhaps, an act of extreme harshness, and not absolutely required for the security of a power which was then so firmly in possession; nevertheless, the plea of military necessity has been not seldom held sufficient to cover worse deeds.

Great progress was made in this year towards the complete emancipation of the slaves. Already Federal officers in command of corps or detachments serving in the Southern states had been forbidden to interfere in any way with the enjoyment of their freedom by slaves who had escaped from their masters within the Federal lines. Mr. Lincoln displayed sound statesmanship and a wise deliberation in this whole matter. So far as military interests seemed to require it, he gladly took and approved of measures which tended to emancipation; but he would not let himself be hurried by the Abolitionists into any such premature declaration against slavery, regarded as an institution, as would, while everything was still in doubt, have estranged Kentucky and Missouri from the cause of the Union far more decidedly than was now the case. He expressed himself very plainly, and with characteristic brevity, in a letter to Horace Greeley, written in August of this year. "My paramount object," he said, "is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it—if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it—and if I could save it by freeing some and letting others alone, I would also do that." In September, he published a proclamation, distinctly stated to be resorted to as a war measure, notifying that from the first day of January, 1863, all slaves owned in any state, or in any designated part of a state, which was then in rebellion against the Union, should be held to be from that time and for ever after free. In accordance with this notification, the President issued a second proclamation on the 1st January, 1863, which, considering the result of the war, practically amounted to the abolition of slavery in North America. This document, after reciting the previous proclamation, continued: "Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, *and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion*, do, on this first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three . . . order and designate as the States and the parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana [except certain parishes], Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia [except certain counties] . . . and by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognise and maintain the freedom of such persons." The military effect of this proclamation, considered as a war measure, was probably less than Mr. Lincoln had counted upon: for either it was carefully withheld from the knowledge of the slave population in the Southern states, or, if even its contents became known to any of them, the fierce and desperate resolution which animated the whites deterred them from attempting, or even planning, anything like a general insurrection. But the political effect was enormous; in every Christian country the cause of the Union was thenceforward identified with the freedom of the negro, so that even those who on many accounts sympathised with the South could not

* [illegible] "American Conflict," vol. ii. ch. 5.

heartily and entirely wish their cause to triumph; moreover, the United States Government and people were irrevocably bound, in the event of their obtaining such military success as did in fact crown their arms, to maintain for the future that freedom of the negro population which had been thus proclaimed.

On the 1st of December, 1862, Mr. Lincoln sent down a message to Congress, thoughtful, lucid, and at times rising to a rugged natural eloquence, in which he laboured to show the physical unity of the territory of the United States, and thence to conclude to the political indivisibility of the Union. There is no line of boundary, he said, which could possibly be drawn between the great corn-producing region of the interior, lying between the Alleghanies, the Rocky Mountains, and British America, and the sea margins south, east, and west of the said region, that would not cut off its population from one or more of the outlets which Nature had provided for its trade. (An argument which, pressed by some future President, when the Union has a hundred millions of inhabitants, may perhaps be turned against the British, as marring and embarrassing the beneficent appointments of Nature, while we "cut off" the said population from the outlet of the St. Lawrence.) Mr. Lincoln argues the question ably and earnestly, yet, after all, he regards it solely from the commercial point of view. What he says amounts to this: that because men cannot trade together quite so conveniently or profitably under two Governments as under one, therefore disruption is forbidden and branded by all laws, human and divine. Louisiana must remain one political community with Minnesota, however diverse may be the ideas, the political tendencies, the social habits, and the intellectual and æsthetic culture, of the two, because, if there were a custom-house between them, a percentage of profit might be lost to the Minnesota settler, and the "development" (by which is simply meant, in such reasonings, the filling up of a country with a motley, half civilised, and wholly uninteresting white population) of the interior region might proceed at a rather slower rate. And if it did, would the world be any the worse? Is not the rapid absorption of the vast and fertile prairies of America by a swarming semi-civilized population—insensible to the charm of ancient manners, dead to art, callous to philosophy, vulgarly self-confident in religion—one of the saddest among the many sad spectacles which the philosophic observer of mankind, during the last forty years, has been compelled to contemplate? What if some Virginian thinker had replied to Mr. Lincoln: Doubtless you may be right in maintaining that trade flourishes better—*ceteris paribus*—where there is but one political organisation; but man is not born for trade alone; and there is much reason for holding that literature, art, science—in a word, all that constitutes the highest culture of a people—flourish all the more for

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there being a number of cultivated independent centres. Would Greece have taught us so much, had she been all Spartan, or all Theban, or even all Athenian? Is the oppressive moral monotony which prevails in a vastly extended state, in which the majority reigns supreme—is this no drawback to the account of prosperity? Again, utter want of harmony in religious beliefs may make it more desirable for two contiguous populations to be independent of each other, than to be politically united. No physical barrier divides Holland from Belgium; if commercial principles are to override all others, they ought to be one; yet we know that difference of religion, and diversity of historical memories and associations, made the two peoples fret against the tie which temporarily united them, and that since their separation each has prospered—in regard to all the higher forms of national prosperity—in an eminent degree. Bred up in the rough West, Mr. Lincoln, intelligent and virtuous as he was, could not but be blind to this whole class of considerations, which would have appeared to him mere fanciful refinements. Does it conduce to trade? that was his sole test by which to try every political organisation.

CHAPTER III.

The International Exhibition of 1862: Its Origin: Erection of the Building at Brompton: Description of its Principal Features: Comparison of it with the Building of 1851: Ceremonial at the Opening: Multifarious Contents of the Exhibition: Number of Exhibitors, British and Foreign—The French Department—Collection of Pictures—Close of the Exhibition—Number of Persons that had visited it.

THE year 1862 was marked by a second grand display, on a scale of colossal magnitude, of the products of the material and artistic civilisation of our age, contributed by the industry of all countries, but especially by that of England and her colonies.

The origin of the Exhibition of 1862 is involved in some obscurity. Though such is undoubtedly the case, several conjectures were diligently offered upon the subject; most of these conjectures, however, were so very far-fetched, that serious consideration of them is quite out of the question. A cynical writer in the *Saturday Review*, writing two days after the opening, could see in it nothing but a "gigantic advertisement," a "gigantic joint-stock show-room," the "Palace of Puffs." On the other hand, a writer in the *Illustrated London News*, after severely condemning the levity or malice of his weekly contemporary, proceeds to refer the Exhibition to conceptions and motives which, however sublime they may be, are a little vague. "Looking," he says, "at this magnificent International Exhibition in the light of the high motives which originally suggested it, we see in it, first of all, a rich and multiform display of that Supreme beneficence which over arches, if we may so express ourselves, the destinies of our race." The project of a second Exhibition has been often attributed to the Prince Consort, but it was said at the time, and on better authority, that so far from having initiated the Exposition of this year, he gave a somewhat reluctant assent to its being carried out, and was rather desirous of allowing his fame in connection with enterprises of this kind to rest on the undoubted success of that of 1851. But sufficient light is thrown on the subject for our purpose by the statement contained in the address presented at the opening of the building by the Royal Commissioners. From this it appears that the Society of Arts, "a body through whose exertions the Exhibition of 1851 in great measure originated," began to take preliminary measures in 1858 and 1859 for the purpose of ascertaining whether a sufficiently strong feeling existed in the country in favour of decennial repetitions of that great experiment to justify the prosecution of the scheme. The continental war of 1859 caused a temporary suspension of proceedings; but on peace being restored, the Society resumed the consideration of the question, although at a period too late to allow of the Exhibition being ready by the year 1861, which was their original desire. The Society obtained decisive proof of the existence of a general desire for a second Great Exhibition in the most satisfactory form—namely, the signatures of upwards of 1,100 individuals for various sums of from £100 to £10,000, and amounting in the whole to no less than £450,000, to a guarantee deed for raising the funds needed for the conduct of the Exhibition. The scheme having thus been started, the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, in the most liberal spirit, placed at the disposal of the managers of the new undertaking, free of all charge, a space of nearly seventeen acres on their Kensington Gore Estate, and subsequently, when the original area was found insufficient, an additional plot of eight acres, being all the land which could be made available for the purpose. In this way was the scheme originated, the cost of the necessary buildings provided for, and an eligible site obtained.

The contractors for the greater part of the work were Messrs. Kelk and Lucas, and it could not have been in abler hands. But for the eastern dome the contract was taken by the Thames Iron Company. This dome was begun long before that on the western side; but a "generous rivalry" sprang up between the builders, which resulted in something like a neck-and-neck race between them at last. The work was commenced in the latter part of 1861, and the contractors were bound to deliver the shell of the building, complete, to the Royal Commissioners on the 12th February, 1862. To do this they had to carry on the works by night as well as by day, and an interesting picture executed at the time represents the night effect of the western dome, as seen from the Horticultural Society's Gardens—the moonbeams from behind struggling to pierce through the network of ribs, rafters, and elaborate scaffolding of which the dome then consisted, and workmen swarming in all the galleries of the vast building, carrying on their work by artificial light. The contract was kept, and the building handed over on the 12th February. Applications for space from exhibitors were then invited, and the fitting up of the courts and galleries proceeded with; but with such numerous and varied interests and claims to adjust, the commissioners could not ensure the same rapid progress as that made in the erection of the building; and a large part of the edifice was still in

confusion, heaped up with packing-cases and litter, when the Exhibition was opened on the 1st May.

The principal features of the building, when completed, are described in the following terms by a writer in the "Annual Register." They consisted "of two vast domes of glass, 250 feet high and 160 feet in diameter—larger (that is, broader across, but, of course, nothing like so high) than the dome of St. Peter's—connected by a nave 800 feet long, 100 feet high, and 85 feet wide; with a closed roof, and lighted by a range of windows after the manner of the clerestory of a Gothic cathedral. The domes opened laterally into spacious transepts; and the nave into a wide central avenue and interminable side aisles and galleries, which, being roofed with glass, much resembled the crystal inclosure of the Exhibition of 1851. These domes, naves, transepts, and corridors formed the main building, and covered sixteen acres of ground; but in addition were two annexes, of unpretending ugliness, which covered or inclosed seven and a half acres; the whole area occupied by the building was twenty-four and a half acres." Of the two annexes, the eastern was devoted to agricultural implements of all kinds; the western to the display of machinery, both at rest and in motion. The courts and compartments in which the majority of the articles displayed were contained were on the ground floor; among the galleries above, those which constituted one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, attraction of the Exhibition were the long picture galleries, admirably lighted, containing an immense collection of the chief productions of modern English art, in painting and sculpture; and also a similar collection, though, of course, much less complete, of the modern painting and sculpture of foreign nations.

The same writer does but echo the general opinion of all those who witnessed the Exhibition of 1851, and could therefore compare the two buildings, when he makes the result of such a comparison unfavourable to the building of 1862. "Although none could deny," he says, "that the building of 1862 was greatly superior in extent, loftiness, and elegance, both of constructive detail and of decoration, to the Crystal Palace of 1851, yet the general impression seemed to be that there was a magical charm about the latter which was wanting to its successor. The distinctive difference probably was that the crystalline walls and roof of the Palace of 1851 admitted such an universally-diffused light that the idea of "inclosure" did not present itself; while in the building of 1862 the solid roof and rayless walls of the nave, lighted by Gothic windows in the clerestory, gave the unavoidable impression that you were within a building. The two great domes were certainly much inferior in effect to the glorious transept of 1851; nor was there within the whole structure any one spot which offered that unconfined *coup d'œil*—that sensation of space to be felt but not described—which could be obtained from several points of vantage in its predecessor. The long avenue of the nave gave unquestionably a grand prospect; but it was so packed with 'trophies' and other large and unmanageable objects, that it suggested a confined and crowded feeling." The internal colour-decoration was committed to Mr. Crace, and was upon the whole successful. The pillars in the nave appeared alternately a dark olive and a red chocolate, with gilded capitals and a line of gold round the base. The columns in the courts were coloured a green bronze, with dark red capitals and bases, and a similar dark line ran along the girders. The roof was decorated with gilt ornaments, and these, in connection with the scarlet and gold capitals of the pillars, though delicate, and perhaps too minute, were still, on a bright sunny day, on the whole agreeable to the eye. The walls of the picture galleries were painted a sage green—a colour well adapted for throwing the pictures into relief, but giving a somewhat gloomy aspect to the rooms. Connoisseurs were disposed to charge the style of decoration, generally, with a lack of boldness and inventiveness; however, as we have said, the effect was at least pleasing.

By a great effort, the executive staff of the Exhibition were enabled to present the building to the royal and other visitors on the day fixed for the opening ceremonial, May 1st, in a state of tolerable forwardness. Thirty thousand persons witnessed the spectacle. Beneath the western dome there was a raised dais, on which was erected a lofty throne, hung with crimson velvet and satin, and powdered with gilded roses and stars. On each side of a rich overhanging canopy were placed large marble busts of Her Majesty and the Prince Consort. From this platform, looking down the nave, the vista was charming, and would have been much more effective but for the interposition of two huge and hideous "trophies," one of which was an exhibition of *candles*, the other "a curtained erection, which looked like an exaggerated four-post bedstead." Thus was the sordid side of commercialism allowed to obtrude itself at a time and place when no considerations except those of æsthetic grandeur and beauty should have been entertained for a moment. The procession of the Queen's Commissioners for opening the Exhibition was formed at Buckingham Palace, and proceeded, fortunately under a bright and sunny sky, to the entrance of the building in Cromwell Road. As was to be expected, neither the Queen nor any of her children were present; but the royal family was ably represented by the Duke of Cambridge, supported by the Crown Prince of Prussia, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other august personages. The Lord Mayor of London lent his gorgeous and historical presence to grace the ceremonial, coming "in great state, with a suite of aldermen, common-councilmen, and city officers, in seventy carriages." When all were in their places, the Duke of Cambridge standing on the raised dais in front of the throne, Earl Granville, as the representative of the Commissioners having charge of the Exhibition, stepped forward, and presented an address to the Duke, as the Chief Commissioner for the opening. In this address allusion was made to the loss which the Queen had recently sustained, in the following appropriate terms:—

"And, first of all, it is our melancholy duty to convey to Her Majesty the expression of our deep sympathy with her in the grievous affliction with which it has pleased

the Almighty to visit Her Majesty and the whole people of this realm in the death of her Royal Consort. We cannot forget that this is the anniversary of the opening of the first great International Exhibition, eleven years ago, by Her Majesty, when His Royal Highness, the President of the Commissioners of that Exhibition, addressed Her Majesty in words that will not be forgotten. . . . When we commenced our duties, and until a recent period, we ventured to look forward to the time when it might be our great privilege to address Her Majesty in person this day, and to show to Her Majesty within these walls the evidence which this Exhibition affords of the opinion originally entertained by His Royal Highness—evidence furnished alike by the increased extent of the Exhibition, by the eagerness with which all classes of the community have sought to take part in it, and by the large expenditure incurred by individual exhibitors for the better display of their produce and machinery. We can now only repeat the assurance of our sympathy with Her Majesty in that bereavement which deprives the inaugural ceremony of her royal presence."

After the Duke of Cambridge, in the name of the Commissioners for opening the Exhibition, had made a suitable reply, the procession was reformed, and passed down the nave to the eastern dome. It was here that the great mass of persons invited to be present at the opening were seated; for here the finest and most delightful part of the day's programme was to be performed. The renowned *maestro*, Meyerbeer, had composed an "Ouverture en forme de marche" expressly for the occasion; the Poet Laureate had written a beautiful ode, which Sterndale Bennett, the Cambridge Professor of Music, had wedded to appropriate strains; and a grand march by Auber (which proved to be a work of extraordinary spirit and *verve*) completed the programme of this grand concert.

When the music was over, the Bishop of London stepped forward and "delivered a fervent prayer suited to the occasion," which does not appear to have been anywhere reported. After that, the Hallelujah Chorus, from Handel's "Messiah," was performed with great power, and on its conclusion the National Anthem was again sung. Then the Duke of Cambridge rose, and in a loud voice proclaimed:—"By command of the Queen, I now declare the Exhibition open." This declaration was followed by a loud blast of the trumpets and great cheering from all present.

The logic of narration would seem now to require from us, that after having described the origin of the Exhibition, shown how the building was erected, described its principal features, and recounted the ceremony of its opening we should proceed to give an account of what was in it. But just here is our difficulty; it is so hard to say what was *not* in it. It was like an enormous bazaar, containing everything which the fancy and invention, not of our country only, but of all countries, had at any time taxed themselves to produce for the use and the enjoyment of men. Take one single department of the Exhibition, the western annexe, for machinery at rest and in motion; when we have said that you might see there (and also *hear*, for the din was terrific) locomotives of many descriptions, Nasmyth hammers, marine engines, planing machines, weaving and spinning machines, brick-making machines, hydraulic cranes, and centrifugal pumps, we have, after all, indicated but a small part of the bewildering variety of machines that the annexe contained. The same may be said of all the other departments in that portion of the Exhibition which represented the industrial arts. A few particulars respecting the number of exhibitors will enable the reader to judge in some degree what this multiplicity must have been: we quote them from an article written at the time:—

"The three great foreign states, or collections of states, now exhibiting are, of course, France, the Zollverein (or German Free-trade Union, which includes Prussia), and Austria. The French courts will probably be filled by between 3,000 and 4,000 exhibitors, and the Austrian display will probably be furnished by an equal number of firms and individuals. The Zollverein display is furnished by about 2,500 exhibitors, of whom Prussia can claim about 1,400. Russia shows through about 400 exhibitors, Holland through about 350, Spain through about 1,150, Portugal through 1,000, Norway through about 200, Sweden through 500, and Belgium through about 900. Here, without reckoning Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, Greece, Egypt, and a few small states, we have at least 13,000 foreign exhibitors in the foreign part of the Exhibition; and, when the list is made complete, they will reach three times the number of British exhibitors. The only part of the above list in which no very remarkable increase can be noted is the Zollverein, as the exhibitors from these states in 1851 numbered 2,300. The other states, without an exception, show a wonderful increase of exhibitors; and largely as France was represented at the first Exhibition, her exhibitors now will be nearly doubled. The enormous increase of foreign exhibitors shows a spirit of competition, a self-reliance, and a faith in Industrial Exhibitions, which speak well for foreign industry."

According to the ground-plan of the Exhibition building, there was an enormous area, in the angle between the southern transept and the nave, reserved for the French department; and a curious circumstance occurred in connection with this, which, when one thinks of the later relations between France and Prussia, is not without interest. The French asked and obtained permission to inclose their court, and they accordingly erected high wooden partitions all round it, greatly to the disgust of Prussia, exhibiting in a more limited space west of the south transept, because the chief supply of light on which her exhibitors had reckoned was thus cut off, or at any rate greatly obscured, and they had little left to depend upon but the light from the clerestory windows far above. The French were appealed to to reduce the height of their partitions; but the representatives of "la grande nation" would not recede an inch: they agreed with their Emperor that "when France is satisfied, the world is at rest," at any rate, ought to be; and as the partitions perfectly answered the purpose of

the French exhibitors, why should they put themselves out of the way for the sake of the semi-barbarous peoples beyond the Rhine? Since then the French have received a lesson severe enough to cure them for many a day of this national tendency to arrogance.

A few words now as to the magnificent collection of pictures. England had an advantage here over foreign countries; for, whereas it was allowable to exhibit any English picture painted within the century previous to the opening of the Exhibition—and, in fact, the best part of the collection did date from the last century,—the foreign collection included, with but trifling exceptions, none but works by living artists. Six thousand works of art, exclusive of sculpture, were displayed in these galleries. Such a gathering of the masterpieces of our best artists — Reynolds, Gainsborough, Wilson, and Hogarth—was never seen before. Who that had the good fortune to be present there could ever forget how the inimitable "Blue Boy" of Gainsborough seemed to light up one end of the gallery—how the lovely Duchess of Devonshire smiled and coquetted from the canvas of Reynolds—how satire, humour, and earnest purpose seemed to contend for the mastery in those wonderful serial pictures of Hogarth? The Pre-Raphaelite school, and all the more eminent living or recently deceased artists, with the exception of J. M. W. Turner, were well represented.

Oddly enough, the first case that was received and opened for the Exhibition of 1862 came from Africa, a continent not accustomed to take the lead in the industrial race, or in the march of humanity. This was from the free negro settlement of Liberia, and consisted of specimens of palm and other oils, native woods, &c.

The productions of the British colonies occupied a considerable area near the eastern dome, and were exceedingly interesting, especially those from Australia and New Zealand, in the curiosities from which there was a large *native* element which gave a piquant and peculiar character to the display.

The Exhibition was closed on the 1st of November, having been open for the period of six months. Yet vast as were the multitudes that daily thronged it, the concourse of visitors did not quite come up to the number in 1851. The total number was found to have been 6,117,450, about 50,000 under the gross number of visitors to the Exhibition of 1851.

CHAPTER IV.

The year 1863—Summary—Meeting of Parliament—Marriage of the Prince of Wales: Public Rejoicings: Fatal Accidents in London: Votes by Parliament—Mr. Gladstone's Financial Statement: His Proposal for the Taxation of Charities: Objected to and abandoned—Mr. Dillwyn's Motion on the Irish Church: Speech of Mr. Bernal Osborne: Reply of Sir Hugh Cairns—Close of the Session—Polish Insurrection of 1863: Its Origin and Progress: Attitude of Prussia: Diplomatic Intervention by Earl Russell: Attitude of France: Russia offers an Amnesty: Earl Russell's Six Points: Russia declines to entertain them: France proposes to England and Austria a Definite Engagement for Common Action: Proposal declined: Reflections: Mouraviff takes the Command against the Insurgents: Affair of the Zamoyski Palace: Suppression of the Insurrection—Rupture of Diplomatic Relations with Brazil: How occasioned—Corn Ships from America—The Relief Fund: Dr. Pusey Indicts Mr. Jowett for Heresy—Seizure of the *Alexandra*—The Prince of Wales at the Guildhall: At the Oxford Commemoration—Inauguration of Two Albert Memorials: Deaths of Eminent Men in 1863: Sir James Outram; Sketch of his Career: Lord Clyde; His Achievements and Character: Lord Lyndhurst: Sir George Lewis: Archbishop Whately; His Remarkable Character and Powers; Sketch of his Career—Affairs in Japan: Murder of Mr. Richardson: Compensation Refused by the Prince of Satsuma: Kagoshima, his Capital, Bombarded and Burnt.

THE year 1863, on which this history now enters, was one which, so far as England was concerned, was unmarked by political agitation and unclouded by the anxieties of war. There was much distress in Lancashire, owing to the entire or partial stoppage of innumerable looms, till now dependent on American cotton. The world was hunted through by the agents of the great cotton industry, in order to find out new sources of supply, or, by introducing or fostering cotton culture in various suitable localities, to secure at least an increased supply in the future. In India, every road leading down the Western Ghauts was traversed by an unwonted string of country carts, conveying the precious commodity to some port of shipment; still, notwithstanding all that could be done, the supply of cotton remained exceedingly limited, and much of what came was of a very inferior quality. A general subscription, set on foot towards the end of 1862, produced in the first month of 1863 the sum of £750,000 for the relief of the distress. It was observed that the general trade and industry of the country continued to prosper, notwithstanding the collapse of this one branch of it. Especially in every branch of the hardware trade, particularly in the sale of arms and munitions of war, immense quantities of which were made in this country to the order of both belligerents, an activity was apparent exceeding all former experience. The basis upon which, under the regime of Free Trade, the industry of this country reposed, was proved by this experience to be far broader and more solid than the most destructive and blasting storm, so long as it affected only one portion of the field, could seriously impair.

Parliament met as usual in the first week of February, and was opened by commission. The first clause of the royal speech informed both Houses of the fact which by this time every one was aware of, that, since they last met, Her Majesty had "declared her consent to a marriage between His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alexandra, daughter of Prince Christian of Denmark." The marriage was celebrated in the following month, and the rejoicings with which it was accompanied were so genuine and so universal, that it seems worth while to dwell at somewhat greater length than would otherwise be necessary on the circumstances of the auspicious event.

The preliminaries were settled in the course of the visit paid by the Queen to the continent in the autumn of 1862, and in consequence the Princess became a guest at Osborne in November. Her father, Prince Christian of the house of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, was at that time heir-presumptive to the crown of Denmark, to which he succeeded in 1865. Everything having

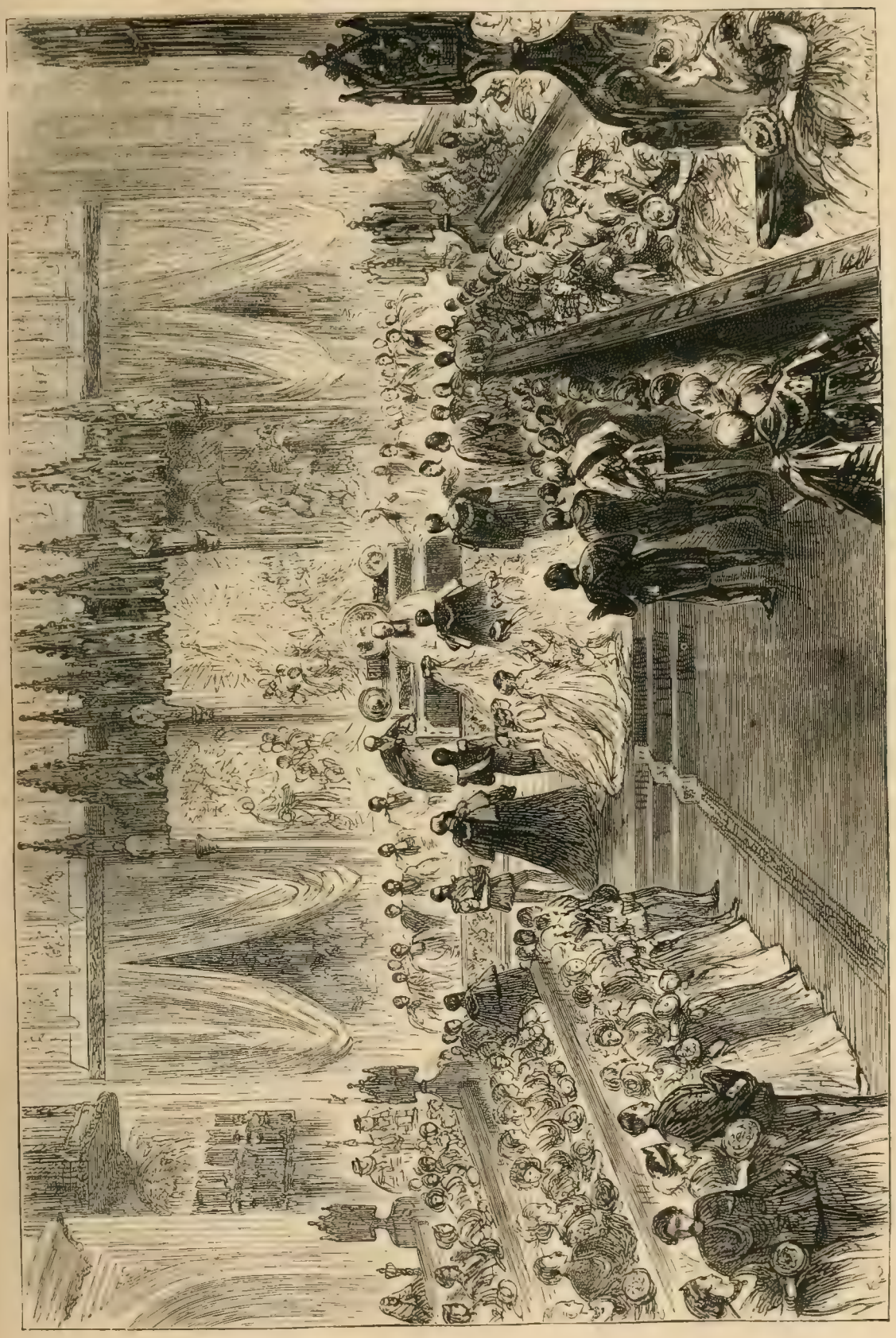
been arranged, the yacht *Victoria and Albert* was sent over, and received the bride and her suite on board at Antwerp. An escorting squadron, among the ships of which was the then formidable iron-clad the *Warrior*, attended and welcomed her to the shores of her new country. The Princess, after a singularly fine passage, landed at Gravesend on the 7th March, and then travelled straight to Windsor. It need scarcely be said that demonstrations of loyal and affectionate interest were not wanting along any part of the line of route. "In one of the rooms of the castle, looking out upon the entrance drive, the Queen anxiously awaited the coming of her royal daughter, for

VIEW OF THE EXHIBITION OF 1862.

an hour or more before dark, with the young Princesses Louise and Beatrice, and it was not until it became too dark to note what was going on below that the group on which all eyes were fixed retired. In the evening, spite of the rain which still descended in torrents, the town was illuminated; and conspicuous to all the country for twenty miles round was the castle on the hill, for every window was a blaze of light, in brilliant welcome of the young Princess who had just arrived within its walls."*

The marriage took place on the 10th March, and the ceremonial employed on the occasion, having been royally conceived, and adjusted with careful forethought in every part, was brilliant and effective to a degree which public pageants in England seldom reach. Four processions or *cortèges* left the castle in succession. The first, that of the royal guests, among whom were the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, and a crowd of petty German princes not yet Bismarckised, set out an hour before the time fixed for the wedding. The second *cortége*, in eleven carriages, conveyed the royal family and the Queen's household. The third *cortége* was the procession of the bridegroom, and the fourth the procession of the bride. The marriage was performed in St. George's Chapel, where, we are told, "the altar was richly decorated with massive golden sacramental plate, golden candlesticks, superb almsdishes, costly flagons, and several quaint and highly-wrought chalices and patens." The Archbishop of Canterbury, of course, officiated, and the Eton boys cheered lustily as the happy pair drove away, *en route* for Osborne. On the same night, London and all the principal towns in England were illuminated. An immense and thoroughly good-humoured crowd filled all the streets, and admired the coloured transparencies, the Prince of Wales' feathers, the true love-knots, the A A's, and fifty other devices, which the inventive affection of the people towards a throne and a royal house the most ancient in Europe had rapidly improvised. At Birmingham, the outline and the chief structural lines of the tower and cupola of St. Philip's Church stood out in flame against a dark and starless sky. The city of Edinburgh was strikingly illuminated. The noble castle was lined with small paraffine lamps, which clearly defined its contour, and fireworks blazed till a late hour from the Salisbury Crags and Arthur Seat. In London, the illuminations were characterised by the utmost splendour, but untoward events cast a shadow over the popular

* "Annual Register" for 1863.



THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

rejoicing. Though nothing could be more orderly and well-disposed than the behaviour of the crowd, yet the pressure of the enormous multitudes that filled the City thoroughfares up to a late hour of the night was fatal to six women, crushed or trodden to death between the Mansion House and the foot of Ludgate Hill, and was the cause of more or less severe injuries to not less than a hundred persons. The Prince of Wales addressed a feeling letter to the Lord Mayor on the subject of these sad accidents, expressing his deep regret that what was meant for rejoicing should have become an occasion of mourning.

The House of Commons, on the motion of Lord Palmerston, cheerfully granted to the Prince and Princess of Wales, in addition to and augmentation of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, amounting to about £60,000 per annum, a revenue of £50,000 a year from the Consolidated Fund, of which sum £10,000 was separately settled on the Princess. It was further proposed by the Premier, and assented to, that a jointure of £30,000 a year should be secured to the Princess in the event of her surviving her husband.

The financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, was made on the 16th April, and was universally considered to be a masterly and very satisfactory *exposé* of the monetary and commercial condition of the country. The estimates of revenue and expenditure for the coming financial year showed a large probable surplus; and this surplus Mr. Gladstone applied to the reduction of the tea duty and of the income tax. Certain minor features of the financial programme were not allowed to pass unchallenged. One such consisted in levying a license duty on clubs, on the ground that, as wine and spirituous liquors were sold in them to the members, they ought not to be exempted from the burden which every hotel-keeper and licensed victualler was liable to. But as there were not wanting many to point out the obvious and essential differences between a club and a public-house, this portion of the financial scheme was abandoned. The other feature referred to was Mr. Gladstone's proposal for the taxation of charities. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had conceived the notion that the exemption from income tax enjoyed by charitable institutions was equivalent to a burden of corresponding amount imposed on the general body of tax-payers; and carried away by the ardour of his genius, and that vehement enthusiasm with which he is wont to entertain and follow out the last novel theory which he has embraced, he had worked himself up to the conviction that the founders of charities, far from deserving the eulogies which an undiscerning public innocently lavishes upon them, were in truth little better than a set of selfish hypocrites, gaining credit for doing good, but gaining it at other people's expense. "It is not fair," he said, "that the tax-payers of this country, the fathers of families, men labouring to support their wives and children, should pay taxes augmented in order to encourage gentlemen on their death-beds, when they can no longer enjoy the money themselves, to devise ingenious methods of disposing of their wealth, which shall cause their names to be written up in enormous capital letters, and create governors of trusts, who shall meet together at sumptuous dinners from year to year, in order to glorify the pious and immortal memory of the man who has devised this ingenious method of disposing of his property." He proceeded to give a number of remarkable details, illustrating the fantastic and almost *vexatious* character which belongs to a vast number of small bequests which fall under the general head of "charities," establishing thus, beyond all question, a case for administrative or judicial inquiry into the general question of charities, but not in any way strengthening the argument in favour of the particular measure which he was advocating. The sum lost to the revenue through the exemption from income tax of the property of charities was estimated by Mr. Gladstone to amount to at least £250,000.

The great charitable institutions of the metropolis and elsewhere at once took the alarm, and a deputation, formidable in numbers, rank, and respectability, was soon organised to wait on the adventurous financier. It was headed by the Duke of Cambridge, President of the Corporation of Christ's Hospital. The Duke led off by stating that if the revenues of Christ's were subjected to the income tax, the governors would be obliged to reduce by no less than forty the number of boys educated and maintained. He was followed by various noble and right reverend speakers, pleading for hospitals and other charitable institutions, the usefulness of which they showed would be materially curtailed if their exemption from the income tax were withdrawn. The Chancellor of the Exchequer held his ground stoutly, complaining in a serio-comic strain that he was being made rather the butt of a public meeting than the receiver of a respectful deputation. But the opposition to the project in Parliament met it fairly on the merits, and unmasked the singular hallucination by which Mr. Gladstone had allowed his powerful mind to be overspread. The notion that the tax-paying community was burdened more heavily than it ought to be in order that the charities might go scot free, was shown to be utterly unmeaning. Those really pay income tax who profit by the expenditure of the revenues on which the income tax is levied In the case of a charitable institution, this can be, neither the founder, nor yet the trustees, but simply the objects of the charity—the patients whom the hospital receives, the boys whom the school clothes and educates. To impose income tax on the revenues of such institutions is, therefore, equivalent to taxing *pro tanto* the class of helpless persons whom they are destined to relieve and educate; and hardships will arise in one of two forms—either in the form of the abridgment of the benefits now receivable by each individual, or in the form of the diminution of the number of individuals to whom those benefits can be extended. In any case, the burden of the tax will really fall on a class of persons whom, as matters stand, the Legislature, in consideration of their poverty, justly exempts from income tax. As for the abuses which undeniably existed in connection with the charities themselves, that, it was urged, is a separate

question altogether, and to subject the charities to income tax will not even remotely tend to the abatement of these abuses. It might be a vindictive protest against them, but it could not be their cure. "What," asked Mr. Disraeli, "is the remedy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the enormous imperfections in the old bequests—for the evils in those petty charities which he has called forth from their obscure existence—for the abuses connected with those magnificent foundations of hospitals and colleges which have contributed so much to the promotion of education and the development of benevolence in this country? Why, it is the application of the income tax!" In the end it became so evident to the Government that the feeling of the House was opposed to the taxation of charities, that the measure was withdrawn.

In the course of the session, the subject of the Irish Established Church—which had slept since the old fights about the Appropriation Clause, nearly thirty years before—was reopened by the motion of Mr. Dillwyn, the member for Swansea, for the appointment of a select committee to inquire how far the distribution of endowments for religious purposes in Ireland might be amended so as to conduce to the greater welfare of all classes of Her Majesty's Irish subjects. The speech of Mr. Bernal Osborne in support of the motion—replete as it was with ironical and humorous sallies, with damaging exposures and ridiculous contrasts—was the great feature of the debate, at least on the attacking side. Mr. Bernal Osborne elaborately argued that the existence of the Irish Establishment was a startling political anomaly, the like of which was not to be found elsewhere in Europe. These views were shared in by a large section of the English people. The motion of Mr. Dillwyn was somewhat feebly resisted by the Government, Sir Robert Peel disputing his and Mr. Bernal Osborne's statistics, and Sir George Grey, though —with the consistency that always distinguished that veteran reformer—he declared the Irish Church to be indefensible in principle, yet arguing that the time for its removal was not yet come. But a remarkably able and business-like speech from Sir Hugh Cairns raised up for the time the falling standard of ascendancy, and almost dissipated the effect of Mr. Bernal Osborne's speech. A politician who overstates his case, and is not careful to ascertain his facts with minute accuracy, will never succeed in overthrowing an institution which, however theoretically open to assault, is yet deeply rooted in the past, and in the memories, traditions, affections, nay, even in the pride and the prejudice, of an energetic and gifted race. That Mr. Bernal Osborne was chargeable with this carelessness, the dissection which his speech received at the hands of Sir Hugh Cairns sufficiently proved. Of course, the essential features of the case could not be altered; all the eloquence of all the Orangemen in the world could no more prove the Irish Establishment to be just than it could make out that black was white. But this sort of thing was done: where Bernal Osborne had made an impression by stating that in such and such a parish the whole ecclesiastical revenues, amounting to £650 per annum, were appropriated to the benefit of seven Protestants, the Catholic population of the parish being 1,300, Sir Hugh Cairns, coming after him, proved, by reference to returns of undoubted authority, that the total population of the said parish was but 673, that the ecclesiastical revenues only amounted to the modest sum of £213 6s. 8d., and that the Protestants in the parish attained to the respectable figure of forty-five persons. We are not stating the facts of any real case, but merely giving the general drift and bearing of a speech which the writer heard and admired. The anomaly, even according to the state of facts admitted by Sir Hugh Cairns, really existed; but it was at least not of that startling and ludicrous enormity which Mr. Bernal Osborne would have made his hearers believe: his credit as an assailant was effectually damaged; and when Sir Hugh Cairns left off speaking, the Irish Church was felt on both sides of the House to be safe for the next five years at least.

Various subjects of pressing interest—European, American, and colonial—were debated in the course of the session, but with so little effect on the policy either of our own or foreign Governments, that there is little use in disentombing those monuments of buried and futile eloquence. Neither the House of Commons nor the House of Lords urged upon the Government a firmer tone when remonstrating with Russia against the treatment of Poland, nor was there much use in discussing and deploring the escape of the *Alabama*, when she had escaped. As for foreign Governments, perceiving how thoroughly acceptable to Parliament, taken as a whole, was the unalterably pacific policy of the Ministry, they learnt to disregard the indignant oratory of individual members, exposing this, that, and the other enormity, and convinced themselves that England, however its ministers might interfere and bluster, would never fight. To what results this conviction led, we shall presently see. The session was brought to a close on the 28th of July.

The desperate effort made this year by the gallant and unfortunate Poles to shake off the despotic yoke of Russia, riveted the gaze and engaged the sympathy of nearly every nation in Europe. We say nearly, for Prussia, as represented by its Government, assisted, on grounds at the time little understood, the Muscovite gaoler to re-manacle his victim. That, among the secret societies of Poland, there were many members infected with the worst revolutionary virus of the times, haters of morality, anti-social, anti-religious, we shall not attempt to deny, for it is notorious that there is no nation in Europe in which the movement party is not to a greater or less degree embarrassed by the presence of an "extreme left," animated by the spirit of the International and the Paris Communists. Russia used this plea in extenuation of her cruelties; but with whatever truth it may have been urged, there can be no question that the outbreak in Poland was no spontaneous act, arising out of a revolutionary hatred of all authority, but was the result of a series of oppressive measures, directed by the Russian Government to the extinction of the Polish nationality, and culminating in an edict, the in-

justice of which might well have been felt intolerable by a proud and self-respecting people. In January of this year, the Russian Government revived by an ukase the system of conscription, which, having been in former times practised in Poland, had been abolished by the Emperor Nicholas, and under which, instead of allowing a free drawing of lots, the Government assumed the right of arbitrarily selecting any young men it chose from the population of the cities, and compelling them to serve in the Russian army. Lord Napier, our ambassador at St. Petersburg, described it as "a design to make a clean sweep of the revolutionary youth of Poland; to shut up the most energetic and dangerous spirits in the restraints of the Russian army; it was simply a plan to kidnap the opposition, and carry it off to Siberia or the Caucasus." At midnight on the 14th of January, police agents and soldiers commenced the work in Warsaw, surrounding the residences of those whom the Government had marked for forcible conscription, and compelling them to leave their homes in order to enter the military service.* 2,500 men were thus carried off in the course of the night. So outrageous an act goaded the wretched people into open resistance. The flame of insurrection burst out simultaneously in various parts of the Grand Duchy of Poland. The operations of the bands that appeared in arms were directed, so far as possible, by a mysterious authority known as the "Central Committee," whose proclamations were circulated everywhere, whose orders were seldom disobeyed, but the composition and locality of which were involved in the deepest obscurity. Betaking themselves to the forests, which cover so large a portion of the surface of Poland, the insurgents commenced a guerrilla warfare against the Russian troops, cutting off small detachments, intercepting supplies, and even occasionally defeating considerable bodies of men. The most noted leader among them, in the early portion of the movement, was Langiewicz, formerly a follower of Garibaldi; his name flew through Europe, and the friends of Poland were prepared to see in him a Sobieski or a Kosciusko. Suddenly, however, actuated by motives of which we do not remember to have seen an adequate explanation, Langiewicz abandoned his comrades, and, going to Cracow, gave himself up to the Austrian authorities. All through the year the insurrection raged, and was watched with keen interest by the Governments of all the great Powers. England and France were openly, and, so far as words went, strenuously, sympathetic with the movement; Austria simply looked on; Prussia alone, whose policy was guided by the vast conceptions and large forecast of the Count von Bismarck, heartily joined Russia in the work of repression, concluded a secret treaty with her for this purpose, assisted her defeated soldiers with food and arms, and gave up Poles who crossed her frontier to the Russian authorities. How this policy was afterwards requited by a friendly neutrality on the part of Russia, at times when Prussia was engaged in struggles imperilling her very existence, and which, but for such neutrality, could not but have involved her in disaster, we shall understand in the sequel.

The misfortunes of Poland led to one of those diplomatic and didactic interventions of which England about this time was so liberal, and of which the issue was so invariably and so notoriously unfortunate. Earl Russell wrote (March 2nd, 1863) in a somewhat curt style of remonstrance to our minister at St. Petersburg, Lord Napier, setting forth the view of the British Government concerning the rights of the Poles under the Treaty of Vienna, maintaining the right of England, as a party to that treaty, to interfere, with a view to the sincere execution and fulfilment of its stipulations, declaring that since the time of the Emperor Alexander I. Russia had broken faith with Poland in withholding the free institutions which had been promised, and concluding with the demand that a general amnesty should be proclaimed, and the just political reforms required by the Poles conceded. Prince Gortschakoff, "acting in a spirit of conciliation," declined to send a written reply to Earl Russell's dispatch, but expressed to Lord Napier, in conversation, his views upon its principal clauses. The substance of what he said was as follows:—Referring to the text of the Treaty of Vienna, he denied that the pledges which Russia had then given to Poland had been in any way broken. The treaty bound Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the three partitioners or co-parceners of crushed Poland, to confer upon the Poles representation and national institutions; but in the same clause of the treaty it was stated that such institutions should be "regulated by the form of political existence which their respective Governments shall judge it to be useful and convenient to grant to them." Now there were different forms of representative polity, different moulds, varying with the genius and circumstances of particular nations, which national institutions might assume. It did not follow, because one type of representative government succeeded in England, that the same type would be applicable or beneficial to a country the antecedents and circumstances of which were widely different. The Emperor Alexander I. had, it was true, in the excess of his sanguine benevolence, attempted to carry out the treaty by granting to Poland institutions modelled in a considerable degree after the English type. But how had the imperial goodness been repaid by the ungrateful Poles? They had burst out in open insurrection in 1830, and having been then subdued by Russia by main force, had in strictness lost all right of appealing to the stipulations in their favour contained in the Treaty of Vienna. Upon this point, however, the prince did not desire to insist, but he maintained that the institutions which Poland had enjoyed for many years were national in the fullest sense; the directing minister (Marquis Wielopolski) was a Pole, and entertained national sentiments of the most decided character; the council of administration was composed of Poles; and with regard to representation, there was a council of state, "embodying some representative elements" (what a beautiful vagueness in this delicate phrase!), in which general laws for the welfare of the kingdom were elaborated. The truth was, that while the

* 'Annual Register' for 1863.

peasantry, and the larger and sounder portion of the nobility, were sincerely and loyally attached to the Russian Government, there was a considerable population in the towns, and also a minority of the nobles, who were corrupted by the poison of revolutionary passions, and nourished the guilty desire of separating Poland from Russia's paternal sway; these revolutionists had been plotting an insurrection; and it was with the humane view of disconcerting their schemes, and averting the bloodshed and suffering which a rising in arms would have entailed on the country, that the Government had resorted to the late conscription, in order to disperse and render harmless the ringleaders of sedition. With regard to an amnesty, the Poles must first lay down their arms, and then they would experience in the fullest measure the effects of that clemency which animated the paternal heart of the Emperor.

Earl Russell, in reply, urged with considerable force, that representative and national institutions, during the existence of which 2,000 young men had been seized arbitrarily in the night, and condemned to serve as soldiers in the Russian army, in defiance of justice and positive law, could not well be regarded by the people which enjoyed them as satisfactory or sufficient. But, in fact, there was a radical and fundamental difference of view between the two Governments, and no exchange of diplomatic notes could bring them much nearer to each other. Wherefore it was significantly asked by the Russian ambassador, Baron Brunow,* whether the communication Her Majesty's Government was about to make at St. Petersburg was of a *pacific* nature. Earl Russell replied that the British Government had no intentions that were otherwise than pacific; yet vaguely intimated that this might not always be the case; "the state of things might change;" and if the horrors of the insurrectionary war were continued and aggravated, "dangers and complications might arise not at present in contemplation."

France, the ancient ally and patron of Poland, could not but regard her sufferings with deep emotion. Yet, when, in March, Prince Napoleon, in the Senate, made an incendiary speech on Poland, to which the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Billault, made a cautious reply, the Emperor hastened to address the following note to his minister:—

"My dear M. Billault,—I have just read your speech, and, as ever, have been happy to find in you so faithful and so eloquent an interpreter of my policy.

"You have been able to reconcile the expression of my sympathy for the cause dear to France with the regard due to foreign Sovereigns and Governments. Your words were on all points in accordance with my meaning. I reject any other interpretation of my sentiments.

"I beg you to believe in my sincere friendship.

"Napoleon."

In truth, the Emperor ever since the Crimean War had maintained a very friendly understanding with the Czar, and did not desire to disturb it. Besides, what could be effected for Poland by going to war? Russia could not be attacked by land on a grand scale unless with the consent and co-operation of Prussia or Austria, which on the present occasion there was no chance of obtaining. By sea she was, indeed, more or less vulnerable, both in the Baltic and the Black Sea. But in the Baltic, the experience of the Crimean War was not encouraging, for the damage inflicted by the English fleets had been out of all proportion to the immense expense incurred; and in the Black Sea, since Sebastopol had been dismantled, it could scarcely be said that there was anything worth attacking, or the attack on which could much affect the progress of the struggle in Poland. At any rate, as a war undertaken for Poland must be mainly naval, and France had not a particularly strong navy, it would be absurd to undertake it unless in alliance with England. It was thus that the Emperor probably reasoned; and with regard to the latter point—the assistance of England—we shall presently see that there was no serious thought at any time of rendering it, unless in the form of those edifying moral lectures upon the duties of government which Earl Russell so liberally and perseveringly dispensed, and which foreign countries treated with such unaccountable disregard.

Moved, however, it would seem, by the representations which reached him from almost every civilised nation, the Emperor of Russia did, in April, proclaim an amnesty, by which he held out the offer of a "free pardon to all those of our subjects in the kingdom implicated in the late troubles, who have not incurred the responsibility of other crimes and misdemeanours committed on service in the ranks of the army, and who may, before the 1st [13th] May, lay down their arms and return to their allegiance." But the Central Committee (which now called itself the Provisional Government) called upon all true Poles to reject the "pretended amnesty," seeing that "it was not with the intention of obtaining more or less liberal institutions that we took up arms, but to get rid of the detested yoke of a foreign Government, and to reconquer our ancient and complete independence." Language such as this was, of course, taken advantage of by the Russian Government, and adduced, in its communications with foreign Governments, as evidence that what the insurgents wanted was not reform, but revolution. But Earl Russell had by this time formulated, in concert with Austria and with the knowledge of France, the plan for the regeneration of Poland which he had been long meditating, and was now prepared to propose for the acceptance of the Russian Government. The plan, as unfolded in his despatch of the 17th June, comprised the following six points or articles:—

1. A complete and general amnesty.
2. National representation in a form resembling that which had been granted by Alexander I.
3. A distinct national administration, carried on by Poles, and possessing the confidence of the country.
4. Full and entire liberty of conscience, involving the repeal of the restrictions imposed on Catholic worship.

* See Earl Russell's dispatch of the 10th April, 1863.

5. The Polish language to be recognised in the kingdom as the official language, and used as such in the courts of law and in the schools.
6. The establishment of a regular and legal system of recruiting.

All these reforms were just and desirable *per se*; but to propose them was tantamount to an interference in the internal politics of a foreign state which an ordinary statesman, in whom philanthrophy did not outrun common sense, would have thought it idle to attempt, unless he intended to enforce his interference at the point of the sword. Prince Gortschakoff, had he thought it worth while, might have proposed to the British Government points such as these (we merely mention them as illustrations, without expressing any opinion of their desirability):—1. The establishment of religious equality in Ireland. 2. The repeal of the law which excludes Catholics from the office of Lord Lieutenant. 3. The reform of the Irish judicial system, by the admission of Catholics to the highest judicial post, from which they were then excluded.* One can fancy the look of stupefaction and disgust with which such a dispatch would have been perused in Downing Street, and with what promptitude, diplomatic civility barely veiling contempt, the Russian Government would have been invited to mind its own business. Nor could it be expected that Prince Gortschakoff, on his side, would return an answer substantially different, although the simultaneous pressure which France and even Austria were bringing to bear upon the Russian Government caused the rejection of the six points to be conveyed in language studiously measured and urbane. "The Principal Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty," said Prince Gortschakoff, writing in July, "will dispense us from giving an answer to the proposed arrangement for a suspension of hostilities. It would not resist a serious examination of the conditions necessary for carrying if into effect." Turning the tables on the remonstrating Powers, he said that the speedy re-establishment of order depended greatly "upon the resolution of the great Powers not to lend themselves to calculations on which the instigators of the Polish insurrection found their expectation of an active intervention in favour of their exaggerated aspirations."

The end of the diplomatic comedy was not far off. The Emperor Napoleon, observing that the views of the three Powers—England, France, and Austria—as expressed in their communications to their representatives at St. Petersburg, were not precisely in accord, proposed to the other two Courts to take, in the form of a convention or protocol, an engagement to pursue in concert a regulation of Polish affairs, *by diplomatic methods, or otherwise, if necessary*.† The meaning of these words plainly was, that if diplomatic methods failed, the three Powers would not shrink from the arbitrament of war, in order to compel Russia to do justice to Poland. "Our proposition," the statement quoted from drily continues, "was not accepted."

* [illegible] have been since removed.

† [illegible] "Annual Register" for 1863, p. 292.

Referring to this critical moment of the negotiations, the *Times*, in its "Summary for the year 1863," after stating that Prince Gortschakoff about this time showed signs of yielding, proceeds, "It had transpired, however, in the course of the discussion, that England would neither follow the lead of France, *nor allow herself under any circumstances to be drawn into a war in defence of Poland*. The Russian Government consequently assumed a defiant tone," &c., &c. The propositions of the three Powers were quietly ignored; Russia proceeded in her task of restoring order by the methods familiar to despotic Governments, and the fate of Poland was sealed.

Certainly there was no obligation arising out of previous treaties or relations, which could make it incumbent on Great Britain to go to war on behalf of Poland: it may even be said that the national sentiment would have condemned, and rightly condemned, any Government which attempted to commit it to an armed intervention, keen as was the sympathy, and just the indignation, with which the struggles of the one side, and the tyranny of the other, were regarded by Englishmen. But then it was due to the honour and dignity of the nation that the line within which its interference would be limited should be clearly traced from the first; there ought to have been no possibility of mistake. Had Earl Russell distinctly intimated all along that under no possible circumstances would England take up arms, the Polish insurgents would have known that they had nothing but good wishes to expect from us, and other Powers would have appreciated the diplomatic efforts of the Foreign Minister at their exact value. It was cruel to talk to Baron Brunow about the possibility that "the state of things might change," and to intimate that if the struggle went on, "dangers and complications might arise not at present in contemplation," because such language, vague as it was, tended to induce the belief that, under certain circumstances, England *might* take up arms. Lord Russell, doubtless, knew just as well then as subsequently that England never would go to war for Poland; but perhaps he thought that "something would turn up;" he was playing, if it be not irreverent to say so, a kind of diplomatic game of "brag," and reckoned on the Russian Government's being frightened by bold words into a concession of what was demanded. England was thus made to appear before the nations as playing a somewhat unworthy part; and, unfortunately, as we shall presently see in the case of Schleswig-Holstein, this was not the last opportunity given to Lord Russell of exercising the peculiar species of intervention of which he was a master.

The task of repressing the insurrection in Poland was now committed to General Mouraviff, known for the siege and capture of Kars. He is charged with having authorised the perpetration by the soldiery of acts of barbarous cruelty in Lithuania; but it is fair to say that the Russians charged the insurgents with the commission of frightful excesses; and in the absence of precise information as to the conduct of both parties, it is better to suspend our judgment. In Russia itself, a feeling of indignation against the insurgents, amounting to hatred,

displayed itself among the population, and found expression in loyal addresses presented to the Czar by the nobility and merchants of St. Petersburg. The sternest severity was resorted to, wherever there was any opening for it, by the Russian authorities. This was notably illustrated when an attempt was made to assassinate General Berg, who had just been appointed military commander of Warsaw. The occurrence took place on the 19th September. "He was driving through the Cracow suburbs, and had just reached a large building which formed part of the Zamoyski Palace, when shots were fired, and some bombs were thrown (whether from the building or not is uncertain, for the Russian and Polish accounts are at direct variance on this point), and they burst in front of his carriage, without injuring any one. The proprietor of the Zamoyski Palace (which contained, besides rich furniture, some invaluable manuscripts relative to the early history of Poland) was at the time absent, and resident in Paris. But this did not save his property from destruction. Russian troops were ordered to surround the palace, and everything which they could lay their hands upon was thrown out of the windows, and committed to the flames. Both it and the adjoining building were then confiscated, and turned into military barracks. Nothing, however, was discovered to implicate any one either in or connected with the palace; and the Poles assert that the bombs were thrown, not from the building, but from the opposite side of the street." * Even to wear the customary mourning for the dead was forbidden, an order being issued at Warsaw, on the 27th September, prohibiting the wearing of mourning in memory of those who had fallen in the insurrection. One of the last successes gained by the insurgents was on the 3rd of the same month, when Lelewel, at the head of 700 Poles, attacked and defeated a superior Russian force. But he was soon overpowered by a combined movement of Russian columns; Lelewel himself was killed, and his followers driven over the frontier into Galicia. Czuchowski, the last of the Polish leaders of any eminence, was defeated at Radom, on the 6th November, and taken prisoner in a wounded and dying condition. The insurrection was practically at an end; and to reward the loyalty or neutrality of the Polish peasantry, the Emperor relieved them, by an ukase published in the February of the following year, of the burden of the prescriptive feudal rights of the nobles, to which their tenure had hitherto been subject.

HORTICULTURAL GARDENS, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

Pacific modes of obtaining redress were not invariably preferred by Earl Russell. When an act of vigour could be performed which did not risk involving the country in war, he was ready to perform it. Thus he justified the conduct of the English envoy at Rio Janeiro, Mr. Christie,

* "Annual Register," 1863.

who had instructed (January 2nd, 1863) the British naval commander on the station to seize several Brazilian merchant vessels, in reprisal for the pillage of the *Prince of Wales*, an English merchant ship. This ship was wrecked in the province of Rio Grande in 1861; the natives pillaged the wreck, and were said to have assassinated some of the crew. Much angry correspondence ensued; the Brazilian Government dismissed two of its officials for want of promptitude in the matter, and prosecuted to conviction eleven other offenders; but the British Government still considered that more vigorous measures should have been taken, in order to prevent such outrages for the future, not less than to punish the actual offenders. A claim for compensation on account of the pillage of the cargo was advanced by the British Government; this claim seems to have been regarded in Brazil as excessive, and a similar view was certainly taken by several speakers, when the matter was debated in the House of Commons. Mr. Christie was then instructed to propose arbitration, but accompanied with conditions which the Brazilian Government thought it inconsistent with their honour to accept. Reprisals were then authorised to be made, and were carried out as above stated. The Brazilian Government then paid the sum demanded under protest, and a rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries ensued. Another matter which had caused ill feeling—the unwarrantable arrest of three officers belonging to a British frigate, the *Forte*, by a guard of Brazilian police—had been referred to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians, who pronounced his opinion (June 18th, 1863), that in the mode in which the laws of Brazil had been applied towards the English officers, there was neither premeditation of offence nor offence given to the British navy.

Before we turn our eyes to America, and survey the important events of which that continent was this year the theatre, various occurrences of domestic interest require to be noticed. In February, two American ships, the *George Griswold* and the *Achilles*, laden with flour, the gift of Americans to the Lancashire fund for the relief of the distressed operatives, arrived in the Mersey. It was a gift gracefully made and happily timed, and called forth warm-hearted demonstrations of gratitude, the commander of the *George Griswold* being presented with an address by the Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool, expressive of thankfulness for the munificent gift. In connection with this subject of the Relief Fund, the reader may be glad to hear to what a magnitude it had grown in April of this year. Mr. Wilson Patten, one of the members for South Lancashire, stated in the House of Commons, on the 27th April, that the total sum raised up to that time amounted to £2,735,000, apportioned as follows:—the Central Relief Committee, £959,000; in clothing and provisions, £108,000; subscriptions from different localities, £306,000; private charity, £200,000; Mansion House Committee, £482,000; Poor Law Board, £680,000. Of this sum, the county of Lancaster contributed £1,480,000. At the same date there was a gross balance in hand of £845,000.

Towards the end of February, there was great agitation among the well-wishers and ill-wishers of the Church of England, on account of a suit brought in the Chancellor's Court at Oxford by the Rev. Dr. Pusey against Professor Jowett, charging him with having maintained heresy in certain of his published writings, particularly in the publication so well known as "Essays and Reviews." The Assessor, Mr. Mountague Bernard, after hearing the case fully argued, gave judgment. He first of all overruled the exception which the defendant had made to the jurisdiction of the Court; and then, after examining the statute under which he thought himself empowered to try the case, he decided that it was so vague in its terms as to leave him, in his opinion, a discretionary power whether to proceed to judgment or not; in the exercise of which power he declined to let the case go forward. Notice was given of appeal against this judgment, but the intention was afterwards abandoned. The merits, or rather the exact nature, of the controversy of which this suit was a symptom, we shall endeavour to appreciate in a later chapter, devoted to a review of the history of theology in England during the last twenty years.

The officials whose business it was to see that the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act were not infringed were resolved not to be a second time caught napping, as in the case of the *Alabama*. There was a three-masted wooden steamer, the *Alexandra*, being built at Liverpool. The rumour ran that it was being fitted out for warlike purposes, and was destined for the Confederate navy. The Commissioners of Customs accordingly seized the vessel before completion. The owners disputed the legality of the seizure, and the case was tried by Chief Baron Pollock, guided by whose interpretation of the Foreign Enlistment Act the jury brought in a verdict against the Government. An appeal against the verdict was dismissed by the superior Court. But the failure of the prosecution against the owners was a matter of little moment when set against the practical evidence afforded to America, by the seizure of the *Alexandra*, of the determination of the Government, so far as the means at their disposal allowed, to compel individual Britons to observe that neutrality which was the unalterable choice of the nation.

In June, a civic entertainment of unusual splendour was given in the Guildhall, on the occasion of the Prince of Wales taking up his freedom. The son of a freeman, as all the world knows, is himself a freeman; and as the Prince Consort had been invested with the City franchise, the Prince of Wales came into the same privilege by inheritance; but ancient use and wont require that, just as in feudal times the heir to a fief was called upon on his father's death, "relevare hereditatem," to take up the inheritance (paying a round sum on the occasion under the name of a "relief" to the superior lord), so the son of a deceased freeman should "take up his freedom"—that is, apply for and receive formal admission to and registration on the list of the burgesses. A ball was selected as the occasion on which this ancient ceremony should be performed. The Prince and Princess arrived at the Guildhall soon after nine, accompanied by Prince Alfred, in his lieutenant's uniform, and several other

members of the royal family. The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress advanced to receive the City's guests, and led them up the hall as far as the dais. Here the ceremony of admitting the Prince to the freedom of the City was gone through, with all the legal formalities, and a speech from the Chamberlain, in reply to which His Royal Highness spoke as follows:—

"My Lord Mayor, Mr. Chamberlain, and Gentlemen,—It is, I assure you, a source of sincere gratification to me to attend here for the purpose of being invested with a privilege which, for the reasons you have stated, you are unable to confer upon me, and which descends to me by inheritance. It is a patrimony which I am proud to claim, this freedom of the greatest city of the commercial world, which holds its charter from such an ancient date. My pride is increased when I call to memory the long list of illustrious men who have been enrolled among the citizens of London, more especially when I connect with the list the beloved father to whom you have adverted in such warm terms of eulogy and respect, and through whom I am here to claim my freedom of the city of London. My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen, the Princess and myself heartily thank you for the past—for your loyalty and expressions of attachment towards the Queen, for the manifestations of this evening towards ourselves, and for all your prayers for our future happiness."

The ball went off as such festivities usually do, but was enlivened and distinguished by a pretty little surprise which the Corporation had prepared for the Princess. On returning from the supper-room to the hall, the royal party was led through the Court of Aldermen. Here, in a large deep recess, was a moonlight scene of a palace, with a broad spreading lawn reaching down in the foreground to where real plants and ferns had been artistically arranged, so as to make them seem almost a continuation of the picture. This picture was a view of Prince Christian's palace of Bernstorff, where the Princess Alexandra was born; and standing in the centre of the lawn was a figure of the Princess herself, as if in the act of moving forward towards the entrance of the mansion.* The Princess is said to have been highly gratified and delighted by this delicate and courtier-like compliment.

In this same summer, at the Oxford Commemoration, the Prince of Wales was invested with the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law, on which occasion the Earl of Derby, as Chancellor of the University, addressed the newly-admitted doctor in a speech alike perfect in its Latinity and exquisite in its urbanity.

On the 10th of June, occurred the inauguration of the Albert Memorial of 1851, at the Horticultural Gardens, South Kensington. With the exception of the Queen, most of the royal family were present, and the Prince of Wales presided over the proceedings. An address was presented to the Prince, to which he made a short and well-worded reply; and the memorial was then uncovered. Besides other inscriptions relating to the Exhibition of 1851, one tablet bore that the Memorial then uncovered was erected by public subscription.

"Originally intended only to commemorate the International Exhibition of 1851, now dedicated also to the memory of the great author of that undertaking, the Good Prince, to whose far-seeing and comprehensive philanthropy its first conception was due, and to whose clear judgment and untiring exertions in directing its execution the world is indebted for its unprecedented success—Albert Francis Augustus Charles Emmanuel, the Prince Consort. Born August 26, 1819. Died December 14, 1861."

Another inauguration of an Albert Memorial took place at Aberdeen in the October of this year. It was a bronze statue, by Marochetti, placed upon a polished granite pedestal, and represented the Prince Consort seated and wearing a field-marshal's uniform, with the robe of the Thistle over it; in one hand he held a scroll, and in the other a field-marshal's hat. This statue had been subscribed for by the city and county of Aberdeen. The Queen was present, and made a gracious reply (through Sir George Grey) to a loyal address presented to her; part of the reply ran as follows:—

"It is with feelings I should vainly seek words to express that I determined to attend here to-day to witness the uncovering of the statue which will record to future times the love and respect of the people in this county and city for my great and beloved husband; but I could not reconcile myself to remain at Balmoral while such a tribute was being paid to his memory, without making an exertion to assure you personally of the deep and heartfelt sense I entertain of your kindness and affection; and at the same time to proclaim in public the unbounded reverence and admiration, the devoted love, that fills my heart for him whose loss must throw a lasting gloom over all my future life."

After the address and reply, prayer was offered up by the Principal of the Aberdeen University, and the statue was uncovered in full view of Her Majesty, who, along with the members of the royal family, stood in a balcony opposite. The Queen is said to have gazed for a moment with earnest emotion on the striking likeness of her late illustrious husband.

Seldom has a year witnessed the disappearance from the scenes which their genius, valour, or virtue had adorned, of a greater number of illustrious men than the year 1863. Two of the heroes of the Indian Mutiny, Sir James Outram and Lord Clyde; four distinguished statesmen, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Elgin, and Sir G. Cornewall Lewis; the veteran politician, Mr. Ellice, often called the Nestor of the Whig party; and, among authors, Archbishop Whately and Thackeray, are among those who within the twelvemonth paid the debt of nature. Outram, a native of Derbyshire, during an active career in Eastern climes, extending over nearly forty years, won universal respect, not only for his courage and capacity in war, but for his thorough honesty, firmness, and justice, as a ruler and administrator. In the affair of the Ameers of Scinde he withstood to the face the fiery and imperious old conqueror, Sir Charles Napier, by whom he thought those princes had been hardly dealt with, and his views were finally adopted by

* "Annual Register."

the Court of Directors. To his powers of combination and foresight was mainly owing the brilliant and complete success of the short Persian campaign in 1857; and as to the important share which he bore in the recovery of India after the mutiny, ample testimony has already been borne to it in these pages. In 1858, he was made a baronet, and returned finally from India in 1860, but with greatly shattered health; the rest so well earned was not long enjoyed. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Lord Clyde, better known as Sir Colin Campbell, was simply a soldier, but a soldier of whom any army in the world might have been proud. He was an eminent instance of what a strong will and a well balanced mind, lodged in a vigorous body, can effect without the favours of fortune. In the days of purchase, he was too poor to purchase his steps; in an age of patronage, he had no family connections to keep his name in the front. He called himself Campbell, but the social weight neither of the house of Argyll nor of the house of Breadalbane was at his back. He rose to fame simply because a large portion of his life was cast on troubled times, and because, whenever and wherever he was tried through a long life, his coolness, tenacity, and energy were never found unequal to the occasion. His father was a Highlander of humble origin of the name of M'Liver, but for family reasons he assumed his mother's name of Campbell. Sent into the army when he was hardly of an age to wield a sword, as a beardless boy he fought under Sir John Moore at Corunna; later on, he shared in and contributed to the triumph at Vittoria, and led the forlorn hope at St. Sebastian. Like most Peninsular officers, he had not the good luck to be at Waterloo, and for the best part of thirty years, undecorated and unknown, he performed the routine duties of a captain or major on the peace establishment. When the Opium War with China broke out in 1842, Colin Campbell was sent out to that country in command of the 98th Regiment; thence he was transferred to India, where he distinguished himself highly in the Sikh War, and by a well-timed charge with the 61st, on the bloody field of Chilianwallah, saved the British army from a crushing defeat. He served through the Crimean War, leading the Highland Brigade to the charge at Alma, and was afterwards entrusted with the important command of Balaclava. The readers of this history will remember how, upon the news of the death of the Commander-in-Chief in India, General Anson, reaching London, the name of but one man occurred to the Duke of Cambridge as possessed of all the qualities needed for the recovery of an empire almost falling from our grasp. Sir Colin Campbell went out, and his management of the war justified all the expectations that had been formed of him.* In 1858, he was raised to the peerage as Baron Clyde of Clydesdale, "taking his title from the river by whose banks he was born, as he had not an acre of hereditary or purchased land from which to derive his designation." In 1862 he was made a field-marshal. Death found him in the next year, in the early part of which he had followed the body of Outram to the grave.

Lord Clyde was a man of striking and commanding person. "His crisp grey locks still stood close and thick, curling over the head and above the wrinkled brow, and there were few external signs of the decay of nature which was, no doubt, going on within, accelerated by so many wounds, such fevers, such relentless, exacting service. When he so willed it, he could throw into his manner and conversation such a charm of simplicity and vivacity as fascinated those over whom it was exerted, and women admired and men were delighted with the gallant old soldier." He was strict and unsparing in the maintenance of military discipline, yet had a genuine love for the common soldiers, whose true interests he warmly promoted, endearing no word to be said in their disparagement, no act to be committed to their detriment.

Of Lord Lyndhurst and the Marquis of Lansdowne it has been said that the first did not understand the English people, while the second conspicuously did. Lord Lyndhurst, the son of Copley, the eminent painter, born at Boston, in the United States, before the Declaration of Independence, died at the ripe age of 90; and it was thought and said by those who underrated the resources and the resolution of the Northern States, that, as his life began before the formation of the American Union, so it did not close till he had seen the dissolution of it. After distinguishing himself at Cambridge, Lord Lyndhurst went to the bar and soon rose to eminence. He connected himself from the first with the Tory party, and, as Solicitor-General, was employed in the proceedings against Queen Caroline, in the House of Lords, on which occasion he displayed remarkable eloquence, judgment, and forbearance. He was Lord Chancellor on three different occasions when his party came into power, and conducted himself in that high office with rare ability, some of his decisions being looked upon as models of lucid reasoning and admirable diction. An upright and sagacious judge, and an available politician, he was yet deficient in the highest qualities of a statesman. That width of political sympathy which makes the true statesman zealous for the good government and prosperity of every portion of the commonwealth whose affairs he administers, however nature or circumstances may have alienated it from other portions, was not found in Lord Lyndhurst. To this deficiency must be ascribed the unfortunate expression which once fell from him in the House of Lords, when, in resisting some measure of conciliation to Ireland, he spoke of the Irish as "aliens to us in blood and in religion." The taunting and contemptuous phrase was never forgotten by those to whom it was applied, and was often quoted with damaging effect against both himself and his party.

Lord Lansdowne, who died at the advanced age of 82, was descended from Sir William Petty, one of the most fortunate of the Cromwellian grantees in the south of Ireland. An immense tract of land in the county Kerry fell to him as his portion of the spoil after the Cromwellian conquest, and is still enjoyed by his descendants. Lord Lansdowne first entered into public life as Lord

* See Vol. VIII. p. 478.

Henry Petty, and shrank not from the conflict with the mature experience and rhetorical skill of William Pitt, against whom he sustained the charges brought against Lord Melville for peculation, and demonstrated their truth. He was a member of the Grenville and Grey Ministry, which came into power in 1807, and went out of office with them when George III. refused to entertain their Catholic Relief Bill. He was an important and valuable member of every Liberal Ministry which held power from that time to the year 1852, generally holding the post of Lord President of the Council. All through life he was a thoroughly consistent but moderate Liberal, and it used to be said that no public man had less to fear on the score of consistency, or would come out more triumphantly from the crucial test of a recurrence to the pages of Hansard. He was a generous patron—a kind of Mæcenas—to literary men and artists. It was to him that we owed the introduction of Lord Macaulay to public life; his pleasant voice and kindly smile gave an additional charm to the large and discerning hospitality which gathered around him at Lansdowne House all that was brightest in genius and most refined in manners, without regard to differences of nationality, language, or religion.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis, a man of solid, not brilliant parts, an indefatigable student, a cautious theoriser, a prudent financier, was cut off in the prime of life, at the age of 57. In the biographical article which appeared in the *Times* soon after his death, it was truly said:—"Sir George Lewis was not a showy character, and especially he did not shine much in those debates from which the country at large learns to estimate the position of a minister; but his wonderful power of mastering any subject, his clear head, his sound sense, and his practical ability were fully recognised, and, spite of his slow, hesitating manner, his voice had an authority in the House of Commons which men of much more eloquence might have envied. In that assembly, the most critical in the world, no one commanded more attention when he rose to speak, and no man was more entirely trusted. A doubt might attach to the speeches of other ministers. This one might be supposed to be careless, that to be occasionally ill-informed, and a third to be capable of intentional ambiguity. It was certain that Sir George Lewis would always be accurate and truthful; and he more than made up for the want of brilliancy by the worth of his character and by the completeness of his work."

Archbishop Whately was one of the most remarkable men of the century. It was a name not quite unknown before to English history. The "painful preacher" of Banbury, in the seventeenth century, was of the name and family of the Archbishop; and one of his uncles was that Thomas Whately, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, whose indiscreet correspondence with Hutchinson, the Governor of Massachusetts, being purloined from his office, conveyed to Dr. Franklin, and published in America, contributed not a little to widen the breach between Great Britain and the discontented New Englanders. Whately made himself felt at Oxford rather by his remarkable powers of argument, and the general impression of ability which he made on all who came in contact with him, than by brilliant success in the schools. He was for some years a Fellow of Oriel, under Provost Copleston. The long series of his published works commenced about this time, one of the earliest being "Historic Doubts respecting Napoleon Bonaparte," the object of which was to show, by resorting to an instance then patent and accessible to all men, the fallacy of the reasoning by which Hume endeavours to undermine the credibility of the miracles and other wonderful actions ascribed to Jesus Christ. By wit and argument, and that wealth of forcible, sometimes grotesque, illustration which he had ever at command, he defended the cause of civil and religious liberty in the Oxford common-rooms at a period when Toryism reigned alike in the Church and in the University. He was a great reader and an ardent admirer of Adam Smith, and was occupying the chair of Political Economy at Oxford at the time when Lord Grey, desirous of sending to Dublin a Liberal successor to Archbishop Magee, who should assist in introducing into Ireland the system of National Education which it had been resolved to establish there, pitched upon the eccentric Oxford professor as the likeliest man for his purpose. The result fully justified the choice. From 1832, for more than twenty years, Whately's presence in Dublin, through the cordial relations which he opened with Archbishop Murray, his Roman Catholic compeer, through his support of the measure for reducing the number of Irish bishoprics, through the firm and kindly spirit in which he ruled his clergy—above all, through the zeal with which he threw himself into the work of defending and extending the system of National Education, was a tower of strength to the English Government. But soon after the appointment of Dr. Cullen in the place of Archbishop Murray there ensued a change. Gradually it became apparent that Whately's object in acting on and supporting the National Board had not been simply political, as was generally supposed; that is, that he had not been actuated simply by the desire of establishing harmony between the two confessions, and giving to the Irish the best secular education attainable, without ulterior views. His conversations with Mr. Senior, published since his death, show that Whately had also theological and religious objects—that he believed that the general use in the schools of a form of religious instruction, confined to those tenets and mysteries which both religions held in common, would ultimately tend to the detriment of what he deemed to be a corrupted and superstitious system, and to the spread of Protestantism, which he regarded as the simpler and purer faith. No blame whatever attaches to Whately for this *arrière pensée*; he would have been a less sincere, less thorough, we may boldly say a less devout man, had it been otherwise—had he acted in the whole business merely as a politician. But, on the other hand, it may be argued that no blame could attach to Archbishop Cullen on his side, if, agreeing with Whately up to a certain point as to the possible ultimate results of common religious instruction, he set his face against it like a flint, and procured the expulsion from the list of National

school-books of those volumes of "Scripture Extracts," and those "Easy Lessons on Scripture Evidences," on which Whately relied as the weapons and means which were to bring in, in the course of years, a pure, common, enlightened Christianity. When these books were expunged from the list, Whately resigned his place at the Board, and every one knows that the Irish National

and in a manner betokening the most delicate consideration for the feelings of those whom he relieved. Yet, being eminently logical, and in nothing a creature of impulse, and having a theory that "whatever you pay a man to do, he will do; if you pay him to work, he will work; if you pay him to beg, he will beg," he was never known to give a farthing to a beggar in the street.

LORD LYTTELTON.

system since that time, though in outward form remaining much the same as at first, has become, in fact and in tendency, increasingly denominational. From the time of his resignation till his death Whately continued to govern his diocese, and to superintend the extensive province which was subject to his visitation since the suppression of the Archbishopric of Cashel, with the same generosity, justice, and ability by which his episcopal rule had been always characterised. He gave away large sums every year to relieve the necessities of distressed clergymen and their families, doing this with the utmost secrecy

In his later years he used to say, "I have given away forty thousand pounds since I came to the see, but, thank God! I never gave a penny to a beggar." A note on the word "person," in his "Essay on Logic," caused him to be charged with Sabellianism; and it may be admitted that the apparent symmetry and rationality of that heresy had some attractions for his intellect; but it is certain that he never deliberately departed, in this direction, from the orthodox doctrine. On the doctrine of the Atonement he was much less in sympathy with the teaching of the Thirty-nine Articles; his mind seemed incapable

GENERAL JACKSON MORTALLY WOUNDED.

of admitting the idea of vicarious suffering. His powers of talk were something marvellous; from his lips there flowed a constant stream of racy, original, strictly consecutive discourse, which, though not made beautiful with imagery, was lighted up perpetually by apt similitudes and novel illustrations. His mind seemed to be never at rest; whether he was working in his garden, or taking his daily ride, or driving to some meeting of high officials, his intellect was continually revolving some subject which for the moment engaged his attention, turning it over and over, comparing it with other subjects, or portions of truth which he had already analysed, noting the points of resemblance and difference, deducing inferences, theoretical and practical, raising difficulties and resolving them. The only defect that could be alleged against his manner of conversation was that it was a little too didactic; he loved monologue, but did not shine in dialogue; it was more like a professor lecturing his pupils than a philosopher comparing his stock of thoughts with that of other philosophers; and the consequence of all this was that Whately failed to appreciate, and did scant justice to, whatever, whether old or new, lay outside of his own track of thought. Yet who ever knew him intimately, without feeling that, in spite of bluntness, oddity, and occasional roughness, in spite of the intellectual defect which made him prefer Crabbe to Wordsworth, it was unspeakably good to be in his company? Who did not feel that he was in the ennobling and elevating presence of a truly good and truly great man?

The English squadron in Japan, under Admiral Kuper, was under the necessity, this year, of resorting to measures of coercion against one of the Daimios, or half independent princes, of Japan, which involved the loss of many lives. The Prince of Satsuma was the ruler of a large and fertile territory in Kiusiu, the southernmost of the islands of Japan, and it was at a place within his jurisdiction that an Englishman, Mr. Richardson, was murdered, and a murderous assault committed on an English lady and two gentlemen who were riding with him, in September, 1862. The English Government, when the news of this outrage was received, directed Colonel Neale, our chargé d'affaires in Japan, to demand ample compensation for the murder, both from the Tycoon, the temporal sovereign of Japan, and from the Prince of Satsuma. The former was required to pay the sum of £100,000 as an indemnity, the latter £25,000. After much parleying, the Tycoon agreed to pay the sum demanded, which was accordingly brought to Yokohama, in June, 1863, and counted out in the presence of Colonel Neale. The Japanese officials who had charge of the money tried hard to induce Colonel Neale to receive it quietly and unostentatiously, and under cover of night; but the Colonel, well versed in the Asiatic character, refused to receive the indemnity except amid circumstances of the greatest publicity. This was accordingly done; but the ingenious Japanese revenged themselves a few days afterwards, when a large party of our sailors, accompanied by their band and some mountain guns, marched through the town and drew up in front of the Japanese Governor's house. This imposing visit to the Governor, said the cunning natives, is for the express purpose of acknowledging the condescension of the Japanese Government in paying the compensation money!

But the Prince of Satsuma could in no way be brought to reason. His envoys, at a later period, represented on his behalf that it was no doubt very wrong to murder men, and that murderers ought to be brought to justice; but that the fault lay with the Tycoon, in not having told the English, though he had a treaty with them, that the Japanese law allowed no one to cross the path of a Daimio during a procession without being cut down. This plea was, of course, disregarded, and when the indemnity continued to be withheld, it was resolved to employ force, and the matter was placed in the hands of Admiral Kuper, commanding at Yokohama. Sailing thence with a squadron, consisting, besides his own ship, the *Euryalus*, of the *Pearl*, *Coquette*, *Argo*, *Perseus*, *Racehorse*, and *Havoc*, Admiral Kuper made Cape Chichakoff, the extreme southern point of the Japanese Islands, on the 11th August. Thence he steered for Kagosima Bay, the waters of which had scarcely ever before been ploughed by an European keel. Kagosima is the capital of the Prince of Satsuma's dominions, and a town of about 40,000 inhabitants. Boats came off from the town, by which Colonel Neale sent back a despatch to the Prince, demanding the payment of the indemnity, and allowing him twenty-four hours for a reply. In the interval, some officers of the fleet discovered three valuable steamers belonging to the Prince, lying in a secluded cove higher up the bay. The twenty-four hours having expired without a satisfactory answer having been received, Colonel Neale requested the Admiral to proceed to such measures of coercion as might be best calculated to awaken the Prince's mind to a sense of the serious nature of the resolves which had brought the British squadron to Kagosima. Admiral Kuper then sent a portion of his force to take possession of the three steamers, which were surrendered without resistance. They were to be held by way of reprisals, until the Prince should have paid the indemnity money. This was on the morning of the 15th August. About noon, as the vessels lay in line, anchored, with springs on their cables, at a distance of about 1,200 yards from the shore batteries, suddenly the whole of these batteries opened fire upon the *Euryalus*, the only ship within range. Just at this time the wind, which had been gradually growing stronger, with every symptom of heavy weather, rose to something like a hurricane or typhoon, and burst upon the squadron. Unable to bring the *Euryalus'* broadside properly to bear while at anchor, the Admiral (who had fortunately before signalled all the ships to get up steam) signalled to the steamers that had charge of the prizes to set them on fire, and for the whole squadron to weigh and form line of battle. Taking the lead, the *Euryalus* steamed slowly past the batteries, engaging them with great effect; the other vessels, following in her wake, did the same. The batteries for a time kept up a heavy fire, in the heat of which Captain Josling and Commander Wilmot were killed by the same shot,

while standing beside the Admiral on the bridge of the *Euryalus*. Having come abreast of the last battery, and the weather continuing boisterous, the Admiral signalled to discontinue the action, and to seek shelter for the ships. The gale continued all night, but the squadron rode it out well. On the next day, the town having been set on fire and mostly burnt down the day before, the Prince's palace, or castle, was bombarded and destroyed. On the 17th, the squadron worked its way out of the bay and returned to Yokohama. The damage inflicted is thus summed up by the Admiral: "The disabling of many guns, explosion of magazines, and other serious damage to the principal batteries, the destruction by fire of the three steamers and five large junks before mentioned, the whole of the town of Kagosima, and the palace of the Prince, together with the large arsenal and gun factory and adjacent storehouses; added to which may be noticed the injury to many of the junks lying in the inner harbour, caused by explosion of shells which may have passed over the batteries." The loss to the squadron in killed and wounded was sixty-three.

Soon after the opening of Parliament next year, the bombardment of Kagosima was made the subject of an impassioned speech and a condemnatory motion on the part of Mr. Buxton, who insisted that the town was inhumanly and of set purpose set on fire, and that great numbers of innocent persons, including women and children, must have perished in the flames. The motion was rejected at the time, and a few weeks afterwards, a letter from Colonel Neale was read in the House, in which it was stated that all the inhabitants of Kagosima withdrew before the bombardment commenced, and returned after it was over, and that the town was speedily restored to nearly its original state. But there is reason to believe that this view of the matter was a little too rose-coloured. Some envoys from the Prince of Satsuma, who visited Yokohama, in December, 1863, made known there the real state of the case. The damage done to the town, they said, was considerable. Three miles of houses were burning at once. The loss on their side was about 1,500 men. These certainly *may* have been all soldiers engaged in the batteries, but the number seems larger than would have been likely to be struck while so employed.

However this may be, the dénouement of the matter is exceedingly curious. The Prince of Satsuma had certainly suffered reprisals to an extent exceeding many times the amount of the indemnity demanded. His palace had been burnt—his steamers and his gun factory destroyed—his capital city laid in ashes. Yet these very injuries—so strange is the working of the Asiatic mind—appear to have induced him to make friendly overtures, and to seek for peace. These were signs of overwhelming power, and power is almost the only thing which the Asiatic truly reverences. Certain it is that, before the close of the year, the Prince offered to pay, and actually paid, to the British chargé d'affaires at Yokohama, the £25,000 which had been originally demanded from him as compensation money for the murder of Mr. Richardson!

CHAPTER V.

The American Conflict in 1863—Hooker takes the Command of the Army of the Potomac: Turns the Left Flank of Lee's Army—Battle of Chancellorsville—Death of Stonewall Jackson—Defeat of the Federals—Hooker's Congratulatory Order—Lee resolves to Invade Pennsylvania: His Motives—Hooker is Superseded by Meade—Battles of Gettysburg—Grand Confederate Charge: Repulsed with fearful Slaughter—Lee retires into Virginia—Description of Vicksburg: Its great Strength—Grant resolves to Reduce it: Failure of the First Attempts—Fighting on the Mississippi—A "Yankee Trick"—Grant occupies Jackson—Siege and Capitulation of Vicksburg—The Position of Chattanooga: Its Importance to the Confederates—Battle of Murfreesboro'—Bragg retires—Advance of Rosecrans—Bragg Abandons Chattanooga: Battle of Chickamanga—Burnside occupies East Tennessee—Grant Supersedes Rosecrans: Defeats Bragg near Chattanooga—Waning Prospects of the Confederacy—Operations in Virginia—Affair of Mine Run—Termination of the Campaign—Coast Warfare—Defeat of the Federals at Galveston: At Sabine Pass—Fall of Fort Pulaski and of Pensacola—Siege of Charleston—Attack by Iron-clads on Fort Sumter: Its Failure—Gillmore's Plan of Attack: Occupies Morris Island: Bombards Fort Wagner—Death of Colonel Shaw at the Head of a Negro Regiment—Employment of Negroes on Both Sides—The "Swamp Angel"—Charleston Bombarded—Wanton Destruction—Fort Wagner Taken—Affairs of Mexico: Origin of the Joint Expedition of England, France, and Spain: Difference of View among the Allied Powers: The French Pamphlet: General Almonte: England and Spain abandon the Expedition: French repulsed at Puebla: Arrival of Reinforcements under General Forey: Capture of Puebla: The French enter Mexico: Assembly of Notables offer the Imperial Crown to Maximilian; He hesitates to accept it—Captain Speke's Discoveries in Central Africa: His Death.

THE campaign of 1863 in Virginia and Pennsylvania possesses the highest interest. After the bloody repulse at Fredericksburg, the hopes of the Confederates were greatly raised, while the spirits of the friends of the Union were correspondingly depressed. All through the spring, Stuart and other Confederate cavaliers were executing audacious raids, attended with general impunity, against the communications, magazines, and scattered posts of the Federal armies. In one of these General Stoughton, from Vermont, was taken in his bed, near Fairfax Court House, and with his guards and five horses hurried off across the Rappahannock. The incident struck a spark of grim humour from the President. Some one spoke of the loss to Mr. Lincoln next morning. "Yes," said the President; "that of the horses *is* bad; but I can make another general in five minutes."*

Burnside had been superseded in the command of the Army of Virginia by General Hooker, an active and vigorous man, but far too deeply convinced of his own surpassing genius for war. The army had again been brought up to a formidable strength, numbering, in April, more than 120,000 men of all arms. To force the position of Fredericksburg by a direct attack had been shown by a dear-bought experience to be well-nigh impossible; but might it not be turned? Hooker came to the conclusion that it might, and ordered a series of movements with that object. Below Fredericksburg a show was made by his orders of forcing the passage of the Rappahannock, in order to perplex the enemy; but

* Greeley.

his real effort was made upon the Federal right, higher up the river. Several corps, the movements of which were skilfully veiled from the enemy, were thrown first across the Rappahannock, and then across the Rapidan, and established themselves firmly at Chancellorsville, well on Lee's left, and threatening his communications with Richmond. This was in the last days of April. "I have Lee's army in one hand and Richmond in the other," was the "thrasonical brag" of the exultant Hooker, as he rode up to the large stone house—at once mansion and tavern—which then constituted Chancellorsville. A general order, couched in boastful and exaggerated language, invited the army to sing a pæan over their successes—somewhat prematurely, as the event proved. In fact, the wooded and intricate nature of the country made the proximity of the two armies a source of greater danger to Hooker than to Lee, for the one was intimately acquainted with every inch of the ground, while the other knew nothing about it. Mr. Greeley truly says that never did the old proverb receive a more striking confirmation of its wisdom: "Never halloo till you are out of the woods."

Lee was taken by surprise: he had not looked for an attack in force on his left; but he lost not a moment in taking the necessary measures to foil the strategy of Hooker. Orders were sent to Jackson, who with his division was guarding the banks of the river below Fredericksburg, to march at once upon Chancellorsville. Jackson, with his wonted rapidity, put his troops in motion, and marching through the woods across the Federal front, at a distance sufficient to screen, though not entirely to conceal, the movement, fell like a thunderbolt upon the Federal right. This was towards six in the evening of the 2nd May. A fire of artillery had been going on during the best part of the day between Lee's main army, posted on wooded hills to the right and left of the road leading from Fredericksburg, and Hooker's centre and left, massed in and around the cleared space surrounding Chancellorsville. But for a long time there were no indications of a severe conflict; and although the Federals became aware of Jackson's movement, and in the afternoon attacked his columns with effect, routing the rear-guard and taking 500 prisoners, they seem to have been at a loss to conjecture what was his object. The 11th Corps, commanded by General Howard, and forming the right wing of Hooker's army, was therefore taken completely by surprise when Jackson burst upon them out of the woods, at the head of 25,000 men. It was the last victory of this great captain, and perhaps it was the most complete and brilliant of them all. Howard's corps, being overpowered, fell back towards Chancellorsville, and, as the Confederates pressed on incessantly, the retreat soon degenerated into a rout; other divisions, other corps, were drawn into the vortex of confusion and disaster, and the disordered mass was rolled backward towards the stone house. Sickles, however, with two divisions of the 3rd Corps, and General Pleasanton's cavalry and horse artillery, who had held the position next to the routed 11th Corps, caused his men to face about and take the pursuing Confederates in flank. By this time it was dark, and the fighting was nearly at an end. Forming a new front, the Confederates advanced upon Pleasanton's guns, but were repulsed with loss. It was in front of these guns that Stonewall Jackson fell, shot down by his own men. His "Life," by a Virginian (quoted by Mr. Greeley), gives the following account of the matter. It seems that, after having ordered General A. P. Hill to advance with his division, reserving his fire *unless cavalry approached from the direction of the enemy*, he had ridden forward into the darkness, in order to ascertain the position and penetrate the movements of the Federals. "So great was the danger which he thus ran, that one of his staff said, 'General, don't you think this is the wrong place for you?' He replied quickly, 'The danger is all over; the enemy is routed. Go back, and tell A. P. Hill to press right on.' Soon after giving this order, General Jackson turned, and, accompanied by his staff and escort, rode back at a trot, on his well-known 'Old Sorrel,' towards his own men. Unhappily, in the darkness—it was now nine or ten o'clock at night—the little body of horsemen was mistaken for Federal cavalry charging, and the regiments on the right and left of the road fired a sudden volley into them with the most lamentable results. Captain Boswell, of General Jackson's staff, was killed, and borne into our lines by his horse; Colonel Crutchfield, Chief of Artillery, was wounded; and two couriers were killed. General Jackson received one ball in his left arm, two inches below the shoulder-joint, shattering the bone and severing the chief artery; a second passed through the same arm, between the elbow and wrist, making its exit through the palm of the hand; a third ball entered the palm of his right hand, about the middle, and, passing through, broke two of the bones.

"He fell from his horse, and was caught by Captain Wormby, to whom he said, 'All my wounds are by my own men.'

"The firing was responded to by the enemy, who made a sudden advance; and, the Confederates falling back, their foes actually charged over Jackson's body. He was not discovered, however; and the Federals being driven back in turn, he was rescued. Ready hands placed him upon a litter, and he was borne to the rear, amid a heavy fire from the enemy. One of the litter bearers was shot down, and the General fell from the shoulders of the men, receiving a severe contusion, adding to the injury of the arm, and injuring the side severely. The enemy's fire of artillery on the point was terrible. General Jackson was left for five minutes until the fire slackened, then placed in an ambulance, and carried to the field hospital at Wilderness Run." He died eight days afterwards, and his remains rest at Lexington in Virginia, his native place.

So died—by such a miserable accident—the most daring and skilful leader of men whom this civil war had yet produced—a man whose magnanimous character and splendid genius for war, and the eager loving confidence which these inspired in his soldiers, were worth to the Confederate cause an army of 50,000 men. Besides his indefatigable energy, his extraordinary skill in timing and

co-ordinating movements, and his coolness and decision in executing them, Jackson must be credited with that intuitive comprehension of the *moral* conditions which contribute to success or failure in war, which is one of the highest qualities of great commanders. He knew his own men thoroughly, their strong and their weak points; he knew exactly what could be got out of them, and what would discourage them; again, he thoroughly and exactly appraised the psychological as well as military qualities of the Federal commanders opposed to him, and regulated his strategy accordingly. Against the circumspect he knew how to be cautious; against the rash and heedless he was enterprising and audacious. Though sometimes checked, he was never beaten in the field; and Lee might well write to him, before yet he knew that the wounds were fatal, "If I could have directed events, I should have chosen, for the good of the country, to be disabled in your stead."

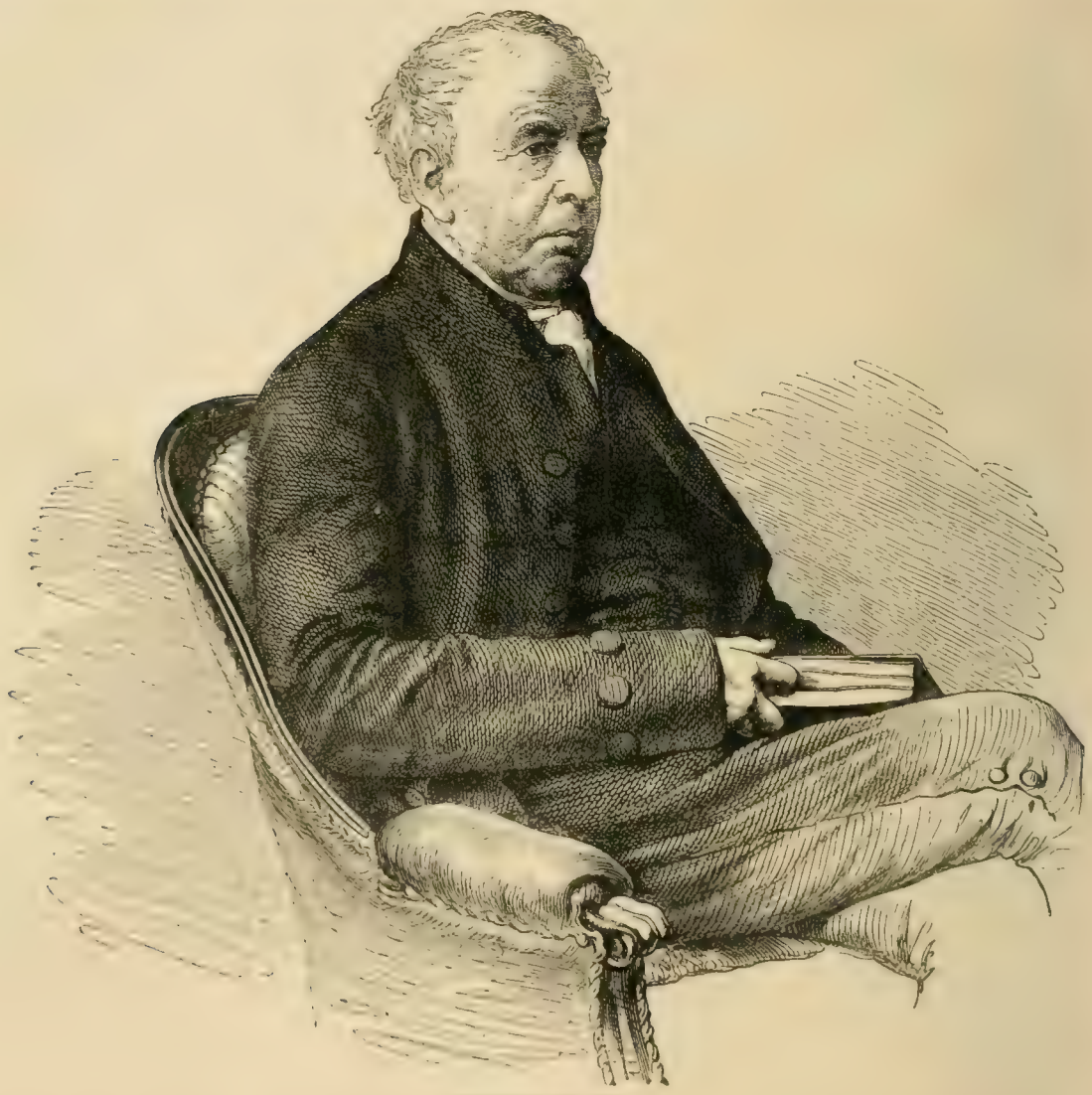
When the war broke out, Jackson was a professor in a military college; his appearance to the last had more about it of the scholar than the soldier; he used to ride at the head of his troops with head bent down, in a shabby uniform, on an ill-groomed horse, and with stirrups absurdly short. His death appears to us to have been the real turning point of the war. The subsequent Confederate advance into Pennsylvania was only due to the unexhausted impetus which their army still derived from his victory at Chancellorsville; and the irremediable character of his loss was seen at Gettysburg, where Lee shattered and demoralised his army by direct attacks upon the Federal lines, which Jackson, had he been alive, would probably never have consented to. For that he did assume the responsibility of disobeying an order of Lee's which he thought ill-judged, is a fact which stands on record; at Antietam, for instance, he refused compliance with Lee's order to attack the Federal right, after he had ascertained by a reconnaissance that the enemy were too numerous and strongly posted to permit of the attack being made with a reasonable hope of success.

But for a time the tide of Confederate success was not stopped by Jackson's death. On the following day, May 3rd, Lee pursued his advantage, driving the Federals out of and beyond Chancellorsville, towards the Rappahannock. Sedgwick with the 6th Corps had, under orders from Hooker, crossed that river near Fredericksburg and advanced towards Chancellorsville, in order to inclose Lee's army between two fires. But Hooker's defeat left Lee at liberty to send a large force, commanded by M'Laws, against Sedgwick, who was heavily defeated, thrown off his line of retreat and supply, and driven across the river. Hooker also, in pursuance of the decision of a council of war, transported his beaten army across the Rappahannock, on the night of May 5th, unmolested by the Confederates, whose losses were no doubt extremely serious. Arrived at the place whence he had set out, Hooker issued a *congratulatory* order to his troops of a truly amazing character. If it is a good trait in a general not to know when he is beaten, none ever had it in greater perfection than General Hooker. He says, "By our celerity and secrecy of movement, our advance and passage of the rivers was undisputed, and, *on our withdrawal*, not a rebel ventured to follow. The events of last week may swell with pride the heart of every officer and soldier of this army."

The loss in killed and wounded on the Federal side in the battles round Chancellorsville exceeded 17,000 men. That of the Confederates is not accurately known; it was certainly very heavy.

By this time General Grant was getting the upper hand on the Mississippi, and was taking those measures which, as we shall see when we come to describe the campaign in the West, resulted in the fall of Vicksburg. Why did not Lee, at this critical moment, send one of his ablest lieutenants to reinforce General Johnston on the Mississippi, so enabling him to make head against Grant, instead of committing himself to the doubtful enterprise of an invasion of Pennsylvania? Had military considerations alone influenced him, this is the course which he would have doubtless taken; but, in fact, the grounds of the advance to Gettysburg were chiefly political. The democratic party at the North, who had not liked the war from the first, were getting weary of the continued ill-success of the Federal generals, and one crushing victory gained on Federal ground might probably have emboldened this party to raise again, and effectually, the cry for peace and recognition of the Confederacy. With these views and hopes, Lee, who had been joined since the battle by Longstreet's division, and had, perhaps, for the time an actual superiority of numbers, led his army into the Shenandoah valley, in the first days of June, and marched on steadily towards the frontier. At Winchester, the principal place in the valley, a force of 10,000 Federals was posted, under General Milroy. This force was attacked by Early, one of Lee's best generals, on the 14th and 15th June, and utterly crushed, the entire command being either killed, captured, or dispersed. Jenkins, the commander of a brigade of Confederate cavalry, crossed the Potomac without opposition, and entered Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, on the 15th June; Lee and Longstreet, with the main body, crossed the frontier on the 24th and 25th. By this time Hooker had become aware of the Confederate march through the valley, and of its object. Falling back in the direction of Washington, he crossed the Potomac at Edward's Ferry, and moved upon Frederick. Not deeming his forces sufficient to cope with Lee's army, he asked permission of the Commander-in-Chief, General Halleck, to withdraw from Maryland Heights (near Harper's Ferry), and unite to his own army the force of 11,000 men under General French which was guarding that important post. General Halleck refused; whereupon Hooker (June 27) begged to be relieved; and Halleck, who was evidently glad of the opportunity, at once acceded to the request, and appointed General Meade to the chief command. A hazardous measure this! to change generals in the presence of a bold and skilful enemy, who was actually on Federal soil; and one that seems inconsistent with Mr. Lincoln's famous dictum, that "when you're in the middle of a ford, it's not the proper time to swop

horses." Yet the substitution answered admirably; for Meade, though not an enterprising general, was modest and sensible, and not at all likely to ruin his army by folly and precipitation. That Halleck felt the full danger of the crisis, and also trusted his new man, is evident from the fact, that he allowed Meade to incorporate



ARCHBISHOP WHATELY.

French's troops with his army, though he had refused it to Hooker.

Lee now advanced upon Gettysburg, a small town of 3,000 inhabitants, the capital of Adams county, and the focus of a well-cultivated, hilly, and, in parts, thickly-wooded region. The battles which were fought here on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd July, taken together with the surrender of Vicksburg to Grant, which took place at the same time, were decisive of the fate of the Confederacy. Chance brought on the terrible struggle, at any rate on the Federal side, for Meade had not at first thought Gettysburg a desirable battle-ground. But, on the 1st, bodies of Federal cavalry, advancing upon Gettysburg, had got into action, with indecisive result, with part of the Confederate army; supports came up on both sides, and by degrees the combat with which the day began swelled into a battle. General Reynolds, in command of the 1st Corps, drove the Confederate advance through Gettysburg to the hills which lie north and west of the town; but, advancing too far, he was in his turn repulsed and killed. Fortunately, there was a steep range of hills, overlooking Gettysburg from the south, then curving round and trending away in a southerly direction on the left, which afforded to the beaten Federals a position from which they could not easily be driven. General Howard had taken the command, and sent urgent messages to Meade, announcing the events of the day. Meade was at Taneytown, a place some twelve

or fifteen miles from Gettysburg, but without a moment's delay he sent orders to all his corps and divisional commanders to concentrate on Gettysburg. Thus, the night and assumed the command; Lee had also come up and examined the field.

The battle of the next day (July 2) was indecisive.

PUEBLA—FROM THE WEST.

at the close of the first day's battle, though the Federals had suffered heavily and been driven back, they were massed in great force on Cemetery Hill, the curvilinear ridge south of Gettysburg above described, and awaited with hope the conflict of the morrow. The Confederates General Sickles, on the Federal left, having advanced to occupy a lower intermediate range of hills, lying between those occupied by the two armies, was pushed back with heavy loss to the true Federal position on the Cemetery ridge, whence he could not be dislodged. Ewell, how-

PUEBLA—FROM THE EAST.

were posted on the ranges north and west of Gettysburg. Each side had summoned up its reserves and outlying brigades; Meade arrived on the ground in the middle of ever, who held the Confederate left, advancing in great force, wrested a portion of that ridge, to the south-east of the town, from Slocum's corps. All the efforts of the

Confederates, however, against the Federal right, which abutted on a hill, called Round Top Hill, rising above the general level of the ridge, and regarded by Meade as the key of the position, were unavailing. Both armies bivouacked on the field and prepared for the struggle of the following day. It was apparent that unless Lee could dislodge the Federals from their strong position, he must himself retreat. Why he made no attempt to turn it, does not appear; that such a manœuvre was feasible, and was apprehended by the Federal commanders, we know from what Hancock wrote to Meade on the 1st—that "the position [at Gettysburg] was good, but liable to be turned by way of Emmitsburg." Emmitsburg lies to the south of Gettysburg, between it and Washington; and a turning movement in that direction must have alarmed Meade for his communications. But whatever may have been his motives, Lee decided on attacking the position in front, and made his preparations accordingly. During the forenoon of the 3rd, there was little beyond firing between the outposts; but, about one o'clock, Lee, having massed more than a hundred guns on his right centre, where were the divisions of Hill and Longstreet, opened a tremendous cannonade on the Federal left; after which, between three and four o'clock, he ordered a general advance of Longstreet's corps, with Pickett's Virginians leading, to charge and carry the hill. The charge was made with the utmost gallantry; but, after a desperate struggle, it appeared that the advantage of their position, aided by the rude abattis and piles of stones which they had thrown up, enabled the Federals to hold their own, and to hurl back the assailants, with fearful loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Slocum also, in the course of the day, recovered the portion of the ridge which had been wrested from him by Ewell. Thus the entire Federal position remained intact at the close of the day, and the battles of Gettysburg ended in a decisive victory for the Federal cause. An account* by an eye-witness of the great charge and its result is so strikingly told, that we subjoin it here:—

"The great desperate final charge came at four. The rebels seemed to have gathered up all their strength and desperation for one fierce convulsive effort, that should sweep over and wash out our obstinate resistance. They swept up as before; the flower of their army to the front, victory staked upon the issue. In some places they literally lifted up and forced back our lines; but that terrible position of ours!—wherever they entered it, enfilading fires from half a score of crests swept away their columns like merest chaff. Broken and hurled back, they easily fell into our hands; and, on the centre and left, the last half-hour brought more prisoners than all the rest.

"So it was along our whole line; but it was on the 2nd Corps that the flower of the rebel army was concentrated, it was there that the heaviest shock beat upon, and shook, and even sometimes crumbled, our line.

"We had some shallow rifle-pits, with barricades of rails from the fences. The rebel line, stretching away miles to the left in magnificent array, but strongest here—Pickett's splendid division of Longstreet's corps in front, the best of A. P. Hill's veterans in support—came steadily, and as it seemed resistlessly, sweeping up. Our skirmishers retired slowly from the Emmitsburg road, holding their ground tenaciously to the last. The rebels reserved their fire till they reached this same Emmitsburg road, then opened with a terrific crash. From a hundred iron throats, meantime, their artillery had been thundering on our barricades.

"Hancock was wounded; Gibbon succeeded to the command—approved soldier, and ready for the crisis. As the tempest of fire approached its height, he walked along the line, and renewed his orders to the men to reserve their fire. The rebels—three lines deep—came steadily up. They were in point-blank range.

"At last the order came! From thrice six thousand guns there came a sheet of smoky flame, a crash, a rush of leaden death. The line literally melted away; but there came the second, resistless still. It had been our supreme effort—on the instant we were not equal to another.

"Up to the rifle-pits, across them, over the barricades—the momentum of their charge, the mere machine strength of their combined action, swept them on. Our thin line could fight, but it had not weight enough to oppose to this momentum. It was pushed behind the guns. Right on came the rebels. They were upon the guns—were bayoneting—the gunners were waving their flags above our pieces.

"But they had penetrated to the fatal point. A storm of grape and canister tore its way from man to man, and marked its track with corpses, straight down their line! They had exposed themselves to the enfilading fire of the guns on the western slope of Cemetery Hill: that exposure sealed their fate.

"The line reeled back—disjointed already—in an instant in fragments. Our men were just behind the guns. They leaped forward upon the disordered mass; but there was little need for fighting now. A regiment threw down its arms, and, with colours at its head, rushed over and surrendered. All along the field smaller detachments did the same. Webb's brigade brought in 800, taken in as little time as it requires to write the simple sentence that tells it. Gibbon's old division took fifteen stand of colours. Over the fields the escaped fragments of the charging line fell back; the battle there was over."

The loss on both sides in this series of battles was very heavy. Meade reports his loss in killed and wounded as exceeding 16,000; in missing as exceeding 6,000—these were mostly prisoners taken on the first day's battle. Lee made no return of his losses; they are estimated by Mr. Greeley at 18,000 in killed and wounded, and 10,000 in prisoners.

Lee held his ground during the 4th, and Meade, one-fourth of whose army was dead or disabled, judged it wiser not to assume the offensive. On the 5th, the Confederates began to retreat. Heavy rains impeded their march; the Federals put their columns in pursuit, with no great vigour indeed, but so as to overtake and capture

* Quoted in Greeley's "American Conflict," vol. ii. p. 386.

hundreds of exhausted and famished Confederates, whom the unwonted sense of failure had depressed and demoralised. The Potomac, rising in flood, carried away the bridge which Lee had caused to be thrown over it at Williamsport; and while he was still on the northern side of the river, taking measures to restore the bridge, Meade with his victorious army was upon him. Another desperate battle seemed to be imminent. But Meade called a council of war on the 12th, the opinion of which was adverse to attacking; and, on the night of the 13th, Lee, having replaced the bridge, brought his army over with little loss, and was again in comparative safety in Virginia.

Bad news awaited him here—no less than the fall of Vicksburg, the stronghold on the Mississippi which had so long resisted the Federal arms; the capture of Jackson, the state capital of Mississippi; and the hopeless collapse of the Confederate power in all that region. By the exercise of what undaunted perseverance General Grant, contending against all kinds of natural obstacles as well as against an active and powerful enemy, had by slow degrees accomplished this immense result, we must now briefly explain.

Vicksburg, perched on a high rolling bluff on the east bank of the Mississippi, about midway between the confluence of the Ohio and the sea, in the midst of a rich cotton-growing country, and in direct communication by rail with Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, was the natural centre and chief citadel of the Confederacy. Its natural strength had been enormously increased by extensive and well-planned fortifications; its powerful batteries commanded the river; and while it was in the possession of the Confederates, the Federal power, though supreme both on the upper and the lower course of the river, could not be said to have the complete control of the Mississippi. Grant, therefore, whose department of Western Tennessee had, after his successes at Forts Henry and Donelson and elsewhere in that state in 1862, been enlarged so as to include the state of Mississippi, directed his thoughts from an early period to the reduction of this important stronghold. In the last month of 1862, he was preparing to advance on Jackson, as the first step towards his object, when the surprise and destruction of his depot of arms and stores at Holly Springs, in Northern Mississippi, by the Confederate General Van Dorn (December 20), disabled him for a time from any forward movement. An attempt was made about the same time by General Sherman and Admiral Porter, who were stationed with a considerable body of troops and a fleet of war-steamers at Milliken's Bend, a point some twenty miles above Vicksburg, to storm the defences of the place from the north. Dropping down the river to the mouth of the Yazoo (a considerable stream which meanders at the foot of the bluffs on which the fortress stood, and then joins the Mississippi), they steamed up that river some miles, and then landed the troops. Sherman led his men gallantly to the assault of the bluffs, but there was a sluggish marshy stream, Chickasaw Bayou, which had first to be crossed under fire, and the difficulty proved to be insurmountable. Sherman lost 2,000 men in this fruitless expedition, and returned (January 2, 1863) to his former quarters at Milliken's Bend.

Various other attempts were made, and met with the like ill success. Vicksburg stands on the convex side of a great bend of the river, and it was thought that a canal might be cut across the chord of this bend, down which the "Father of Waters" might be induced to flow, so as to leave the channel dry in front of the fortress, and render its batteries innocuous. A host of negroes was collected, and set to this work. It had made some progress; but the Mississippi scorned to be thus dictated to, and, rising in a sudden flood, drowned out the excavators, washed away their embankments, and utterly baffled the enterprise. An attempt also was made to bring some armed steamers into the Yazoo from above, through a channel called Yazoo Pass; but this likewise was defeated with loss.

In that immense system of waters, the Federal gunboats, numerous as they were, could not guard or visit all points; and the Confederates, having collected a number of steamers at Vicksburg, Yazoo city, and other points, busily employed themselves in arming and iron-plating them. Against these Admiral Porter dispatched down the river a formidable iron-clad, armed with 11-inch and 9-inch guns, the *Indianola*, which ran past the Vicksburg batteries without receiving any injury. But encountering soon after several small Confederate steamers, the *Indianola*, in the fight that ensued, was so butted, battered, raked, and dodged by her—singly insignificant—antagonists, that she was compelled to surrender. The prize was important, and its capture augured well for at least a temporary naval ascendency of the Confederates in those waters. But the fruits of their success were blasted by a laughable stratagem of Admiral Porter's, which the Federal historian designates a "Yankee trick." "A worthless coal flat-boat, fitted up, covered, and decorated by Porter, with furnaces of mud and smoke-stacks of pork-barrels, to counterfeit a terrible ram, was let loose by him, unmanned, above Vicksburg, and floated down by the batteries, eliciting and surviving a tremendous cannonade. The rebels in Vicksburg hastened to give warning of this fearful monster. . . . The *Indianola* was now undergoing repairs near the point where she was captured; and word was sent from Vicksburg that she must be burnt at once to save her from the monster's clutches. A few hours later, when it had been discovered that they had been thrown into hysterics by an old coal-boat, fresh word was sent that they had been sold; but, ere this arrived, the *Indianola* had been blown to splinters—not even her priceless guns having been saved."

Months had now passed by since the earlier attempts upon Vicksburg; and General Grant, finding that his attacks from the west—or from the north, by obtaining the command of the Yazoo river—were baffled by apparently insurmountable obstacles, now decided on an entirely new line of operations. He resolved to turn Vicksburg on the south, march first upon Jackson, overpowering any resistance which he might meet with from

Confederate armies in the field (for which he had ample and more than ample force), and then advance upon Vicksburg from the east. At the end of March, 1863, he set his troops in motion from Milliken's Bend, down the western bank, to a point opposite a little village called Bruinsburg, some thirty miles below Vicksburg. But his army now must be transported to the eastern bank; and for this purpose he requested Admiral Porter to run past the batteries of Vicksburg, with his iron-clads and a number of transports. Porter at once complied, sustaining during the operation a loss which, though severe, was not serious enough to cripple him, and joined Grant below Vicksburg. Now the army was embarked on the war-steamers and transports, and ferried across. Just at this juncture the Confederate troops in Mississippi appear to have been ill led; instead of concentrating in front of Jackson, they were hurled in detail against Grant's advancing columns, and suffered consequently a succession of small reverses, which had a fatally depressing effect on their morale. At Port Gibson, Raymond, and before Jackson, actions were fought, and with uniform good fortune to the Federals. General Jo. Johnston was now appointed to the chief command of the Confederate forces. But the Confederacy, girdled round both by sea and land with a circle of fire, allowed no rest, compelled to make head on a hundred points at once against implacable assailants, cut off from all foreign supplies, was now drawing towards the end of its resources, especially its resources in men. On the other hand, the unchecked emigration from Europe provided the Federal Government with the raw material of soldiers to an almost unlimited extent. Mr. Whiteside said, in the House of Commons, about the beginning of 1864, that during the past thirteen months upwards of 100,000 men had quitted the shores of Ireland, to swell the ranks of the Federal army of America. Granting that this statement was much exaggerated, still it is certain that the waste and depletion of their armies was so effectually replaced from this source, that the Federal Government —who, to gratify their Republican ambition of "saving the country," lavished human life as unsparingly as any despot who ever reigned—were seldom at a loss for men to execute any military operation that the generals might project.

Defeated in front of Jackson, the Confederates evacuated the city, after having removed all their arms and stores to a safer place, or else destroyed them. This was on the 14th of May. General Johnston collected his shattered forces at a point farther north, and sent orders to General Pemberton, commanding in Vicksburg, to march out with a portion of the garrison and join him. But before Pemberton could do so, the Federals were upon him; and he sustained a serious defeat in a bloody action at Champion Hills (May 16), between Jackson and Vicksburg, on the line of the Big Black river. The Confederates were driven into Vicksburg, and Grant found himself at last under the walls of the fortress, the possession of which he had so long coveted. Without delay he ordered an assault on the outer line of works, reckoning perhaps, as it was said Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud ought to have reckoned after the battle of the Alma, on finding the defenders demoralised, and, in the flush of victory, carrying all before him. If so, the result justified their conduct on that memorable occasion; for the assault was repulsed, with the loss of nearly 3,000 men. Grant then regularly invested the place, and proceeded to open trenches and dig mines. Pemberton defended the place with great skill and determination; but provisions ran short, there was no hope of relief from without, and the fierce sun of Mississippi exhausted his harassed men, who were required to defend a line of entrenchments and earthworks too extensive for their now reduced numbers. After forty-five days of isolation, Pemberton, quite at the end of his resources, hung out a white flag, and proposed to come to terms for surrendering the place. Grant would hear of nothing but an unconditional surrender. A conference between him and Pemberton was then arranged, at which Grant heard all that was proposed on the other side, and said that he would send his answer before night. After conferring with his major-generals, Grant wrote to Pemberton, offering the following terms: that upon the surrender of the city, public stores, &c., the officers and men of the garrison should be allowed to depart, giving their parole not to serve again during the war, the officers being permitted to take one horse each, and both officers and men taking with them their clothing, but no other property. Pemberton might take for the use of the garrison any amount of rations he might deem necessary, from the stores he then had. There was a stroke of grim humour in this; for Pemberton, not wishing it to be thought that the garrison was reduced to extremities, had proposed to take with him eight days' rations; and Grant well knew that his stores were far too attenuated for that; indeed, the famished men applied for rations at the Federal camp on the day after the surrender. Vicksburg fell on the 3rd of July.

Still everything was not lost beyond the Alleghanies, so long as General Bragg, commanding at Chattanooga, could keep the field, and preserve that most important position. Chattanooga is a small town on the Tennessee river, close to the southern border of the state of the same name, and adjoining the boundary lines of three other states—Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina. On one side it was protected by the river, here flowing deep and wide; on the other an intrenched camp had been constructed, and fortified with great care. Mountain ridges encompassed it on all sides, rendering the marching of armies difficult: in fact, it was the key of all that region; so that while it was in Confederate hands, a Federal army could not, without great risk, advance out of Tennessee into Georgia, or Alabama, or even into the Carolinas. But Chattanooga once lost, a direct way was open for the Federal armies into Georgia, with a strong base to retire upon in case of a reverse. These considerations weighed so strongly with Lee, that, at the risk of dangerously weakening his army in Virginia, he detached Longstreet, in the autumn of 1863, with 20,000 men, to the aid of Bragg. But before relating the operations which

ensued, we must briefly retrace the course of events in Tennessee since the end of the campaign of 1862.

It has been related how, after the battle of Perryville, the President relieved Buell of the command, and appointed to it (October 30) General Rosecrans, who had a few weeks before ably repelled a combined attack made by the Confederate Generals Van Dorn and Price upon the lines of Corinth, and driven them back with heavy loss far into Mississippi. Rosecrans' first care was to re-organise his army, and to provide a sufficiency of supplies. The bulk of his army was posted at Murfreesboro', a few miles to the south-east of Nashville. Here it was attacked by Bragg (whose soldiers had by this time recovered from the fatigues of the Kentucky expedition), on the line of the Stone river. Two bloody battles were fought, on the last day of 1862, and January 2nd, 1863. On the first day, Bragg turned the Federal right and routed it, taking twenty-eight guns and many prisoners; but he met with a solid resistance on the centre and left. On the second day, Breckinridge's corps made a very brilliant charge, which for a time swept away all before it; but it was finally cut up by artillery, and driven back. The losses were very heavy on both sides—heaviest, probably, on the side of the Federals; nevertheless, Rosecrans—unlike that Samnite general who retreated after a battle because a voice in the night declared that the Samnites had lost one more man than the Romans—persisted in holding his ground; and it was finally Bragg who retired. Wheeler, the celebrated Confederate raider, was busy all this time in Rosecrans' rear, destroying railroads, breaking bridges, and capturing or burning supply trains; the consequence of all which was that Rosecrans was not in a condition to pursue.

Early in May, the Federal Colonel Streight, at the head of 1,800 cavalry, started on a raid into Georgia, with intent to destroy the factories, machine-shops, and magazines at Rome and Atlanta. But he was overtaken before long by the Confederates Forrest and Roddy, and after a running fight of 100 miles, compelled to surrender.

Rosecrans' preparations for an advance were not completed till the 24th June, 1863; on which day he moved forward from Murfreesboro', at the head of a well-appointed army of 60,000 men. By a series of vigorous and combined movements, he drove the Confederates from the towns of Shelbyville and Tullahooma, and out of the whole plain country of Tennessee. The mountainous corner which included Chattanooga was the only remaining hold which Bragg had on Tennessee, and yet he voluntarily relinquished it! This is the most inexplicable step which we have found recorded in the whole history of the war. Bragg, it is true, had an army inferior by at least one-third to that of Rosecrans; and he seems to have dreaded the being cooped up within Chattanooga, as Pemberton had been in Vicksburg, and being ultimately compelled to capitulate from failure of supplies. Yet, on the other hand, he received a strong reinforcement in August, when he was joined by General Buckner and his troops from Knoxville, East Tennessee; and but a few days after the evacuation he was further reinforced by Longstreet and his tried veterans from Virginia. Bragg must have been apprised of their approach; why, then, did he abandon Chattanooga? That he could, behind those formidable entrenchments, have beaten back an army much superior in force to his own appears certain, for this was accomplished by Rosecrans a few days later, when, after being worsted in a great battle, and driven into Chattanooga, he held out there without difficulty against an enemy at that time, according to Greeley, superior in numbers, and flushed with recent victory. After evacuating the place, Bragg led his army to Lafayette, in Georgia, fifteen or twenty miles south of Chattanooga. Rosecrans, thinking that he was retreating on Rome, urged his columns in over-hasty pursuit, and the two armies encountered each other (September 20) in the wooded country to the west of Chickamauga creek, a stream running in a northerly direction into the Tennessee, above Chattanooga. Longstreet, who had just come up, was on the left of the Confederate army, with the gallant Hood—the Bayard of the South—acting under him. The veterans from Virginia broke through every formation opposed to them, and chased the Federal right in headlong disorder off the field; but on the Confederate left matters fared otherwise. General Thomas stubbornly held his ground, in spite of the utmost efforts, attended with lavish expenditure of life, of Breckinridge and Cleburne, and defeated Bragg's main object, which was to turn the Federal right, and interpose between it and Chattanooga. Yet the sum of the entire struggle was a Confederate victory, though, as it proved, a barren one. The slaughter on both sides was frightful, amounting on the Federal side to more than 11,000 killed and wounded, and on the Confederate side to 16,000, they having been generally the assailants. The next day Rosecrans withdrew his army behind the lines of Chattanooga, which, as already stated, Bragg had not force enough to storm. All that he could do was to endeavour to starve the enemy out, by intercepting their communications.

Meantime, General Burnside, commanding at Cincinnati, having ascertained that Buckner had marched from East Tennessee to join Bragg, led an army of 20,000 men thither, and occupied Knoxville without opposition. But he diffused his small force over the district; hearing which Bragg detached Longstreet against him, who at first gained some minor successes, and shut up Burnside in Knoxville, without being able, however, to take it or drive him out of it.

The President was not pleased at the loss of the battle of Chickamauga, and as Grant had now nothing more to conquer about Vicksburg, he sent him to supersede Rosecrans at Chattanooga (October 19). Hooker, who had been detached with 20,000 men from Meade's army, now joined Grant, and the Federals had again their usual preponderance of numbers, and, what was more, a general who, since hostilities began, had learnt the art of war, made no mistakes himself, and took the utmost advantage of those of the enemy. Issuing from Chattanooga, the Federals, in a series of hard-fought actions, drove Bragg's army from its positions on the mountain ridges south of

Chattanooga (November 24 and 25), and forced it to fall back upon Ringgold, in Georgia. Sherman was immediately sent with a superior force to the relief of Knoxville, and Longstreet, unable to risk a battle, fell back across the mountains into Virginia.

The campaign in the West was now over, and everywhere the Confederates had been foiled. Vicksburg was lost, the Mississippi wholly under Federal control, East Tennessee lost, Chattanooga lost, and the way into Georgia left open. Of the remarkable expedition which this last circumstance occasioned, we shall hear in a future chapter.

The retreat into Virginia after the battle of Gettysburg brought no repose to Lee's army. Meade also crossed the Potomac, and re-occupied all the country as far as the Rappahannock. But having been required by the Commander-in-Chief, General Halleck, to detach two corps under Hooker to the aid of the Federal army at Chattanooga, and learning that Lee was approaching the fords higher up the river so as to menace his right flank, Meade fell back upon Centerville and even as far as Fairfax Court House, the Confederates, though with far inferior force, audaciously pursuing. Lee now carefully destroyed the Orange and Alexandria railway, connecting Washington with the Rappahannock, and fortified a tête-du-pont on that river. This was in October, and the campaign seemed at last to be over. But Mr. Lincoln's policy was to "keep hammering away" continually, and to give the South no rest. Sedgwick, therefore, was ordered, early in November, to attack the tête-du-pont on the Rappahannock, which he did, and successfully, his troops carrying the work by assault, and making prisoners of the chief part of the garrison. Meade then resolved upon a winter campaign. He crossed the Rappahannock, and also the Rapidan, meeting with little resistance till he reached a stream called Mine Run, running in a northerly direction into the Rapidan. Lee's army was strongly posted to the west of this stream, and awaited the attack, which, however, never came; for Meade, after having made every preparation for turning Lee's position on the left, since it was too strong to be forced in front, was informed by the general whom he had charged with the operation that he found the obstacles to an advance so serious that it would be imprudent to attempt it. This was on the 30th of November. Meade acquiesced, and led back his army unpursued across the Rappahannock; and thus, for the armies in Virginia, terminated the campaign of 1863.

Except in Texas, the tide of military fortune along all the coasts of the Confederacy had from the first—with an occasional slight reflux here and there—flowed steadily for the Federal cause. We proceed to give a summary of the more important operations.

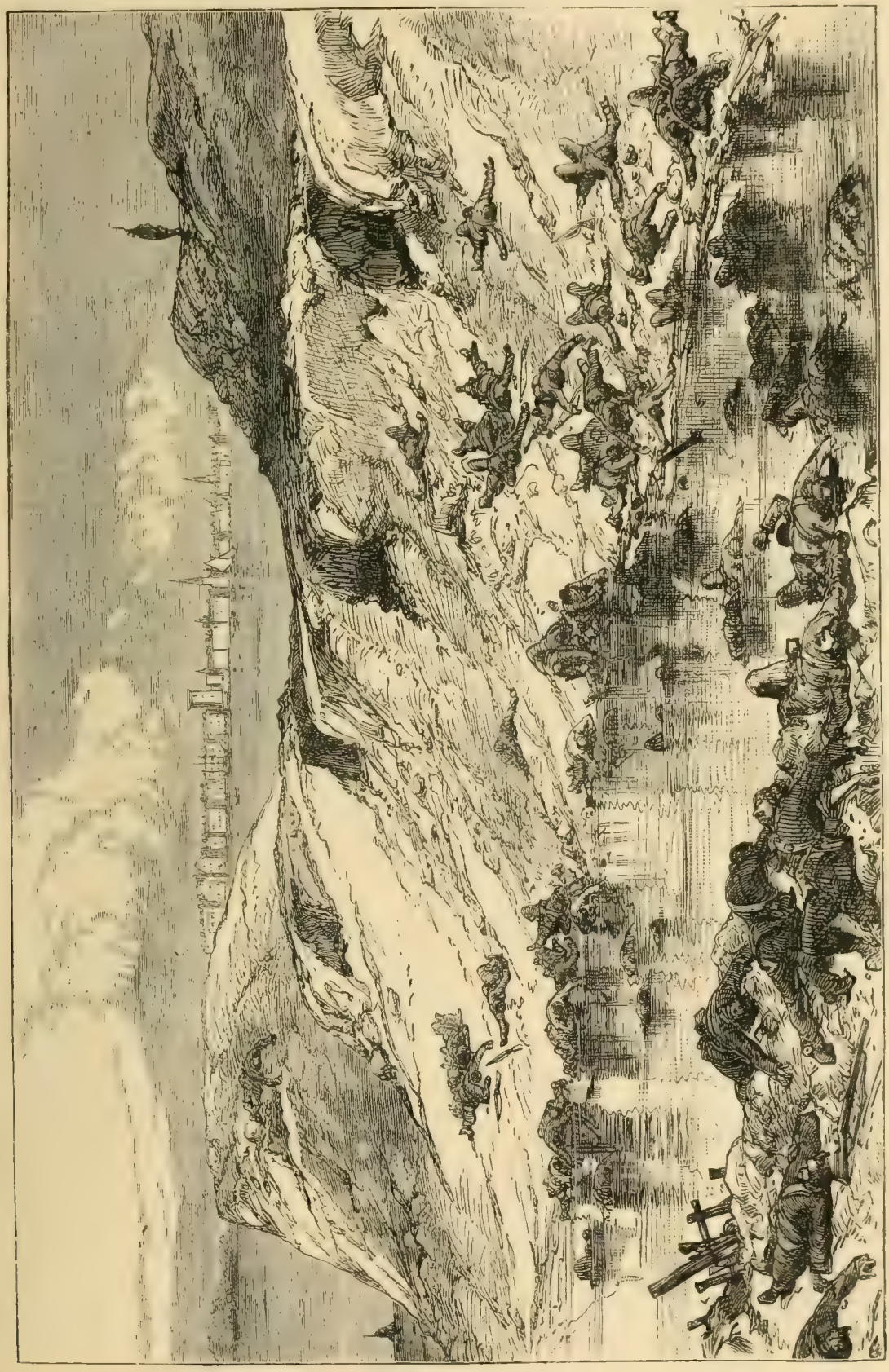
Galveston, the chief sea-port of Texas, and Sabine Pass, an important point on the coast higher up, had been occupied by the Federal naval power since 1861. On the last day of 1862, a brilliant and successful attack by the Confederate General Magruder resulted in the recapture of Galveston, with heavy loss to the Federal squadron stationed there. The gun-boat *Harriet Lane*, after an obstinate contest with two Confederate steamers, barricaded with cotton-bales, which had come down from the inland waters, was carried by boarding; the *Westfield*, armed with eight heavy rifled guns, was driven on shore, and blown up by her commander; and the officer left in command of the squadron (for his superior had been killed in the action), thinking that his force was now too weak to hold the place, abandoned Galveston to Magruder and sailed for New Orleans. In this action one of those terrible rencounters took place which are incident to civil war. The captain of the *Harriet Lane* having been killed, the command devolved on a Lieutenant Lee, whose father was a major in the Confederate service. This Major Lee was one of the boarding party which carried the *Harriet Lane*; the lieutenant commanding was mortally wounded in the conflict; and when the ship was in the hands of the boarders, the father was one of the first to recognise his bleeding and dying son.

At Sabine Pass soon after (January 31, 1863) a collision occurred which had a similar result. The broad estuary at the mouth of the Sabine was blockaded by the gun-boats *Morning Light* and *Velocity*; these were attacked by two Confederate gun-boats, fitted out in the Sabine for the purpose, under the command of Major Watkins, who chased the Federal gun-boats out to sea and captured them after a very feeble resistance. The result of these actions was that the blockade was for a short time really raised along a large portion of the Texan coast. Ships, however, were soon sent down from New Orleans to re-establish it. Much desultory fighting took place in Texas during 1863, with results, indecisive indeed, but generally favourable to the Confederates.

But in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, the persistence and the inexhaustible naval resources of the Federals made a continually deepening impression. Fort Pulaski, on the Savannah river, a Federal fort before the war, was cannonaded and compelled to surrender in April, 1862. Pensacola, in Florida, was evacuated by its Confederate garrison in the following May. At an earlier period (January, 1862), the naval officer in command of the blockading fleet off Charleston caused hulks laden with stones to be sunk across one of the ship channels leading into Charleston harbour, so as to make the work of watching and catching the blockade-runners less arduous. A great outcry was raised when the news of this measure reached Europe. The Federal Government, in attempting to ruin a fine harbour for the sake of a military object, was charged with warring against the common rights and permanent interests of civilised man. If, however, Mr. Greeley is to be trusted, no such effect was either intended or produced. "No complaint has since been made of any actual injury thus inflicted on the peaceful commerce of Charleston; on the contrary, it has been plausibly asserted that the partial closing of one of the passes, through which the waters of Ashley and Cooper rivers find their way to the ocean, was calculated to deepen and improve those remaining."*

Nothing more of moment took place in 1862. On the

* Greeley, "American Conflict," vol. ii. p. 458.



DITCH OF FORT WAGNER AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT.

last day of January, 1863, the Confederates at Charleston, being doubtless fired with the wish of emulating the exploits of their friends in Texas, sent down two iron-clads, which, attacking the blockading fleet, compelled one of them, the *Mercedita*, to surrender, and disabled another, the *Keystone State*. But upon other ships coming up, the Confederate iron-clads sheered off, and retreated up the harbour. The naval and military commanders in Charleston then solemnly declared the blockade to have been raised, and the port to be open! In April, Commodore Dupont, in the *Ironsides*, led nine iron-clads to the attack of Fort Sumter. That fort, as is very generally known, stands on an artificial island in mid-channel, just within the entrance to Charleston harbour. It had five faces, built up with very solid masonry, and armed with guns in casemates; its heaviest pieces, however, were mounted on the top of the parapet *en barbette*. From a flagstaff on one of its angles floated the Confederate flag; another flagstaff at the opposite angle bore the Palmetto flag, the banner of South Carolina. The iron-clads steamed up to the attack, but they found all sorts of obstacles in their way; and when they were near enough to commence firing, they were overwhelmed by such a storm of heavy missiles from Fort Sumter and the Moultrie and other batteries, that after one of his ships, the *Keokuk*, had been riddled and reduced to a sinking state, and others much damaged, while no serious impression had been made on Fort Sumter, Commodore Dupont made the signal to retire. No attempt was made from this time to force a way up the harbour with the iron-clads.

But if there was one object on which the Republican party at the North, and their representatives administering the Federal government, had set their hearts more fervently than another, it was the reduction and humiliation of the proud little city where first the flag of secession had been raised, the first shot fired at the Stars and Stripes. Dupont seemed to be at the end of his invention; he was therefore recalled, and the command of the blockading fleet given to Commodore Dahlgren. About the same time—a change of much greater significance—General Hunter, who hitherto had charge of the department of the Carolinas, was superseded by General Gillmore, an engineer officer of great capacity. Gillmore, after a careful survey of the ground, determined upon the following plan of operations:—to land, first of all, a strong force on the southern end of Morris Island (the island which forms the south-west side of the outer portion of Charleston harbour); reduce Fort Wagner, a powerful sand redoubt near the northern end of the island; and, planting batteries on Cumming's Point, the extreme point of the same island, overlooking the harbour, bombard and dismantle Sumter from thence. This was an able and profound conception, and Gillmore immediately proceeded to carry it out. General Strong, with 2,000 men, was landed, without loss (July 10), on the south end of Morris Island. Batteries were then traced and armed within short range of Fort Wagner. The bombardment opened on the 18th July, and was aided by the guns of the fleet; the garrison of Fort Wagner, their fire being quite overpowered, retired within their bomb-proofs; and General Strong, believing the defences to be ruined, ordered a general assault. The Federals advanced bravely to the moat, but only to be mown down with great slaughter by enemies of equal courage and all the advantages of position. The assailants were beaten back with the loss of 1,500 men. In this engagement fell Colonel Shaw, at the head of a negro regiment organised in Massachusetts, which advanced to the assault with great gallantry, and lost many men. This was the first coloured regiment raised in a free state. Colonel Shaw was a hereditary Abolitionist; and the Confederates, it is said, vainly thought to heap indignity upon him by "burying him in the same pit with his niggers." Mr. Greeley warms into eloquence on this occasion and says:—"His relatives and friends gratefully accepted the fitting tribute; and when, in due time, a shaft shall rise from the free soil of redeemed Carolina above that honoured grave, it will perpetuate, alike for leader and for led, the memory of their devotion to the holy cause whereto they offered up their lives a willing sacrifice."

This seems a fitting opportunity to make a short digression, for the purpose of examining to what extent the coloured people had been hitherto employed in the war, whether on one side or the other.

In the War of Independence the revolted colonies freely employed negro soldiers at first, whether free or bond, but afterwards decided not to enlist any that were not free. British governors—Lord Dunmore in Virginia, for instance—often offered freedom to any negroes who would leave their masters and enlist in the King's service; and a considerable number did so enlist and were turned into valuable soldiers. Had the war continued two or three years longer, the course of events would have probably led, even then, to the extinction of slavery.

In the short war of 1812, negroes were employed on one memorable occasion by General Jackson, in his famous defence of New Orleans. He publicly and vigorously reprobated the "mistaken policy" which had hitherto excluded them from the service, and emphatically attested their bravery and good conduct while serving under his eye.

General Hunter, commanding in the Carolinas, and General Phelps, in Louisiana, under Butler, were the first that endeavoured to raise negro regiments, though at first with little encouragement from their superiors. The danger of alienating Kentucky and Missouri still more than they were then alienated, by doing what would please the Abolitionists, was deemed for a time a sufficient ground for discountenancing the enlistment, and consequent emancipation, of slaves. But when negroes came flocking in great numbers to the Federal commanders encamped in slave states, entreating to be employed or fed, as their masters had quitted the plantations, leaving them with no means of subsistence, the difficulty of rejecting them became so great as to be insurmountable. Butler himself, who had roughly thwarted General Phelps in his project for enlisting negroes, was compelled by the necessities and perils of his position to appeal to the free coloured men of New Orleans to take

up arms in the national service. The appeal was responded to with alacrity and enthusiasm, and a first regiment, 1,000 strong, filled within fourteen days; all its line officers coloured as well as the rank and file. His next regiment, raised soon afterwards, had its two highest officers white, all the rest coloured. After Banks had succeeded Butler at New Orleans, these regiments came in for their full share of military hardships and perils. Especially is it recorded to their honour that they took part in the desperate assault on Port Hudson, on the 27th May, 1863, when they are said to have vied with the bravest; "making three desperate charges on rebel batteries, losing heavily, but maintaining their position in the hottest forefront to the close."

The Confederate Government, when it first heard of the efforts that were being made by Generals Hunter and Phelps to enlist negro soldiers for the Union armies, was furious. Jefferson Davis, the Confederate President, issued an order directing that "said generals be no longer regarded as public enemies of the Confederacy, but as outlaws; and that in the event of the capture of either of them, or of any other commissioned officer employed in organising, drilling, and instructing slaves, he should not be treated as a prisoner of war, but held in close confinement for execution as a felon, at such time and place as he (the President) should order." The cloven foot comes out here portentously. It is a fair act of war to arm and enlist any of the inhabitants of a country with which you are at war, if they are willing to serve you; though the penal consequences to *them* of disloyalty, if caught, may be of the most terrible description. Had the Confederate leaders viewed the slaves as *men*, they must have regarded the matter in this light; but they looked on them as chattels, as creatures not endowed with a reasonable will, as bimanous animals, useful when kept to labour, but capable of frightful mischief if they broke loose from restraint. Their anger, therefore, was directed, not against the slaves themselves, but against those who abused their feeble intelligence to induce them to turn against their kind masters.

Nevertheless, the enlistment of slaves went on, and not on the Federal side only. The Confederate commanders had impressed negroes in large numbers for auxiliary services long before the Federals thought of raising negro regiments. They took rather a pride in doing so, as if to show that they were not afraid to trust their slaves with arms. Mr. Greeley says:—"The credit of having first conquered their prejudices against the employment of blacks, even as soldiers, is fairly due to the rebels." But after Mr. Lincoln had issued his proclamation of January, 1863, emancipating all slaves in states then in arms against the United States, the balance of negro availability inclined greatly in favour of the Federals. It is not in human nature that a slave should fight as well in an army arrayed for the maintenance of the institution of slavery, as his brother in the opposite ranks, who fights for its abolition.

From this digression, we return to the narrative of the siege of Charleston. The assault on Fort Wagner having failed, there was nothing for it but to approach the place by regular parallels; and trenches were opened without delay. Perceiving at the same time that by planting rifled guns in the swamp between Morris Island and James Island he could reach Charleston, though the distance was not less than five miles, Gillmore caused a solid platform to be constructed with infinite labour in the marsh, and mounted upon it an 8-inch rifled Parrot gun. The soldiers christened this gun the "the Swamp Angel." Before opening fire, Gillmore summoned General Beauregard (who was in command at Charleston) to abandon Morris Island and Fort Sumter, on penalty of the bombardment of Charleston. General Beauregard being away on some special service, the messenger returned without an answer, and Gillmore then opened fire (August 21). From that time till the end of the year an intermittent bombardment of the city was kept up. The "Swamp Angel," after several of its shells had reached and exploded in the lower part of Charleston, though without destruction of life, burst at the thirty-sixth discharge. But Gillmore was soon afterwards able, in the manner presently to be related, to plant batteries a full mile nearer to Charleston, by means of which a full half of the city was brought within shell range, and, after the loss of some lives, abandoned by most of its inhabitants; while many of the buildings, including some of the most substantial and costly edifices, suffered severely. The effects of this bombardment were thus described by the correspondent of a northern paper, who entered Charleston after its evacuation by the Confederates:—

"Not a building for blocks here that is exempt from the marks of shot and shell. All have suffered more or less. Here is a fine brown stone bank building, vacant and deserted, with great gaping holes in the sides and roof, through which the sun shines and the rain pours; windows and sashes blown out by exploding shell within; plastering knocked down; counters torn up; floors crushed in; and fragments of mosaic pavement, broken and crushed, lying around on the floor, mingled with bits of statuary, stained glass, and broken parts of chandeliers. Ruin within and without; and its neighbour in no better plight. The churches, St. Michael's and St. Philip's, have not escaped the storms of our projectiles. Their roofs are perforated, their walls wounded, their pillars demolished, and within the pews filled with plastering. From Bay Street, studded with batteries, to Calhoun Street, our shells have carried destruction and desolation, and often death, with them."

This wanton destruction does not appear to have been justified by any recognised maxim or usage of the Law of Nations. It was useless for any military end, for it did not shorten the Confederate tenure of Charleston by a single day. Like the Prussian bombardment of the churches and civil buildings of Peronne and other places in the French War, the design seems to have been to break down the resistance of the defenders of the place through the moral impression caused by the infliction of severe sufferings on non-combatants. This, though consonant to the usages of ancient warfare, has been supposed to be proscribed by the more humane spirit of modern times. The celebrated American publicist, Dr. Wheaton,

lays down that, "by the modern usage of nations, which has now acquired the force of law, temples of religion, public edifices devoted to civil purposes only, monuments of art, and repositories of science, are exempted from the general operations of war."*

Meantime, the siege of Fort Wagner was steadily carried on, and a rain of shot and shell poured into it incessantly, both by the batteries on Morris Island and by the blockading ships. At length, after a protracted and heroic defence, when the sap of the besiegers was now pushed up to the edge of the counterscarp, and the assault was ordered for the following morning, the garrison evacuated the place in the night. Though 122,300 pounds of metal had been hurled at the fort within the past two days, at short range, from breaching guns, none of them less than a 100-pounder, its bomb-proof was found substantially intact, and capable of sheltering 1,500 men. Sand was proved to possess a power of protracted resistance to the fire of heavy ordnance far surpassing that of brick or stone. Fort Wagner was abandoned on the 7th September. On the following day, an unsuccessful attempt was made to take Sumter by an expedition of boats from the fleet. The fort had been nearly silenced, and greatly damaged by the fire of the Morris Island batteries, and Admiral Dahlgren seems to have counted on a feeble resistance. But no sooner had the crews from three boats landed on the crumbling debris than the garrison opened a heavy fire, which sank the boats, and killed or wounded a considerable number of the stormers: the rest surrendered. The other boats drew off unhurt.

General Gillmore had supposed that after Sumter was disabled, the iron-clads would be in a position to steam up the harbour and appear before Charleston. But the naval authorities took a different view; and so the siege was turned into a languid bombardment, which was carried on irregularly till nearly the end of the war. In December, one of the finest vessels of the blockading fleet, the *Weehawken*, foundered. Nothing of great importance happened in North Carolina during 1863.

While the United States were thus distracted by civil war, and not in a position to assert, much less to enforce, what is called the Monroe doctrine, that is, the claim of the United States to prevent European states from intervening in the internal affairs of American states, the French Emperor was playing his game prosperously in Mexico. The capital fell into the hands of General Forey this summer, and the project of erecting an imperial throne in Mexico attained shape and consistence before the end of the year. All this had sprung out of the unpretending joint expedition agreed to by England, France, and Spain at the close of 1861. Mexico had so vexatiously and so long evaded its pecuniary obligations to its English and Spanish creditors, and had left so many outrages on individual Englishmen and Spaniards unredressed, that the Governments of the two countries were at last compelled to resort to coercive measures. France also desired to be a party to the convention, nor was it at first understood that the aims of the French Emperor differed materially from those of his confederates. The expedition sailed in December, 1861, having on board 6,000 Spanish soldiers; the English military contingent was only a force of 700 marines; the French contingent was at first weaker than that of Spain, but it was soon increased. A landing was effected, without resistance, at Vera Cruz. On the 10th of January, 1862, the Allied Commissioners published a manifesto, addressed to the Mexican people, couched in somewhat ambiguous language, yet declaring that neither conquest nor political dictation was the object of the Allied Powers, which had long beheld with grief a noble people "wasting its forces and extinguishing its vitality through the violent power of civil war, and perpetual convulsions," and had now landed on their shores to give them an opportunity of constituting themselves in a permanent and stable manner. Yet all this time the views of the French Emperor were extended to ulterior aims of which his allies never dreamed. A pamphlet, well known to be "inspired," from the facile pen of M. de la Guerronière, appeared in Paris about this time. The writer enlarged eloquently on the fundamental differences in endowment, temperament, and ideas, which distinguished the Teutonic from the Latin race. The great Republic of North America had a constitution which was well suited to the practical turn and calmer temperament of a Teutonic people; for them republican institutions were characterised by greater stability than any other. But with a community belonging to the Latin race, the case was far otherwise. Such a people, being endowed with livelier imagination and keener susceptibility of feeling, was morally incompetent to restrain itself, in those ever-recurring political contests which democratic institutions necessitate, within the limits which a Teutonic people can observe without effort, and which prudence and the spirit of compromise imperatively dictate. In all the communities of Latin blood, both in North and South America, which have tried republican institutions on a large scale, the result has been failure. Convulsion has followed convulsion, and an actual retrogression of civilisation has been the consequence. The remedy for this is to adopt a new principle of action, to adapt your institutions to the genius of the people that is to use them. A Latin people loves to give its assent once for all to the form of government under which it is to live, and then to leave to its rulers the duty of administration. Its dignity being consulted by the fact of its being called upon to authorise the Government under which it lives, it thenceforward desires to see that Government strong, centralised, and respected. Such speculations, and many more to the same effect, clearly pointed to the regeneration of Mexico by Cæsarism—to an Emperor and a plébiscite.

When, then, after the issuing of the manifesto, the commissioners of the Allied Powers began to exchange ideas, and to communicate to each other the exact nature of the instructions emanating from their respective Governments, the divergence of view between the French and the other two commissioners soon became apparent. The object of England and Spain was simply, by occu-

* Wheaton's "International Law" (1857), p. 420.

pying a portion of the Mexican sea-board, to obtain a material guarantee for the redress of the wrongs of which their subjects had to complain. Whether this was done by the Government of Juarez (who was then President), or by any other Government, was a matter of perfect indifference to England and Spain. But the French commissioner—evidently with an eye to the eventual introduction of an imperial régime—refused, on the plea of perverseness, renewed outrages, and general impracticability, to hold any communication with the Juarez Government. The commencement of a split was here visible. However, the English and Spanish commissioners, Sir Charles Wyke and General Prim, opened negotiations with the Government of Juarez. But there was a certain General Almonte in the French camp, who was well known as a promoter of the scheme for substituting imperial for republican institutions. The Mexican Government required that Almonte should be sent away; but to this the French commissioner refused to consent. A conference between the commissioners of the Allied Powers and others to be deputed by the Mexican Government, to meet at Orizaba, in April, was agreed to by Prim and Sir Charles Wyke, but rejected by the French commissioner, who insisted that, instead of negotiating with Juarez, the proper course for the Allies was to march at once upon Mexico. Hereupon Prim and Sir Charles Wyke, finding that their views and those of their colleague were irreconcilable, withdrew on the part of their respective Governments from the expedition. General Lorencez, at the head of the French expeditionary corps, then advanced towards Mexico. At Puebla, the gates of which he expected would be opened to him, he met with a vigorous resistance from the Mexican army (May 5, 1862), commanded by General Zaragoza. The French sustained a severe check, and were compelled to fall back upon Orizaba. Here Marquez, a general of the Church party, joined Lorencez at the head of 2,500 men. It was not, however, deemed advisable to attempt a fresh advance until a reinforcement of troops had been obtained from France. This the French Emperor, on learning of the repulse at Puebla, hastened to send, appointing General Forey to the command in Mexico, and dispatching him across the Atlantic with 2,500 fresh troops. Forey landed at Vera Cruz about the end of September; but nothing more was effected that year. The Emperor, at least in words, was careful to disclaim all appearance of dictation to the Mexican people as to their choice of a Government; but the honour and interests of France required an intervention in the affairs of that Republic; and if, under the shelter of that intervention, the respectable portion of Mexican society chose to adopt monarchical institutions, so much the better for all parties. In his letter of instructions to General Forey, the Emperor concludes thus:—"At present, therefore, our military honour engaged, the necessities of our policy, the interests of our industry and commerce, all conspire to make it our duty to march on Mexico, boldly to plant our flag there, and to establish either a monarchy, if not incompatible with the national feeling, or at least a Government which may promise some stability."

Early in March, General Santa Anna—who had been President of Mexico during the war with the United States, in 1847—8, and who doubtless believed that the establishment of a strong central Government, under French protection, was the most likely means of securing his country from future insult and dismemberment on the part of the Americans—landed at Vera Cruz (he had been many years an exile), and declared his adhesion to the French policy. The army had already commenced its march; Puebla was soon reached, and besieged in form. On the 29th March, Fort San Xavier, one of its principal defences, was attacked and taken by assault. "For the first time," says General Forey, "the Mexicans felt the points of our bayonets; they gave way before the impetuosity of our attack." Puebla surrendered on the 18th May, under rather extraordinary circumstances. General Ortega, who commanded the garrison, as the supplies of the place had begun to run short, proposed to capitulate, but on condition that the garrison should be allowed to leave with all the honours of war, and with arms, baggage, and artillery to withdraw to Mexico. General Forey refused to listen to this, and sent word in reply that the garrison might leave with all the honours of war, but that they must march past the French army and lay down their arms, remaining prisoners of war. "These proposals," says General Forey in his despatch, "were not accepted by General Ortega, who, in the night between the 16th and 17th May, disbanded his command, destroyed their weapons, spiked his guns, blew up the powder magazines, and sent me an envoy to say that the garrison had completed its defence, and surrendered at discretion. It was scarcely daylight, when 12,000 men, most of them without arms or uniforms, which they had cast away in the streets, surrendered as prisoners; and the officers, numbering from 1,000 to 1,200, of whom twenty-six were generals and 200 superior officers, informed me that they awaited my orders at the Palace of the Government."

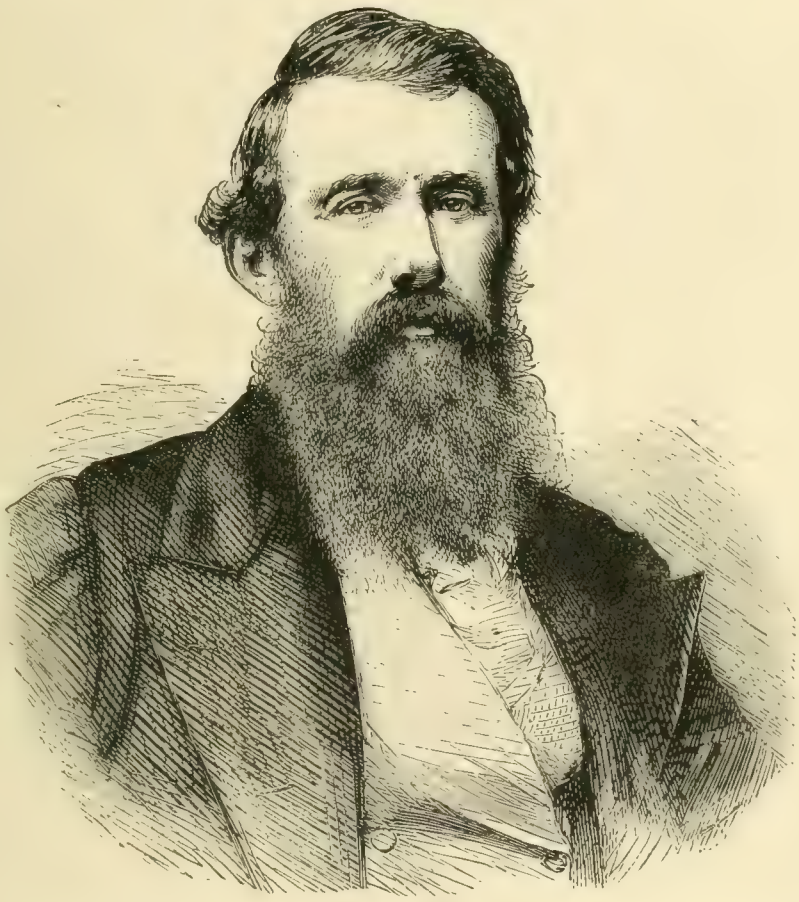
There was no more serious resistance after the fall of Puebla, on the defence of which the Government of Juarez had expended all its resources, and in attempting to relieve which the Mexican General Comonfort had been defeated on the 13th May. Juarez withdrew to San Luis de Potosi, and, on the 10th June, the French army entered Mexico, the capital. The throne of Montezuma was now at the disposal of the conqueror, if indeed on that volcanic soil, mined by revolutionary passions and disintegrated by the convulsions of forty years, the erection of a throne were possible. A provisional Government (June 24) was first established, which took measures to convene an "Assembly of Notables." This assembly—composed of 215 members, taken, we are told, indiscriminately from all classes, though it is not likely that any very influential friends of republican institutions were among them—was requested to deliberate and determine what form of government ought to be definitively established in Mexico; the vote on the question to unite at least two-thirds of their suffrages. On the 10th July, the Assembly resolved that Mexico should adopt monarchical institutions, and that the imperial

crown (never worn since the short and troubled reign of Iturbide) should be offered to the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph. In the event of his refusal to accept the crown, the Emperor of the French was requested to select a candidate for the imperial dignity. A deputation of Notables visited the Archduke Maximilian (October 3, 1863) at his villa of Miramar, near Trieste, and offered him the imperial crown. Maximilian hesitated; and well he might. For although there was no Mexican army remaining which could withstand the French invaders in the field, aroused by the invader of our soil, are sentiments common to all the Mexican people." Nor was the language of M. Doblado, a moderate Liberal, and a man highly respected, who had lately been a rival of Juarez in the contest for the Presidential chair, less outspoken. "The question of party," he said, "exists no more. Henceforth must disappear, along with political animosities, all the deplorable party designations to which our civil wars have given rise. In the bloody struggle upon which we have entered, there are now only two camps—Mexicans and Frenchmen—invaders and invaded." It was evident

CHARLESTON HARBOUR, WITH THE SUNKEN SHIPS.

yet the principle of resistance was tenaciously upheld by a large section of the population, and the aversion of the people of the United States to this forcible conversion of their republican neighbour to imperial sentiments was no secret to any one. On the very day on which the French entered Mexico, Juarez published a proclamation, dated from San Luis de Potosi, which breathed nothing but defiance. "Concentrated on one point," he said, "the enemy will be weak on all others; if he divides his forces, he will be weak everywhere. He will find himself compelled to acknowledge that the Republic is not shut up in the towns of Mexico and Puebla, that life—the consciousness of right and power, the love of independence and democracy, the noble pride that for a long time to come monarchy would not be secure in Mexico without active aid from France. But might that aid be certainly counted upon? The opposition in the French legislative body had just been recruited by the accession of some of the ablest politicians and debaters in the country—M. Thiers among the number; the war in America might shortly come to an end; was it so certain that in the face of opposition at home, and ill-will, if not hostility, on the part of the United States, the French Emperor would continue his intervention in Mexico for the time that the circumstances required? Poor Maximilian—a Hapsburg, and the brother of a legitimate sovereign—could perhaps hardly realise the full bearing of the truth, that in the case of a ruler who

has come to power by such means as those employed by Louis Napoleon, the interest of the conservation of his dynasty will always override every other consideration. But he hesitated, as has been said; and made his acceptance of the crown conditional on its being tendered to him in pursuance of a truly popular vote, and secured by European guarantees. For the time nothing more could be done. In Mexico, the French arms were everywhere triumphant; Juarez was driven from San Luis de Potosi, and his principal bands broken up or weakened by desertion, while General Comonfort was killed in action. The provisional Government, sitting in the capital, was named the Regency; it had a triumvirate at its head, consisting of General Almonte, General Salas, and the Archbishop of Mexico. Thus for Mexico ended the year 1863.



CAPTAIN SPEKE.

From the mysterious central lands of Africa information of the most interesting character came this year to England, being communicated by the enterprising travellers Captain Speke and Captain Grant, who landed at Southampton on the 17th June, and five days afterwards received a public welcome at a special meeting of the Royal Geographical Society. Starting from Zanzibar, and penetrating the country in a north-westerly direction, Captain Speke had, though with incredible difficulty, and through the exertion of wonderful patience and adroitness in bribing, coaxing, mystifying, or browbeating the native rulers whose kingdoms he traversed, reached the shore of a vast lake, to which he gave the name of Victoria Nyanza, and seen the White Nile flowing out at its northern end, in the direction of Gondokoro. Captain Speke too hastily assumed that he had found the true source of the Nile in the Victoria Nyanza, just as, nearly a hundred years ago, Bruce was convinced that he stood at the fountain head of the great river, when he had merely traced up the lesser current of the Blue Nile. We now know that the Nile runs out of another large lake, the Albert Nyanza of Sir Samuel Baker, into the Victoria Nyanza; and the true source of the Nile is to this day wrapped in mystery, and will remain so till the entire hydrographic basin of the Albert Nyanza has been explored, or else unless the river discovered by Livingstone (which most geographers suspected to be a branch of the Congo) shall be proved to be really identical with the Nile. Captain Speke, though one of the best hearted of men, was rather too much disposed to self-assertion and the magnifying of his own discoveries; and this led to unpleasant controversy between him and other African explorers, such as Captain Burton. A day had been fixed, in the autumn of 1864, for a discussion between him and Burton on the question of the Nile sources,

before a meeting of the British Association at Bath, when a sudden and lamentable accident put a period to the explorer's career. He was shooting in Neston Park, in Wiltshire; and from the posture in which the body was found, he appeared to have been getting over a low stone wall, when by some mischance his gun exploded while the muzzle was pointed at his breast. The charge entering his body passed completely through, severing the main arteries of the chest, lacerating the lungs, and passing close to the heart. Death ensued in a few minutes.

CHAPTER VI.

Course of Events in 1864—Pacific Temper of the Nation—Opening of Parliament—Birth of an Heir to the Prince of Wales: Speech of Lord Derby on the event—Sterility of the Debates in this Session—Sentiments of Mr. Cobden—Mr. Gladstone's Financial Statement: Elasticity of the Revenue: Application of the Surplus—Mr. Stansfeld, Junior Lord of the Admiralty, named in connection with Plots against the Emperor Napoleon's Life: Discussion of the matter in Parliament: He resigns Office—Mr. Disraeli moves a Vote of Censure on the Government: it is rejected by a narrow majority—Mr. Gladstone's remarks on the Extension of the Suffrage. Resignation of Mr. Lowe—Convocation passes a Synodical Judgment on "Essays and Reviews." Speech of the Lord Chancellor on the Judgment: Reply of the Bishop of Oxford. Prorogation of Parliament—Visit of Garibaldi to England: He arrives at Southampton: His reception in London: at the Crystal Palace—Death of the Duke of Newcastle: Sketch of his Career; and of that of Mr. Senior—The Shakespeare Tercentenary. Speech of Professor Max Müller—Progress of Rationalism: Sentence on Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson—Arguments on the Claim of Bishop Gray to Metropolitan Jurisdiction over the See of Natal—Speech of Mr. Disraeli at Oxford on Clerical Rationalists.

THE year 1864 was for England as uneventful as the years which preceded and followed it. The course of peaceful industry and the accumulation of wealth went on undisturbed, and the gradual abatement of the distress in Lancashire diffused a general feeling of relief and satisfaction. The revenue was found to display that wonderful elasticity which Mr. Gladstone, the wizard of financiers, seemed to possess a spell for infallibly endowing it with. True, an ancient ally of England, the integrity of whose territory we were bound by treaty to maintain, was this year violently assailed by two of the great Powers, and despoiled of nearly one half of his dominions. In former times the outrage would inevitably have led to war, or, at least, to the menace of war. The regal England of the Middle Ages, the aristocratic England of the reign of Anne and the first two Georges, the England of the country gentlemen in the days of the great Napoleon, all agreed in considering the honour and worth of the nation to be things worth fighting for to the death. But the commercial England of the nineteenth century is changed: it shuns and repudiates the Quixotic rashness of English countries in the old times, who often took great pains to protect weak states, curb the ambition of adventurous princes, and preserve the balance of power. It seems to have been decided that no treaty can be so binding, no aggression so glaring, no suffering so unmerited, as to make it worth while to go to war. Mr. Cobden, in the debates of this very year, indulging in what Mr. Disraeli calls "heedless rhetoric," spoke of us as a "fierce and combative nation;" but the phrase is a ridiculous anachronism. The commercial classes, which now form the immense majority of the English nation, are—so long as trade prospers—of an imperturbably pacific temper. One or two members only—notably Lord Grey—raised their voices in Parliament to advocate the course which the England of our fathers and grandfathers would certainly have adopted. But the suggestion was received either with blank silence or with disapproval.

But of the manifestation of this modern temper, with reference to the famous question of Schleswig-Holstein, it is not yet our purpose to speak. For the present we shall confine ourselves to the narration of such events in our domestic history for the year as require to be recorded.

The session of Parliament was opened by commission on the 4th of February. In the royal speech Her Majesty expressed her confidence that Parliament would sympathise with her in her gratitude to the Almighty on account of the Princess of Wales having given birth to a son, "an event which has called forth from her faithful people renewed demonstrations of devoted loyalty and attachment to her person and family." The speech mentioned the recent invasion of Schleswig-Holstein by the forces of Prussia and Austria, and the subject was soon after taken up and keenly debated in Parliament; but we have already expressed our intention of reserving this whole matter for a future chapter.

In the debate on the address, Lord Derby adverted, with that felicity of phrase for which he was notorious, to the birth of an heir to the Prince of Wales. "At this time last year," he said, "we offered our humble congratulations to Her Majesty on the auspicious marriage of the heir to the throne with a Princess every way qualified to share the high destiny reserved for him, and whose personal beauty and attractions, and the natural and unaffected charm of whose manner, secured for her, from the first moment of her entrance into this kingdom, the admiration and, I may say, the affection of her adopted country. On this occasion we have to congratulate Her Majesty and the nation on the happy issue of that marriage, in the birth of an heir to the throne in the second generation; and although, my lords, happily for this country monarchical institutions are so firmly established in the hearts and affections of the people, and their attachment to them has been so strengthened by the private virtues and personal qualities of the illustrious lady who occupies the throne, that it is not with us, as it might be with other countries, a subject of additional congratulation that we thereby obtain greater stability for the throne, or greater security for the dynasty, yet we may be permitted to rejoice at the prospect we have before us of a direct line of succession from the present illustrious wearer of the crown and her immediate descendants—from a sovereign who has done so much to cast a lustre on that crown, and also to strengthen the hold which monarchical institutions have upon this nation. . . . I am sure there is not one of your lordships who does not offer up a fervent prayer to the Throne of

Grace that that bright prospect may remain unclouded, and that, long after the youngest of your lordships has passed away from this scene, the throne of these realms may be occupied by the descendants of the illustrious Prince and of his new-born heir—

Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis."

In the course of this session many measures of political or social reform—the Ballot, the reduction of the County Franchise, the abolition of Church Rates and of Tests, the Permissive Bill—were introduced into Parliament and discussed, but in no single instance were they carried. Sterility attended all the legislative throes of our political assemblies. Nor are the debates on foreign affairs either pleasant or profitable reading; for in the midst of much acrimonious criticism of the proceedings of the Ministry, the general result comes out clearly, that the critics, had they been in the place of the Government, would have pursued substantially the same policy. Thus, although Mr. Cobden, in his speech on the resolution brought in by Mr. Disraeli censuring the foreign policy of the Government, severely blamed the proceedings of Lord Russell with reference to Schleswig-Holstein, the grounds of his censure were, not that we had disregarded treaties, or broken faith with Denmark, but that we had laboured so much as we had done to maintain the former and preserve the latter. Mr. Cobden expressed the genuine commercial spirit when he asked, "What was this Treaty of 1852, of which so much was heard? A few gentlemen sat around a table, and decreed the destinies of nations which were not consulted in the matter." Similarly, the cautious and pacific temper of the man of business, so strikingly contrasted with the temper of the gentlemen and men of honour which in former times inspired our policy, appeared in the review which he took of the British army and navy, dispersed about the world, and engaged in the protection of our colonies; thence inferring that to engage in a war with any of the great Continental Powers would be for England attended with extreme *difficulty* and *expense*. And the same prudential spirit appeared, in various degrees, to animate the great majority of our public men. When the notions of the gentlemen prevailed, England was not wont to count the cost so narrowly. It is not our business to decide which of these two policies is best calculated to subserve the interests of the country, or is the most just and rational in itself. On the one hand, the men of honour plunged us into ruinous expense; on the other, the commercial school, though they have saved our money, have lowered our character and prestige in Europe. The course of events in Europe during the next fifty years can form the only adequate criterion to guide, on this important question, the judgment of the philosophic historian.

The financial statement of Mr. Gladstone was again, among all the domestic transactions of the session, the chief point of attraction. His expectations of buoyancy and expansion in the revenue, as a consequence of that very reduction in fiscal burdens which ostensibly tended to diminish it, were again remarkably verified. On a comparison of the revenue with the expenditure of the past year, it appeared that there was a surplus of £2,037,000. On the general prosperity of the trade of the country, Mr. Gladstone entered into some striking details. The aggregate amount of that trade, it appeared (including imports and exports), had been, in 1861, £377,000,000; but, in 1863, it had risen to the unprecedented sum of £444,000,000. The disposal of the surplus was the next point of importance. A great fight was made by the farmers' friends to prevail upon the Government to apply at least a portion of it to the reduction of the malt tax. But the Government wisely resisted all these overtures, and in so doing were supported by a decided majority of the House. That tax, producing so many millions to the revenue, was felt to be too important to be made the subject of experiments; if it was to be touched at all, it must be thoroughly and systematically revised. But although the Government thus resisted the attempts to take off or diminish the duties on malt used in the manufacture of beer, they made a concession to the agriculturists in the shape of a remission of so much of the duty as had been hitherto levied upon malt used for the consumption of cattle. The House finally agreed to apply the surplus in the manner proposed by Mr. Gladstone—that is to say, partly in effecting a substantial reduction in the duties on sugar, partly by taking off a penny in the pound from the income tax.

In course of the discussions on the Navy Estimates, a singular incident occurred, which cost the Government the services of one of the Junior Lords of the Admiralty. A trial had recently been held in Paris, in which two conspirators, Greco and Trabucco, were charged with a plot against the Emperor's life. In the course of the trial, the Procureur-General stated that a paper had been found on the person of Greco, directing him, if in want of money, to apply to a Mr. Flowers, at 35, Thurloe Square, Brompton. This, the Procureur added, is the residence of an English member of Parliament, who, in 1855, was appointed banker to the Tibaldi conspirators against the Emperor's life. When the report of the trial came to be read in England, people asked each other what member of Parliament lives at 35, Thurloe Square, and who is Mr. Flowers? A reference to the Post Office Directory showed that the member in question was Mr. Stansfeld, the member for Halifax, and one of the Junior Lords of the Admiralty; nor was it difficult to discover that Mr. Flowers, alias M. Fiori, was no other than Mazzini, the ex-triumvir. Mr. Cox, one of the members for Finsbury, first drew the attention of the House, and of the member for Halifax, to the passage in the Procureur-General's speech, when Mr. Stansfeld, in reply, expressed great indignation that the Crown prosecutor of a friendly Power should have ventured to connect him, a member of the British Parliament, and a minister of the Crown, with the atrocious crime with which the prisoners were charged. He knew nothing either of Greco or of Mr. Flowers, whose letters were addressed to his house. As to Mazzini, he gloried in the friendship of such a man, the greatness and nobility of whose character were little appreciated; and he was

persuaded that to say that Mazzini had ever incited to assassination was as base a libel as could be uttered.

Incredible as it may seem, it would appear that, on the first occasion of the subject being mooted, it did not occur to Mr. Stansfeld that "Flowers" was merely the translation of the Italian word "Fiori." For, on a subsequent night, he distinctly admitted that he *had* authorised Mazzini to have his letters addressed to his house under the designation of M. Fiori, an expedient to which Mazzini was compelled to resort, because letters addressed to him from abroad in his own name were certain to be opened and read in some foreign post-office.

Mr. Stansfeld's first explanation left the matter still involved in considerable mystery. The subject was revived by Sir Laurence Palk a few nights afterwards, and warmly discussed, Mr. Pope-Hennessy reading extracts from letters written by Mazzini, with reference to other transactions, in which he appeared to justify assassination in certain cases. Again, on the motion for going into Committee of Supply, Sir H. Strachey moved as an amendment, "That the speech of the Procureur-Imperial on the trial of Greco, implicating a member of this House, and of Her Majesty's Government, in the plot for the assassination of our ally the Emperor of the French, deserves the serious consideration of this House." In the debate which ensued, Mr. Stansfeld made the admission respecting M. Fiori and his letters which we have already quoted; and also stated—with reference to the charge that he had acted as banker to the Tibaldi conspirators—that he had never had any knowledge of, much less sympathy with, the plots of assassination with which the names of Tibaldi, Orsini, and others were associated. He admitted, however, that he had at one time allowed his name to be inscribed on bank-notes (issued probably by the society of Carbonari, or revolutionary conspirators to procure the liberation of Italy), which he believed would have been used, not in the interest of assassins, but to aid in the establishment of a free and united Italy; but, acting on the advice of friends, he had withdrawn the permission. Lord Palmerston and other members of the Government warmly defended their colleague, and the amendment of Sir H. Strachey was rejected by a majority of ten. Nevertheless, Mr. Stansfeld, finding that the discussion of his conduct was becoming prejudicial to the position of the Government, resigned his post as Junior Lord. And, however confident we may be that Mr. Stansfeld was incapable of consciously assenting to plots which included assassination within their scope, it must be admitted that the matter was sufficiently serious, and that he had acted in a manner which laid him open to the charge of great imprudence. For, as our readers will recollect, one of the witnesses on the trial of this very Tibaldi—Grilli—who had turned king's evidence against his accomplices, distinctly implicated Mazzini in the projects for the assassination of the Emperor which were then on foot. And a member of the British Government must be like Cæsar's wife—above all suspicion of complicity with the darker portion of the plans of revolutionists.

The existence of the Government was seriously imperiled in July, when Lord Malmesbury, in the Lords, and Mr. Disraeli, in the Commons, moved the following resolution: "That this House has heard with deep concern that the sittings of the conference recently held in London have been brought to a close without accomplishing the important purpose for which it was convened. That it is the opinion of this House, that while the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the councils of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace." To the arguments used by the principal speakers in this debate, we may, perhaps, hereafter return; at present we notice it merely as an incident in the political history of the session. In the Lords, the Government was defeated by a majority of nine; but this was not unexpected. In the Commons, there were some brilliant passages of arms between the party leaders; but Mr. Horsman, it was generally felt, was not far from the truth, when he said that "the Government had made mistakes, but their opponents had endorsed them; so the parties were pretty much upon an equality." On a division, the amendment to Mr. Disraeli's resolution, moved by Mr. Kinglake, was carried by a majority of eighteen in a very full House, so that the Government was saved.

On the question of Parliamentary Reform, little interest was at this time felt in the country, and the apathy of the constituencies extended itself to their representatives in the House of Commons. Yet the question may be justly held to have advanced a stage, in consequence of a remarkable declaration made by Mr. Gladstone during the debate on Mr. Baines' bill for substituting a £6 rental qualification for the existing £10 householder franchise in boroughs. The previous motion had been moved by Mr. Cave; but Mr. Gladstone declared that although there was a general concurrence of opinion that the present was not a suitable time for the introduction by the Government of a comprehensive measure of Reform, yet he could not vote for the amendment, because it went to deny that the question of the reduction of the franchise was one which ought to be discussed and, if possible, settled. "What," he asked, "is the present state of the constituency, any departure from which some honourable gentlemen deprecate as a domestic revolution? At present we have, speaking generally, a constituency of which between one-tenth and one-twentieth—certainly less than one-tenth—consists of working men. And what proportion does that fraction of the working classes who are in possession of the franchise bear to the whole body of the working men? I apprehend I am correct in saying that they are less than one-fiftieth of the whole working classes. Is that a state of things which it would be a domestic revolution to meddle with? I contend, then, that it is on those who say it is necessary to exclude forty-nine-fiftieths that the burden of proof rests; that it is for them to show the unworthiness, the incapacity, and the misconduct of the working classes." He argued earnestly that the proper way of dealing with questions such as this, was not to wait till a vehement agitation

had been commenced in their favour, but boldly to anticipate and meet such agitation, and by conceding so much of its demands as was just and reasonable, deprive it of its dangerous quality, and, so to speak, take the wind out of its sails. Nor should it be considered as other than a portentous symptom if the working classes, engaged as they were in a continual and pressing struggle for subsistence, should take to agitating this question. "When a working man finds himself in such a condition that he must abandon that daily labour on which he is strictly dependent for his daily bread, it is only because then, in railway language, 'the danger signal is turned on,' and because he feels a strong necessity for action, and a distrust in the rulers who have driven him to that necessity." Mr. Baines' bill was lost by the adoption of the previous question, but it was evident to all that the ten-pound limit was condemned in general opinion, and could not much longer be maintained.

Another minister was compelled by circumstances to execute upon himself the "happy dispatch" before the end of the session. This was Mr. Lowe, the Vice-President of the Council, whom Lord Robert Cecil (now Lord Salisbury) charged with mutilating the annual reports of Inspectors of Schools, and excising from them passages which did not chime in with his own views, before submitting them to the House. An adverse resolution, grounded on this allegation, was carried in a thin House, and Mr. Lowe had no choice but to resign. But the explanation which he subsequently offered made it so abundantly clear that the charge was founded on a misunderstanding, and that he had done nothing but what the practice of his and other departments justified, that Lord R. Cecil frankly admitted that, had this explanation been made at first, he should have abandoned his charges; and the House was induced with little difficulty, on the motion of Lord Palmerston, to rescind the inculpatory resolution which it had just passed.

The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury—which, instead of being prorogued immediately after its opening, as had been the case since the reign of Anne, has gradually obtained the royal license, since the friendly intervention of Lord Derby in 1852, of proceeding to the dispatch of business—after discussions of extraordinary prolixity, passed what was called a "Synodical Judgment" (June 21, 1864), condemning the well-known work entitled "Essays and Reviews." Some time after, the matter was brought before the House of Lords, Lord Houghton desiring to know what was the legal effect of the judgment, and whether, in passing it, the Convocation had not exceeded its powers. On this occasion the Lord Chancellor (Lord Westbury) made a speech, the like of which, for scathing wit and contemptuous banter, has been seldom heard. "There are," he said, "three modes of dealing with Convocation, when it is permitted to come into action and transact real business. The first is, while they are harmlessly busy, to take no notice of their proceedings. The second is, when they seem likely to get into mischief, to prorogue them, and put an end to their proceedings; the third, when they have done something clearly beyond their powers, is to bring them before a court of justice and punish them." He went on to state that should any attempt be made to give validity to any act of Convocation, without the consent of the Crown, the persons so offending would incur the penalties of *præmunire*. "I am afraid my noble friend has not considered what the pains and penalties of a præmunire are, or his gentle heart would have melted at the prospect. The Most Reverend Prelate and the bishops would have to appear at the bar, not in the solemn state in which we see them here, but as penitents in sackcloth and ashes. And what would be the sentence? I observe that the Most Reverend Prelate gave two votes—his original vote and a casting vote. I will take the measure of his sentence from the sentence passed by a bishop on one of these authors—a year's deprivation of his benefice. For two years, therefore, the Most Reverend Prelate would be condemned to have all the revenues of his high position sequestrated. I have not ventured—I say it seriously—I have not ventured to present the question to Her Majesty's Government; for, my lords, only imagine what an opportunity it would be for my right honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to spread his net, and in one haul take in £30,000 from the highest dignitary, not to speak of the bishops, deans, archdeacons, canons, vicars, all included in one common crime, all subject to one common penalty. . . . Assuming that the report of the judgment which I have read is a correct one, I am happy to tell your lordships, that what is called a synodical judgment is simply a series of well-lubricated terms—a sentence so oily and so saponaceous* that no one could grasp it. Like an eel, it slips through your fingers—it is simply nothing; and I am glad to tell my noble friend that it is literally no sentence." Much more followed in the same strain.

The tone of indignation which pervaded the Bishop of Oxford's reply showed that the stinging words of the Chancellor had gone home; yet the Bishop's answer, unpremeditated as it must have been, was not lacking in force and dignity. "If a man," he said, "has no respect for himself, he ought at all events to respect the audience before which he speaks; and when the highest representative of the law in England, in your lordships' house, upon a matter involving the liberties of the subject and the religion of the realm, and all those high truths concerning which this discussion has arisen, can think it fitting to descend to ribaldry, in which he knows that he may safely indulge, because those to whom he addresses it will have too much respect for their characters to answer him in like sort—I say that this House has ground to complain of having its character unnecessarily injured in the sight of the people of this land, by one occupying so high a position within it. I know enough of this House, and of the people of England, to know that it is not by trying, in words which shall blister those upon whom they fall, to produce a momentary pain in those who cannot properly reply to them, that great questions can be solved; but that it is by dealing with

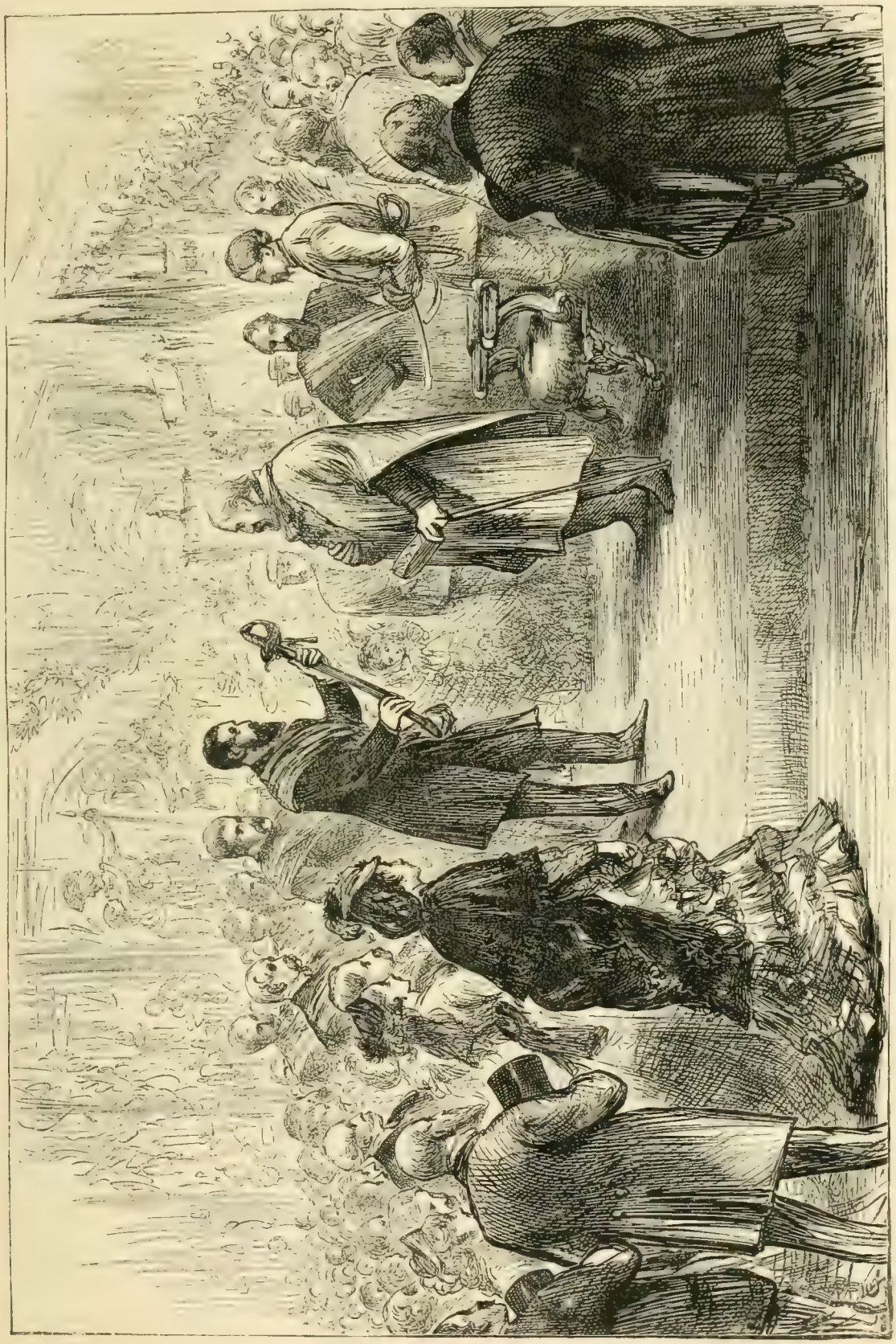
* The reader will observe the allusion contained in this phrase to a nick-name at that time notoriously applied to one of the most able and versatile members of the Bench of Bishops.

them with calmness, with abstinence from the imputation of motives, and, above all, with the most scrupulous regard to stating upon every point that which shall prevent any man in this House being led to a conclusion other than that which the facts warrant." Addressing himself then to the defence of the synodical judgment, he said: "We had to deal with this question—'Shall the Church of England see these false doctrines stated by

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

those who hold her ministry, and shall we, her highest ministers, having, under the sanction of our Queen, the opportunity of disavowing these errors, shall we timorously hold our tongues, because if we speak we may be subject to ribald reproach? or shall we, in the name of the Church of England, clear that ministry from being supposed to be at liberty to declare one thing as the condition of taking it, and then to speak another as the habit of its exercise?" It was not, my lords, to put down opinion; it was to prevent men breaking their solemn obligations that this step was taken."

Parliament was prorogued on the 29th July; and the records of the remaining five months of the year contain little or nothing of public interest. Earlier in the year, the visit of a distinguished foreigner had been attended with so much of popular excitement and enthusiasm, that it deserves more than a passing notice. The man who had borne so large a part in the unification of Italy and the humiliation of the Pope, had a double title to an uproarious welcome from Englishmen, by whom he was regarded as the scourge of despots, both ecclesiastical and civil. The English people are commonly called by foreigners apathetic and dull, incurably infected with the gloom of their climate. But it is very certain that no people is more easily roused to a frenzy of enthusiasm by the arrival of a "lion." Generally, it is true, the lion must be a very rare one, and he must be royal; an Eastern monarch, with a swarthy face and a coat blazing with jewels, and a train of native followers holding their very lives by his good leave. If a personage of this kind arrives, though his political importance be infinitesimal and his moral character questionable, all classes of society vie with each other in doing him honour. England goes mad for a time. But once and once only in her recent



PRESENTATION OF A SWORD TO GARIBALDI AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

history has she gone mad in the same way as this for an object wholly disconnected with the glitter and pomp of royalty. This was on the arrival of Garibaldi, in the April of this year (1864). There are various judgments abroad now-a-days upon Garibaldi. Since his visit to England, he has offended many of those who then cheered him warmly by unwise and unseemly interference with religious matters; and there is a party in England, small indeed, but not to be overlooked, who, full of sympathy for a defeated cause, especially a defeated Church cause, and bitterly resenting the means by which the Italian Government finally possessed themselves of Rome —means which they pronounce to have been treacherous and unwarrantable—do not forget that it is to Garibaldi primarily that all that has happened in Italy since the downfall of the Bourbons must be attributed. But, in 1864, the feeling towards him was one of almost unmixed admiration. He was known to be a brave and disinterested soldier. The cup of personal power had been often at his lips, and he had put it calmly aside for the sake of a higher good than that of power —the good of national peace and unity. The wonderful Sicilian expedition, the swift overthrow of Bourbon tyranny in South Italy, his resignation of himself and his conquests into the hands of Victor Emmanuel, and, lastly, his failure and wound at Aspromonte—all these were fresh in men's memories. He had simple manners too, a fine soldier-like presence, and a cheery smile—descriptions of his unpretending life and habits had long before his visit travelled to this country and quickened the popular enthusiasm. Thus it was that all England went out to meet him when he came, and his reception was a triumph for him, and a credit to us. He came by sea to Southampton in the Peninsular and Oriental steamer *Ripon*. It was Sunday when he arrived; but the quays of Southampton harbour were crowded, and the ships at anchor were alive with a cheering multitude. A small party of personal friends came out in a steam-tug to meet him, the Duke of Sutherland, Mr. Seely, M.P., an old friend of the General's, and a few Italian gentlemen, representatives of their countrymen in England. When they reached the *Ripon*, there was the General in the saloon waiting for them, his weather-beaten face bright with smiles; and as they neared Southampton and the crowded shores took up again and again the cry of welcome, Garibaldi came forward and stood upon the poop, waving his hand repeatedly, in answer to a greeting which thrilled all the spectators. Beside him stood his two sons, Menotti and Ricciotti Garibaldi, Signor Basso, his friend for fifteen years through war and peace, and his private secretary Dr. Guerzoni, a member of the Italian Parliament. He wore the red shirt, the uniform of those who volunteered with him for the service of Italy, and over it hung a grey and scarlet cloak, which fell round him in dignified folds, and suited his fine head and well-knit frame. Upon reaching the landing place, the Mayor of Southampton was introduced, and offered him hospitality in the name of the town and corporation. Garibaldi accepted the offer, and was driven to the mayor's house by an enthusiastic Caledonian poetess who had begged hard for the privilege of conveying him thither in her own carriage. A cheering crowd accompanied him, but, once safely housed, the fatigued "Liberator" retired to his room out of the sight of the popular enthusiasm. He was still lame from the effects of his wound, and required the support of a stick when he walked. On the following day, he crossed the Solent, and spent the remainder of the week with Mr. Seely, at his house in the Isle of Wight. His friends were careful to spare him any undue labour and excitement, for his strength was not yet re-established; still many people had the privilege of seeing him in this comparatively quiet time of his stay in England, who will not soon forget his simple kindly presence and ready talk, his zeal not only for Italian liberty, but for the cause of freedom in general, and that childlike element in his nature, which has led him into many mistakes and into more than one rash and foolish utterance of opinion in matters with which he had no concern, but which, seen close by, has a peculiar charm. The General, however, could not be allowed to let too much time slip away in the Isle of Wight, always so attractive in the spring weather, which comes earlier there than in any part of England, and colours the woods and hangs the cliffs with green before a bud on the mainland has broken. London, ever ready for some fresh excitement, and very glad to break the monotony of what promised to be a dull season, was waiting for its prey, and a splendid welcome was preparing. There was sufficient real feeling and real knowledge about the Italian question among the masses of the metropolis, to secure the champion of a free Italy a warm reception, but before his arrival the infectious enthusiasm of the well-informed few had spread to the ignorant many, to those who scarcely knew that such a country as Italy existed, and only thought vaguely of Garibaldi as a friend of the poor and oppressed. All along the line from Southampton to the capital, crowds filled the stations, while at Nine Elms, where the General was to alight, a multitude of working men, arranged in procession according to their trades, awaited him. Side by side with them stood peers and members of Parliament, and when Garibaldi arrived he was received like a prince, though there was a touch of passion in the reception which is granted to few princes.

"In the name of Britain's sons and daughters of toil, we bid you welcome to this metropolis," said the address of the working men, high-flown indeed, but, unlike most addresses, sincere. "We hail you as the representative of a regenerated and united Italy, and for the love we bear to that beautiful land and its noble people—so long oppressed, but now, thanks to your devoted patriotism and indomitable courage, almost freed from the foreign oppressors—we bid you welcome. Your name is to us a household word, the symbol of liberty, associated with lofty daring, bold enterprise, and unselfish devotion to the cause of human progress. For your noble deeds we thank, love, and welcome you; and in the name, the sacred name, of that liberty for which you have fought and bled, and which you have finally won for an oppressed people, we give you a place, the first place, in our hearts; and, while doing so, we cannot forget that

there are many who have been associated with you in your glorious enterprises who are also deserving of our admiration and esteem, especially the illustrious Joseph Mazzini, who has done so much for Italy, freedom, and humanity. . . . Accept, then, dear brother, our heartfelt delight at seeing you in our midst; and expressing a fervent desire for the full realisation of your hopes, namely, your country's and the world's freedom, once more—welcome!"

To this the General, leaning upon his stick, and evidently much moved, replied in a few broken sentences. His knowledge of English, never great, was apt to fail him in moments of excitement, and he was obliged to content himself with a few disjointed expressions of gratitude and pleasure. His presence, however, was enough, and his speech was lost in the cheering. A carriage drawn by four horses was waiting for him outside the station, to which the eager crowd inside at last allowed the Duke of Sutherland, whose guest he was to be, to carry him away. As it passed through Nine Elms, crowds, kept in order by mounted policemen, lined the roads, the front ranks of which pressed forward to shake the General's hand. At Wandsworth Road a halt was made while a monster procession of trades unions filed past. Upwards of 30,000 men took part in it, and as they passed the General one and all broke out in cheers and cries. Thirty thousand English workmen are a fine sight at any time, but London had more still to offer Garibaldi. To the dense multitude gathered at Vauxhall and Kennington, 30,000 men would have been as nothing. As far as the eye could see, road, windows, roofs were black with human beings, while down the closely-packed ranks ran one huge continuous cheer as the carriage approached. In Lambeth Road farther progress became for a time impossible, in spite of the efforts of the band of Italians preceding the carriage to clear the way. Nor was the enthusiasm less in the richer and more aristocratic portions of the city. Courage and sincerity found their meed here as elsewhere. The sunset on Westminster Bridge over the struggling crowds, and the calm river dotted with shipping beyond, was a sight not easily forgotten. It must have been a proud moment for the man thus welcomed by surging thousands of his fellow-creatures. Such an experience may well send the subject of it on his way encouraged and heartened for the future. And yet, perhaps, there is something sad about the unmeasured, unreasoning homage which humanity pays to those whom it holds to be its benefactors. Are there so few in the world, and is self-devotion so rare a virtue, that it must be acknowledged by such passionate gratitude?

Trafalgar Square was one vast sea of faces as the procession entered it, while along Pall Mall the clubs were lit up, and the windows and balconies filled with spectators. Ladies in gay dresses made bright spots of colour along the house-fronts, and every successive monument and statue was covered with gazers—boys found precarious seats among the medallions at the foot of the Nelson Column, while Charles I. and his horse were almost hidden from view by a band of adventurous spirits bestriding the animal's back, or perched upon the shoulders of the king himself. At last Stafford House was reached, and the long, fatiguing, exciting journey came to an end. Garibaldi was hoarse and wearied; the excitement had been almost too much for him, and after his introduction to the Duchess of Sutherland, his friends saw his retirement in the care of his host with relief. So far his visit had been an unexampled success; London had given him a noble welcome, as the most cynical confessed. Of the greater part of Garibaldi's stay in the capital little need be said here. He was fêted by the aristocracy, the best houses in London were open to him, while the leaders of society vied with one another in efforts to please and amuse him. Throughout it all he remained his simple unconscious self, unfeignedly pleased by the admiration and attention shown him, but always glad when he could escape the throng round him for a minute or two, and chat in a corner with a friend. He went one evening to the Opera, and the Royal Italian Opera Company celebrated his visit by performing the two great acts of "Masaniello," the fisher-patriot. Two days were spent in going over the Woolwich Arsenal, and in inspecting the great steam-plough manufactory of Messrs. Howard at Bedford. His visit to the Crystal Palace was the most striking event, however, of this period of his stay. From 25,000 to 30,000 people were congregated in the nave and centre transept of the Palace to bid him welcome. All ranks and professions were represented among them, and the great building crowded to the roof was an imposing sight. Garibaldi was received at the north wing of the Palace by the various officials of the Crystal Palace Company, by Mr. Grove, whose versatile genius has done so much for music at Sydenham, in the development of the Saturday Concerts, and by representatives of the Italian committees in London, wearing the scarf of the tricolour. The General addressed these last in Italian, and it was then seen with what vigour and ease he could speak when unshackled by the half-understood forms of a foreign tongue. Afterwards, wheeled along the gallery in a Bath chair, he was taken to the nave, where the assembled thousands of spectators were eagerly waiting. When he appeared the enthusiasm was tremendous. The great Handel orchestra, crowded from top to bottom, was one mass of waving handkerchiefs. Again and again the cheers re-echoed along the nave, to be drowned at last in the "Garibaldi Hymn," which was now familiar to all London. The hymn was the prelude to an Italian concert, performed by Italian singers. The inspiriting tuneful melodies of Italy suited the scene well. In every Italian's face shone that love of and profound admiration for the music of his country with which the followers of classical and German art find it so hard to sympathise. A German orchestra would have broken out in the "Choral Symphony," and so have lent a colossal voice and meaning to the scene; but perhaps the well-known love-songs and battle-airs of Italian opera were, independent of the compliment to the "Liberator," the best exponents of this gay, pretty scene, and suited best with the red shirts, the flags, the flowers, and the pleased faces

of the holiday-making crowd. When the "National Anthem" had brought the concert to an end, Signor Rossini, the best and most original of Italian musicians, accompanied by other members of the Italian Committee, presented Garibaldi with a beautiful sword in the east transept. "Accept, General," said Rossini, "this sword, which the Italians resident in London present to you as a mark of their admiration, and in memory of the reception given to you by free and noble England. May this sword, handed to you in this temple of peace by an exile of Venice, be destined to accomplish the independence of our beloved Italy." "I promise you," said Garibaldi in answer, "that I will never unsheath it in the cause of tyrants, and will draw it only in support of oppressed nationalities. I hope yet to carry it with me to Rome and Venice." After the fountains had played their best for his amusement, to the music of Italian patriotic airs, Garibaldi took his leave, amid the same uproarious cheering which had welcomed him. On the 20th, when he went to receive the freedom of the city of London, the same unmixed enthusiasm greeted him. We need not describe the multitudes in the City, or the great luncheon at the Mansion House. We have said enough to show how warm was the reception which England gave to the man whom she honestly believed to be the deliverer of Italy. The best side of popular feeling—its most sincere and generous side—was undoubtedly brought out, and all classes felt aggrieved when the enthusiasm evinced by the lower orders in the reception of Garibaldi was set down in certain quarters to revolutionary motives and tendencies. It began to be said, at the end of the General's visit, that the red shirt was an emblem of revolution, and that if he stayed longer in England a dangerous temper might be developed among the workmen who cheered him so lustily. That his visit, however, was shortened by a hint from the Government is doubtful—let us hope, for the sake of English common sense, that the explanation drawn from the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons, of Garibaldi's hasty departure, was the true one, and that it was really the enfeebled state of the General's health which hurried him away before he had time to fulfil half of his numerous engagements. But for this rumour, and the ill-feeling to which it gave rise, his visit was an unexampled success; and when the *Undine*, with the illustrious Italian on board, sailed out of Plymouth, on the 27th, she carried with her the good wishes of England, not only for himself, but for the great cause which once more claimed his undivided efforts, when a few days later he landed on the shore of Caprera.

Few of those who departed in the course of this year from their wonted places among men awakened in the hearts of the mourning survivors more sad and sympathetic regrets than Henry Pelham Clinton, fifth Duke of Newcastle. But fifty-three years old, and endowed by nature with an eager and buoyant temperament, he was just the man who might have been expected to pass a long life in doing good and faithful service for his country, and then to die in harness. But the gloom of a ghastly private sorrow had long hung over him; the incurable wound of an intolerable injury rankled in his soul—

Tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus!

At Oxford, he, the heir to one of the great Nottinghamshire "dukeries," the descendant of a long line of Barons of Clinton, who were nobles under William the Conqueror, was known as the warm and intelligent friend of Gladstone and Ruskin, and as a constant speaker at the "Union." He first entered Parliament as a member for the southern division of Nottinghamshire so far back as 1832, just after the passing of the Reform Bill. Adhering closely to Sir Robert Peel, he witnessed and rejoiced in the gradual reconstruction of the Tory party by that great statesman, under the new name of Conservatives. When Peel came into power for a short time in 1834, he appointed Lord Lincoln one of the Lords of the Treasury; and on his taking office at the head of that memorable administration which arose out of the Conservative triumphs in the elections of 1841, Lord Lincoln was sent to the Woods and Forests, and afterwards to the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland. He was a sensible and ready speaker, and a hard worker, but without possessing either eloquence or genius. The influence of his great chief converted Lord Lincoln to a belief in Free Trade, and it was with a full understanding that the Corn Laws were doomed by the statesman who came into power to uphold them, that the farmers of Nottinghamshire, when, in the early part of 1846, Lord Lincoln vacated his seat for the county in consequence of accepting the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland, were solicited by him for a renewal of their confidence. The vast territorial influence which the Duke of Newcastle, as the lord of Clumber, exercises in that county is well known; and on the present occasion all that influence was exerted to prevent the return of his son and heir. The eyes of all England were turned for the time towards this singular spectacle of the heir to the estates travelling, canvassing, haranguing, among those who would some day be his tenants, and of the father, the peer in possession, maintaining a dignified serenity, but writing one letter from Clumber to warn his faithful tenantry against the vicious and ruinous theories of his misguided son:

Verbosa et grandis epistola venit
A Caprois.

Possession proved stronger than expectancy; but even had the positions been reversed, the alarm of the farmers at the prospect of the free admission of foreign corn was too sincere to have permitted them to vote for a supporter of Free Trade. Lord Lincoln lost the seat by a majority of 700 votes; but he was not long out of Parliament, coming in for the Falkirk Burghs. From this time to his death he was one of the leading members of the Peelite party. He joined the coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen in 1853, with the office of Colonial Secretary, whence he was transferred to the War Office on the breaking out of war with Russia. He laboured hard to remedy the defects and shortcomings which forty years of peace had produced in our military system; nor were his labours unavailing; but after bearing up for some time against the torrent of censure and detraction of which his de-

partment was the object, he resigned the thankless office, giving place to Lord Panmure. Lastly, he took office under Lord Palmerston in 1859, accepting the post of Colonial Secretary, which he held till a few months before his death. He had studied colonial questions deeply, and none would deny him the praise of having administered the affairs of the department with firmness and justice, in a spirit of conciliation towards the colonists, yet with a due regard to the interests and dignity of the mother country. His judgment and political tact were seldom at fault, and were notably exemplified on the occasion of his accompanying the Prince of Wales to America in 1860, when he steadily refused to allow the demonstrations of welcome to the heir apparent to be made the vehicle for the gratification of national or religious rancour, telling the Mayor and Corporation of Kingston that he could not advise the Prince of Wales to accept their proffered hospitality, on account of the extent to which they had permitted their Orange zeal to interfere with the invitation.

Nassau William Senior, the eminent political economist, died this year at the age of 74. He came up to Oxford in the full flush of a self-confident temper, and armed with the weapon of a bright and penetrating intellect, disposed to educate himself after his own fashion, and to contemn what he regarded as the old-fashioned studies and methods of the place. But a seasonable check preserved him from the baneful intellectual consequences which the indulgence of this arrogant temper would probably have entailed. He was plucked at his examination for the B.A. degree; the mortification was great, and some sensible friend suggested that he should go and read with Whately, with the view of retrieving the disgrace. In Whately he found not only the classical tutor that he sought, but a college "don," whose powerful and active intellect, no less superior to vulgar prejudices than his own, he was compelled to respect, and also a friend with whom he maintained from that time an intimate communion of heart and spirit for more than fifty years. The effect of the conjunction of such a tutor and such a pupil was magical; Senior went in again for his examination in a few months, and came out in the first class. He adopted the law for his profession, in the equity branch of it, in which, however, he did not rise higher than to a Mastership in Chancery. In truth, economic science and literature attracted him far more powerfully than law. He was twice elected to the chair of political economy at Oxford, and wrote various works on that science. He was an eminent and representative member of the English school of economists, in whose hands the science of wealth tends to be mathematical and precise, and aims at excluding those moral and sentimental considerations from which most continental economists think that it cannot be disjoined. His mind, remarkable for the clear dry light which it brought to the analysis and classification of facts, was deficient in imagination and sensibility, though it made advances in this direction in the course of his later years, as his journals and letters testify. He was one of the commissioners in pursuance of whose report, founded on extensive investigation, and analysing the baneful working of the old law with extreme ability, the new Poor Law of 1834 was introduced and passed into law. Senior, we believe, was in favour of the rigorous application of the workhouse test, and disapproved the gradual relaxations by which so much of the old plan of outdoor relief has been re-introduced. He died in less than a year after the early friend, the contact with whose noble nature and robust intellect had first taught him to know himself and others, and to recognise the essential limitation of the powers of man.

On the 23rd of April, 1864, exactly three hundred years would have elapsed since the birth of Shakespeare; and before the anniversary arrived there was a general stir in literary and dramatic circles, out of a persuasion that a date so marked should be signalised by a national festival of a splendid character, which would show the world how England honoured her great poet. But it is one thing to resolve upon a festival, and another thing to carry it out. Our English system of every man doing just as he pleases, of voluntary and irregular effort, while it conduces to the development of trade and the spread of colonisation, is unfavourable to all that requires unity of design and harmony of arrangement for its successful execution. There was no proper central authority to take the business in hand; whoever, therefore, was most forward and fussy naturally obtained an undue prominence for his views in the programme of festivities; then persons who thought that they had done more for Shakespeare, or had a better claim to be consulted, went about asking, "Who is Mr. So-and-so, or Miss So-and-so, that they should stick themselves into such a prominent place? The whole affair will be a dead failure in such hands, and I shall have nothing to do with it." Something, however, was done, and, to some limited extent, well done. A great pavilion was erected by public subscription at Stratford-upon-Avon, which was to serve the threefold purpose of dining-room, theatre, and hall of discussion. On the morning of the 23rd of April, the Mayor of Stratford received, in the Town Hall, an address from the "Free German Institute of Arts and Sciences at Frankfort on the Main," describing in the glowing language of hero-worship the intellectual, and even moral, benefits which the signers believed to have been derived, for Germany not less than England, from the perusal and representation of the immortal dramas of Shakespeare. Professor Max Müller, in presenting this address, delivered a remarkable speech. He urged that hero-worship should henceforward replace for England that veneration of the saints which was so dear to our forefathers. "As the height of the Alps is measured by Mont Blanc, let the greatness of England be measured by the greatness of Shakespeare. Great nations make great poets; great poets make great nations. Happy the nation that possesses a poet like Shakespeare. Happy the youth of England, whose first ideas of this world in which they are to live are taken from his pages. That silent influence of Shakespeare's poetry on millions of young hearts, in England, in Germany, in all the world, shows the almost superhuman power of human genius. If one looks at that small house, in a small street of a

small town of a small island, and then thinks of the world-embracing, world-quickening, world-ennobling spirit that burst forth from that small garret, one has learnt a lesson and carried off a blessing for which no pilgrimage would have been too long. Though the great festival which in former days brought together people from all parts of Europe to worship at the shrine of Canterbury exists no more, let us hope, for the sake of England more than for the sake of Shakespeare, that this will not be the last Shakespeare festival in the annals of Stratford-upon-Avon. In this cold and critical age of ours, the power of worshipping, the art of admiring, the passion of loving what is good and great, are fast dying out. May England never be ashamed to show to the world that she can love, that she can admire, that she can worship the greatest of her poets! May Shakespeare live on in the love of each generation that grows up in England! May the youth of England still continue to be nursed, to be fed, to be reproved and judged by his spirit!"

Grand words, but, alas! words merely. If it be true that persons of literary culture, in certain phases of mind, can be said, without any great abuse of language, to worship the genius of a poet, it is equally certain that ordinary mortals, and persons of culture themselves in their ordinary moods, cannot and do not worship anything of the kind. Men worship, or reverence, not genius, but virtue; and there would be something so unreal, so factitious, and so forced in a series of festivals instituted to honour and glorify mere gifts of the intellect, that the common sense of mankind would speedily put them down. It is not Shakespeare tercentenary festivals, nor the familiarity with Shakespeare's plays—no, nor the familiarity with the best that has been said and thought by men of genius in every age—that can rekindle the flame of pure and deep feeling in the breasts of a "cold and critical" generation.

In London, the great memory of Shakespeare was

PLANTING "SHAKESPEARE'S OAK."

honoured in various ways, but the only truly public demonstration was that arranged by the Working Men's Committee. It was resolved to plant an oak in honour of Shakespeare at the foot of Primrose Hill. A young oak sapling was, by the Queen's gracious permission, obtained from Windsor Park; a procession of trades was organised from Russell Square; and after an oration had been delivered by Mr. George Moore, the chairman of the committee, Mr. Phelps, the celebrated actor at Sadler's Wells Theatre, planted the tree, and a Mrs. Banks, sprinkling it with water brought from the Avon at Stratford, christened it "Shakespeare's Oak."

The progress of Rationalism on all sides, and even among the clergy of the Establishment, made itself felt this year in various ways. The same Lord Chancellor,

who made so merry in Parliament with the "synodical judgment" of Convocation upon "Essays and Reviews," had previously, in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, given to two of the contributors to that volume the full benefit of the extremely latitudinarian character of his own theological sentiments. Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson had been condemned in the Court of Arches on two of the reformed articles of charge exhibited against them, and sentenced to a year's suspension. One article exhibited against Dr. Williams, which the Court below held to be proved, charged him with maintaining that the Bible, or Holy Scripture, was "an expression of devout reason," and the written voice of the congregation—not the Word of God, nor containing any special revelation of His truth, or of His dealings with mankind, nor of the rule of our faith. Another charged him with alleging that "the doctrine of merit by transfer is a fiction," and argued that this was at variance with the express language of the eleventh of the Thirty-nine Articles, which teaches that "we are accounted righteous before God only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not of our own works and deservings." With regard to the first article, the judgment of the Judicial Committee, as delivered by the Chancellor, was to the effect that the language used by Dr. Williams had been too harshly interpreted; as to the second, the Court accepted Dr. Williams's explanation, that by the term "fiction" he did

STORMING A NEW ZEALAND PAH.

not intend "false or fictitious statement," but merely "the phantasm in the mind of an individual that he has received or enjoyed merit by transfer." Upon the whole, the committee were of opinion that Dr. Williams had not outstepped the limits imposed by the formularies of the Church of England on the freedom of thought and discussion, and therefore decided that the sentence of a year's suspension must be reversed. In the case of Mr. Wilson, charged with encouraging the hope that the last judgment of God upon the wicked might not be really one consigning them to eternal punishment, the committee similarly held that this opinion was fairly tenable by clergymen of the Church of England, and therefore reversed the penal sentence of the Court of Arches.

An incident in the great Colenso anomaly, which occurred partly in this and partly in the following year, when stripped of the legal technicalities in which it was enveloped, resulted no less favourably for the advocates of free thought than the trial of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson. In virtue of letters-patent issued from the Crown, erecting Capetown into a metropolitan see, with Dr. Gray for its first bishop, and Natal as one of the suffragan sees, giving also to the metropolitan bishop jurisdiction over his suffragans, with a right of appeal only to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Gray had cited Bishop Colenso to appear in his Diocesan court of Capetown and answer to the charges of heresy, founded on the novel doctrines broached in his Essay on the Pentateuch, which had been brought against him. Dr. Colenso denied the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Capetown *in hac re*, and declined to appear; nevertheless, Bishop Gray proceeded to hear the charges, and, having decided them to be proved, he pronounced a sentence of deposition against Bishop Colenso, and prohibited his clergy from paying him canonical obedience. Dr. Colenso then appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is at the present day the depositary of the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, and prayed, not only that the sentence against him might be declared null and void, but that the letters-patent conferring jurisdiction on the Bishop of Capetown might be declared to have been illegal and of no effect *ab initio*. The case was argued on the 14th December and following days, but the judgment of the Judicial Committee was not delivered till March in the following year (1865). Of the contents of this curious and important judgment the reader will find a summary in a future chapter.

But the rationalising and anti-dogmatic party were not allowed to carry all before them; their flank was vigorously assailed by Mr. Disraeli, in November, who, in a speech delivered at a meeting of the Oxford Diocesan Society, attacked the new scepticism with all the resources of his bitter wit and unsparing rhetoric. He spoke of the clerical conformity to the doctrines which at their ordination they had vowed to maintain, whose works, he said—insufferably dull and interminably prolix—would, if we were compelled to peruse them, go far to realise for us that perpetuity of punishment which their authors deny. Speaking of the vitality of Christianity, he said: "The leading community of the continent of Europe has changed all its landmarks, altered its boundaries, erased its local names; the whole jurisprudence of Europe has been subverted; even the tenure of land, which of all human institutions most affects the character of man, has been altered; the feudal system has been abolished. . . . And what happened? When the turbulence was over—when the shout of triumph and the wail of agony were alike stilled—when, as it were, the waters had disappeared, the sacred heights of Sinai and Calvary were again revealed, and amid the wreck of thrones and tribunals, of extinct nations and abolished laws, mankind bowed again before the divine truths that had been by omnipotent power, in His ineffable wisdom, intrusted to the custody and promulgation of a chosen people." The highest science, he went on to say, was that which interpreted the highest nature, namely, the nature of man; but when he compared the new interpretations with the old, he was not prepared to say that the lecture-room was more scientific than the church. "What is the question which is now placed before society with the glib assurance which to me is most astounding? That question is this—Is a man an ape or an angel? My lord, I am on the side of the angels. I repudiate with indignation and abhorrence these new-fangled theories. I believe they are foreign to the conscience of humanity; and I say more—that even in the strictest intellectual point of view, I believe the severest metaphysical analysis is opposed to such conclusions."

CHAPTER VII.

The Ashantee War—Narrative of the Maori War in New Zealand: Its Origin in the Purchase of the Waitara Block: General Cameron takes the Command: Sir George Grey appointed Governor: Affair of Orakau: Repulse at Tauranga: Submission of some of the Tribes—Chinese Affairs: Taeping Rebellion Put Down: Colonel Gordon: Massacre at Soochow—Japanese Affairs: The Shore Batteries at Simonosaki Silenced or Taken: Prince of Nagato Submits—Irish Affairs: Great Fenian Meeting: Riots at Belfast: Their exciting Cause the O'Connell Demonstration in Dublin: The Orangemen Burn O'Connell in Effigy: Excesses of the Catholic Mob: The Navvies and the Ship-Carpenters: Troops Called Out: Rioters Tried before Baron Deasy: The Judge's Speech.

IT can seldom happen in a vast empire that a year should pass without some hostile collision taking place, either in one of its out-lying colonies, or in one of the semi-civilised yet wealthy communities which its merchants frequent. In 1864, little wars raged at the Cape Coast in Africa, and in New Zealand, England's youngest and fairest colony; while both in China and Japan hostilities, in which we were more or less engaged, were carried on. The Governor of Cape Coast Castle having refused to give up to the King of Ashantee two of his slaves who had taken refuge within British territory, the King made an incursion into the lands of the Fantees, a friendly tribe inhabiting that portion of the coast which adjoins our settlement. Thereupon Governor Pim ordered a force to proceed on an expedition into the Ashantee country, which, however, produced no coercive effect on the barbarian, and resulted in a heavy loss in officers and men, owing to the pestiferous nature of the climate. The

matter was of no great consequence, yet, when it came to be debated in the House of Commons, it nearly upset the Government. Sir John Hay moved a resolution of censure, and, while acquitting the inferior authorities of blame, endeavoured to fix it all on the Cabinet. "The actual responsibility," he said, "lay on the Cabinet—the men who had betrayed Denmark and truckled to Germany; who had convulsed China and devastated Japan; who, ten years ago, sent a British army to perish of want and cold in a Crimean winter; and who had now sent out some hundreds of British troops to perish of hunger, thirst, fever, and want of shelter, on the burning plains and in the fetid swamps of Central Africa." Sir John Hay's resolution, in a rather full House, was rejected by the narrow majority of seven.

In New Zealand, where a native war had existed since 1860, some decided advantages were gained this year by General Cameron, and certain native tribes gave in their unconditional submission. The war arose out of a quarrel respecting what was known in the colony as "the Waitara purchase." An individual Maori, named Teira, belonging to the tribe of Wiremu Kingi (*Anglice*, William King), offered to the Government for sale, in 1859, a block of land on the river Waitara, near Taranaki. The Government, believing that no other rights over the land existed except those of the vendor, agreed to purchase it; but this decision was vehemently protested against by Wiremu Kingi, who maintained that Teira could not of his own authority sell the land. Troops were sent to Taranaki in 1860, by the aid of whom the block of land was occupied; and thus commenced a harassing and inglorious Maori war, in the course of which the town of Taranaki was seized and plundered, and the entire settlement ravaged, by the native insurgents. To Major-General Pratt, who did little more than hold his ground against the Maories, succeeded Major-General Cameron, an officer of great vigour and ability; but still the resistance of the Maories, favoured by the wooded nature of the country, and the sparseness of the European population, continued. In 1861, the Duke of Newcastle summoned Sir George Grey (formerly Governor of New Zealand for several years at a most critical period) from the Cape colony, and intrusted him with the government of New Zealand. After a careful investigation—which, from his intimate knowledge of the native customs, no man living was more capable of conducting—into the original cause of quarrel, Sir George Grey wrote to the Duke of Newcastle (April, 1863) that it was his settled conviction, "that the natives are, in the main, right in their allegations regarding the Waitara purchase, and that it ought not to be gone on with." Proclamation was accordingly made to the natives that the purchase was abandoned, and all claim to it on the part of the Government renounced. But the passions of the Maories had been roused by the long continuance of a state of war, and their cupidity whetted by the plunder which they had amassed; the proclamation, therefore, produced little effect. On the part of the natives, the war chiefly consisted in the surprise and murder of scattered settlers, or in a guerrilla warfare against outposts and small detachments of the troops; on our part, it consisted in a series of attacks on their fortified *pahs*, or stockades, and, as a parallel operation with the former, in the securing of our flanks and rear, as the troops gradually penetrated into the interior, by the construction of good military roads. In some cases *pahs* were stormed with little loss; but the troops were not always so fortunate. The Maori position of Orakau (April, 1864) cost us a loss of sixteen killed and fifty-two wounded to storm; and in an attack on a strong *pah* at Tauranga, on the north coast, the troops were actually repulsed, with a loss of ten officers and twenty-five rank and file killed, and four officers and seventy-two rank and file wounded. The heavy loss in officers is thus explained in General Cameron's despatch:—"The assaulting column, protected by the nature of the ground, gained the breach with little loss, and effected an entrance into the main body of the work, when a fierce conflict ensued, in which the natives fought with the greatest desperation. Lieutenant-Colonel Booth and Commander Hay, who led into the work, fell mortally wounded; Captain Hamilton was shot dead on the top of the parapet while in the act of encouraging his men to advance, and in a few minutes almost every officer of the column was either killed or wounded. Up to this moment the men, so nobly led by their officers, fought gallantly, and appeared to have carried the position, when they suddenly gave way, and fell back from the work to the nearest covert. This repulse I am at a loss to explain otherwise than by attributing it to the confusion caused among the men by the intricate nature of the interior defences, and the sudden fall of so many of their officers." The *pah* was evacuated by the Maories on the following night, and they were soon after routed with heavy loss while endeavouring to intrench themselves near Tauranga. The Maories of this district soon after (August, 1864) submitted themselves unconditionally to the Governor, who expressed his intention of dealing leniently with them, and not in any case depriving them of more than one-fourth of the lands to which they should be ultimately proved to be entitled. The war was thus at an end on the north coast, but lingered on for some time longer in the Waikato country and around Taranaki.

In China, the rebellion of the Taepings was this year almost entirely suppressed, chiefly through the aid of British officers; but the suppression was attended with circumstances which called forth loud reclamations in Parliament against the policy of the Government. An Order in Council had been passed authorising British subjects to enter into the service of the Emperor of China; and a Colonel Gordon, taking advantage of the order, assisted by other English and American officers, drilled and disciplined a body of Chinese soldiers in the European fashion, and employed them in driving the Taepings and other disorderly characters beyond the thirty-five mile radius which had been stipulated for on behalf of the treaty ports. Following up his advantage, and co-operating with the military mandarins, Gordon, in the summer of 1864, aided them to reduce the town of Soochow, the last stronghold of the Taepings, of whom 30,000, including women and children, were cruelly mas-

sacred by the mandarins after the surrender. When the news of the massacre reached the British Government, the Order in Council authorising British subjects to enter the Chinese service was immediately revoked. This, however, did not avert a severe arraignment of their policy in Parliament, in which the Opposition were joined by several non-intervention Radicals. Mr. Cobden, who at this time was bitterly opposed to Lord Palmerston, and lost no opportunity of attacking him, had the hardihood to declare that if we had never interfered in the affairs of China at all, our trade with that country would have been in a sounder and more thriving condition than it then was. Lord Palmerston's reply was cogent and unanswerable. He pointed out that the general policy of this country towards China was guided by the principle of the extension of commerce, and all the interferences of the Government had been rendered necessary by circumstances connected with the protection of the mercantile interests of Englishmen. As to the cruelty and perfidy of the imperialists, however that might be, the Taepings were infinitely the worse of the two, each of them possessing the normal characteristics of the Chinese. The object of the Government, in assisting the Chinese Government in the collection of its revenue, and in allowing the services of British subjects to be placed at its disposal, was the restoration of order in the empire, the existence of which would be most advantageous to the commercial operations of this country in China. That permission, however, had been withdrawn, and would not be renewed. It was not difficult to prove against Mr. Cobden that, contemporaneously with the execution of the policy which he condemned, an immense development of our trade with China had taken place.

In Japan, several more horrid murders of Englishmen were committed by fanatical natives during the year; and an attempt was made, which was only partially successful, to destroy the batteries of Simonosaki. These batteries commanded the entrance into the inland sea of Japan, and the ruler of the place was in the habit of trying their range on any foreign vessel, of whatever nationality, that attempted to pass. An expedition, consisting of English, French, and Dutch ships-of-war, was organised at Yokohama, and, sailing to Simonosaki, subjected the batteries to a heavy cannonade (September 5), which was, however, vigorously returned, and with considerable loss to the expedition. Parties of sailors and marines landed, spiked the guns in some of the batteries, and brought others, to the number of sixty, with three mortars, on board the ships. On the 10th September, a minister from the ruler of the country, the Prince of Nagato, came off, armed with full powers to conclude a convention, which was ultimately arranged on the following terms: (1) That the Strait of Simonosaki should be opened to the vessels of all nations; (2) that the shore batteries should neither be armed nor repaired; (3) that the Allied Powers should receive an indemnity, the amount of which was to be fixed by their representatives at Jeddo.

In Ireland, the unhappy consequences which result from the secular oppression of one race or religion by another were painfully illustrated this year by the riots at Belfast. Earlier in the year, a significant event had occurred in Dublin, which first disclosed the strength and wide extension of the Fenian conspiracy. A Fenian convention had met the year before in America, but that the society numbered thousands and tens of thousands of enthusiastic supporters in Ireland itself was not generally known before the Rotunda meeting, on the 23rd February, 1864. This meeting, having been called by the O'Donoghue, Mr. A. M. Sullivan, and other leaders of what was called the National party, to testify their indignation at the proposal to erect a monument in Dublin to the memory of the Prince Consort, was mobbed, soon after the proceedings began, by a preconcerted attack of Fenians, and after a good deal of fighting vanquished and dispersed.

But the desperate riots which took place at Belfast, in the autumn, threw all minor scuffles into the shade. Ever since the time when, in the early years of James I.'s reign, after the self-imposed exile of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, the greater part of the province of Ulster was forcibly taken away from the original possessors of the soil, and parcelled out in grants of 1,000 or 2,000 acres among English Protestants and Scotch Presbyterians, the north of Ireland has been the scene of perpetual conflict, more or less undisguised, between native and colonist, Protestant and Catholic, Celt and Saxon. And this has been especially the case of late years, since the growth of the larger manufacturing towns, such as Belfast and Londonderry, has forced within narrower limits, and brought into closer contact, these two parties, as opposed in politics as they are irreconcilable in religion. In the country districts, the animosity between them, though always there, and ready to burst forth on provocation, shows itself rarely in overt acts of violence—or rather, its outbreaks are periodical, and can be calculated on. An Orange festival, or the death and burial of some country champion of either side, is well known to fan the smouldering flame. The procession of Orangemen can hardly hope to bear its flags and drums to their destination without some affront on the road, and hostile crowds may be expected at the Burial Service; or, unless the friends and relations of the dead are both strong and watchful, some midnight outrage may very probably be wrought upon the grave. But in the great towns, the state of things is far worse, and party relationships take a keener edge. In Belfast especially, the great seat of the linen manufacture, where thousands of men and women of both parties are employed in the factories, party spirit has always run extraordinarily high, and collisions between Catholics and Protestants have been frequent and bitter. In the August of this year, disastrous riots broke out in the town, under the following circumstances. There had been a great demonstration at Dublin, on the 8th, in honour of the famous Daniel O'Connell, and a monument had been inaugurated to his memory, as the champion of Catholic Emancipation and of the Repeal of the Union. The demonstration itself went off quietly. There was no disturbance in the streets, and members of both religions seem to have taken part in the procession. The Lord Mayor presided at the dinner

given afterwards in the Rotunda; the Pope was omitted from the list of toasts; and the speeches, though delivered mostly by Roman Catholics, were both loyal and peaceable. It was a gathering creditable alike to the strong feeling and good sense of Irishmen. But the Protestants of Belfast, always keenly alive to the position of affairs in the capital, as is natural to a party which although in the ascendant knows itself to be insecure, felt, when the accounts of the Dublin proceedings reached them through the newspapers, extremely annoyed. They seem to have taken the affair not only as a triumph, but as a challenge, on the part of the Catholics. Accordingly, they eagerly prepared a counter-demonstration. An insulting effigy of O'Connell was made and carried through the streets, attended by thousands of mill-workers; and in the evening it was publicly burnt, amid the exulting cheers and laughter of the assembled crowds. Nor was this all. Next day, the Protestants announced that having burnt O'Connell, they must now proceed to bury him. A coffin was prepared, and borne solemnly to the gate of the Friar's Bush Cemetery, where it was, of course, refused admittance; after which it suffered the same fate as the effigy, and the ashes were thrown into the river running through the town. The bonfire, however, was still blazing, and the crowds around it were still engaged in hooting the "Liberator," when it became known that the Catholics were out in the Protestant quarters of the town, smashing windows and breaking furniture—a more serious and practical method of retaliation than that resorted to by the Orangemen.

Night put an end to the disturbance for the time, but on the following day matters became serious. Between five and six o'clock in the morning, affrays occurred between various bodies of mill-workers going to work. The day passed off quietly, but in the evening an encounter took place between the Catholics and the inhabitants of Brown Square. The Catholics were for the time beaten off; but returning, armed with brickbats and other missiles, they fell upon the constabulary, who had by this time arrived upon the scene, leaving five or six severely wounded. All through the night the fray continued. The Catholics watched their opportunities, and as soon as the apparently restored quiet of the town had deceived the police into retiring, they made rushes through the respectable quarters, smashing windows and destroying property as they went. The police made some captures, but nothing damped the spirit of the Catholic mob, and the rioting continued unabated during the whole of the following day, and throughout Friday and Saturday. Sunday was quiet, but Monday brought with it fresh scenes of disorder, accompanied with worse injuries to life and limb than had been the case hitherto. A body of Roman Catholic navvies attacked the Protestant houses in Brown Street and the national school, wrecking both the buildings and their contents. While thus engaged, they were set upon by a party of exasperated Orangemen, and a regular fight ensued. The police at length, after many fruitless attempts, succeeded in separating the struggling crowds, but not before many on both sides had been badly hurt. The authorities saw that it was high time extreme measures were taken. The police, so far, had been able to do little or nothing towards the suppression of the riots; it was a question of force to be met by force, and the military were called out, under Mr. Lyons, J.P., and posted in the Protestant districts. But the Irish blood was up, and the sight of the soldiers produced none of the hoped-for effect upon the reckless mob, armed with bludgeons and pitchforks, which seemed bent upon wrecking the prosperous and wealthy town. Next day, both soldiers and police fired upon the people. Two were shot dead in the *melée*, and between fifty and sixty seriously injured. There was a fearful rumour in the course of the day, that the ship-carpenters, mostly Orangemen, had seized upon the gunpowder stores, besides confiscating the contents of two gunsmiths' shops. The gunpowder, however, was saved by the prompt action of the authorities. On the 17th, the ship-carpenters vowed vengeance upon the navvies, who had wrought such havoc at the outset of the riots, and having forced their enemies into the mud-banks in the harbour, they fired upon them from the shore, killing one and wounding nine or ten. All Ireland, however, by this time was roused and indignant; the excitement in Dublin was great, and, it being quite evident that the Belfast authorities had no adequate force at hand to cope with the disturbances, large reinforcements were sent from the capital and other parts to the number of about 4,000 men. These troops, encamped in the city, succeeded in preventing any further violence on a large scale; while the clergy, whose remonstrances till now had been treated with contempt, taking advantage of the enforced quiet produced by their presence, went in and out among the combatants preaching peace and moderation. At length, on the 24th, Belfast was reported tranquil, though an unfortunate occurrence on that day had well-nigh renewed the hostility between those formidable adversaries the ship-carpenters and the navvies; and the bruised and sobered rioters began to look forward uneasily to the reckoning to come.

The town looked as Paris looked after the Commune. Whole streets stood windowless and doorless; here and there houses lay in ruins; while the *debris* of property of all kinds blocked up the roadway. In the hospitals deaths were occurring daily. The price of provisions went up, and the poorer classes suffered severely. Depression settled upon the town. Even an Irishman and partisan could hardly consider the unbridled license of the preceding fortnight worth the misery and privation it had brought. Unfortunately, the mischief did not end with Belfast; other parts of Ireland caught the spirit of the rioters. But the authorities had been put on their guard, and the prompt dispatch of troops to Dundalk and Newry nipped the disturbances there in the bud.

At the spring assizes in the following year, 1865, many persons concerned in the riots were brought up for trial. The judge, the Right Hon. Baron Deasy, in his speech to the grand jury, dwelt on the serious nature of the disturbances. According to the report of Dr. Murney, surgeon to the General Hospital, 316 persons had received more or less severe injuries, 219 had recovered,

11 died; while at the time the report was presented (November 6, 1864) there were 98 cases of gun-shot wounds still under treatment. "This," said Baron Deasy, "reads more like the *Gazette*, after a very serious military or naval engagement, than the return presented to a judge of assize at the assizes in this country. Important military events, perhaps decisive of a campaign—the occupation of a city, the surrender of a commanding position—have been achieved with less effusion of human blood, and a smaller sacrifice of human life." At the conclusion of the Baron's long and eloquent speech, the trials came on in order, Mr. Butt, Mr. Hamill, and Mr. MacMahon appearing for the Roman Catholic prisoners. In most cases a verdict of guilty was returned, and the sentences varied from two years' imprisonment with hard labour to three months.

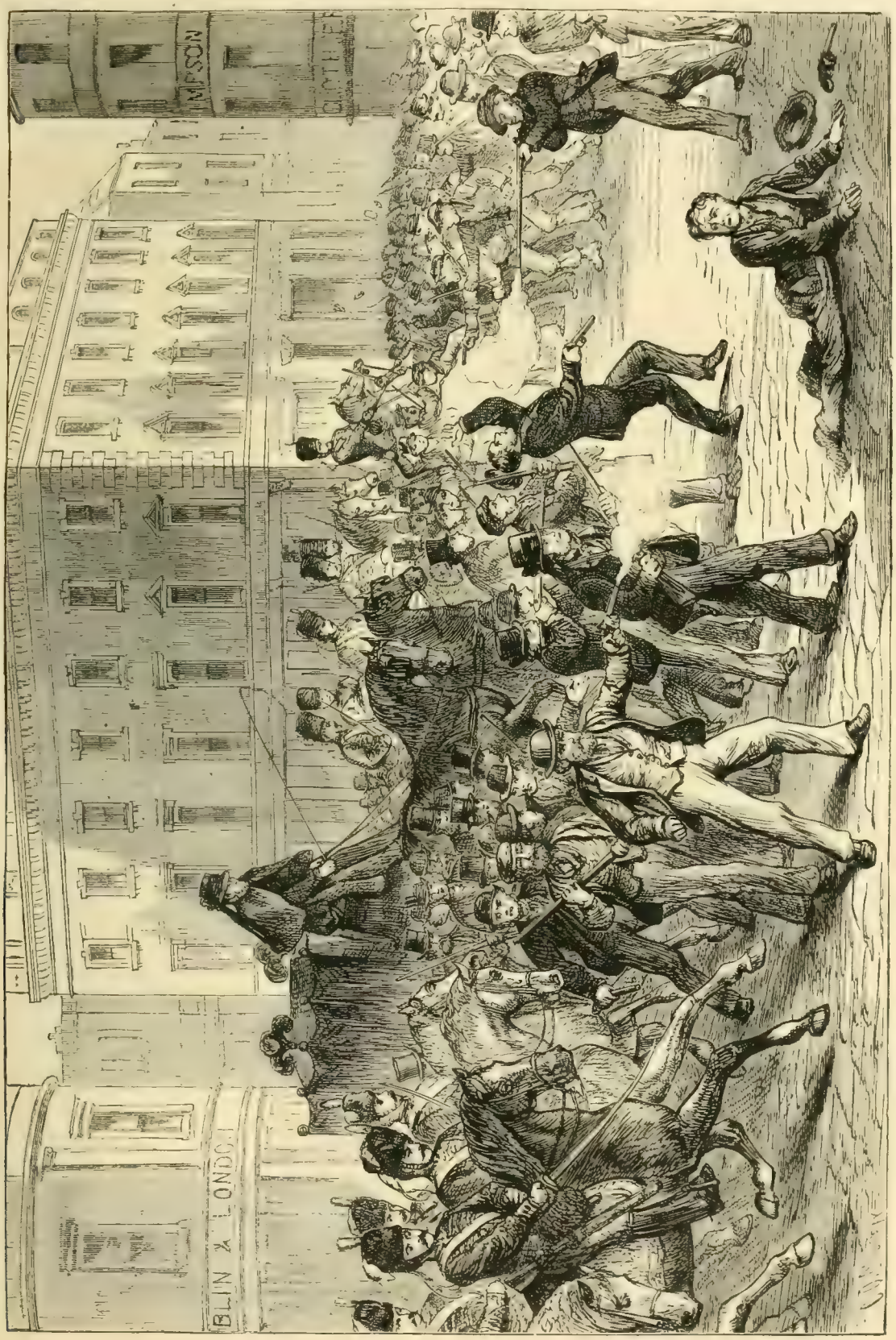
We cannot do better than conclude our account of these miserable scenes of party passion and violence by another quotation from the Judge's speech:—"I trust, gentlemen, that Belfast, which has so long been an example to the rest of Ireland for its manufactures and commercial industry, will in a short time be a model of peace and propriety. The inhabitants, by so demeaning themselves, will not only conduce to their own welfare and that of the community of which they are members; they will thereby hasten the advent of that time, which, I trust, is not far distant, when antagonism of race and religion will have ceased—when Irishmen, from whatever race they may have sprung, whatever religion they may profess, or whatever party they may belong to, will yet remember that they are children of one common country, which has need of the exertions of all her sons; and while exercising to the fullest extent their legal rights and constitutional privileges, while giving the fullest, freest expression within the wide limits of the law to their religious and political opinions, they will respect each other's feelings and each other's opinions, however little they may sympathise with the one, or however widely differ from the other, and will be content to dwell and work together on this fair land."

Vain hope! It does Baron Deasy credit; but the troubles of Ireland lie deeper down than perorations can reach. The sense of personal and social duty is temporarily dead in the lowest class of Irishmen. With them, everything else has for years been swallowed up in the sense—however unwarranted, however unjust—of political injury. To a Roman Catholic, an Orangeman is the sign and symbol of a state of things against which Fenianism was a protest. The sight of his processions and his flags revives in the Catholic the memory of Cromwellian settlements, of penal laws, of the wholesale corruption which led to the Repeal of the Union, and the withdrawal of the right of self-government from the country—bygone mistakes and crimes of England, about which the information of the uneducated Irishman is of the most meagre and confused description, but the thought of which, nevertheless, guides his opinion and shapes his action at all critical points. The Irish difficulty is real enough and serious enough, but it is the political situation which lends it its sting, and destroys all chance of that peaceful and gradual solution which the contact of years often brings with it.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Schleswig-Holstein Question: Its Complexity: Statistical Details: Languages in Schleswig: History of its Connection with Denmark: Its Union with Holstein Ratified in 1386: Events of 1460: Schleswig Partitioned: Lex Regia of 1665: Law of Succession in Schleswig and in Holstein: Ducal Schleswig Annexed to Denmark in 1713: Treaty of 1720: Cession of 1773: Patent of 1846: Relations of Holstein to Denmark: Doubtful Nature of the German Claim that Schleswig and Holstein are of right Indivisible: Summary of Conclusions: War in the Duchies in 1848: Battle of Idsted: Peace in 1850: Arrangements of 1851-2: Treaty of London to Settle the Succession; Its inherent Defects: Denmark Governs the Duchies Harshly: Eider Dane Party: Grievance as to Language: Common Constitution for the Danish Monarchy: Differences between Denmark and the German Diet: Proclamation of March 30, 1863: Excitement in Germany: Ordinance of November 18, 1863: The Diet Decrees Federal Execution: Federal Troops Enter Altona; Occupy Holstein: English Diplomacy in regard to the Duchies to the end of 1863: Death of the King of Denmark: The Prince of Augustenburg: Action of Prussia and Austria: Denmark counts on receiving Aid from the Western Powers: Austro-Prussian Army Enters Schleswig: The Dannewerke Abandoned: Prussians Storm the Lines of Düppel: Diplomatic Exertions of Earl Russell; He is Reminded of the Treaty of 1720: General Aversion to War in England: Great Meeting at Manchester: Attitude of France: England might have interfered with effect: Reflections: Naval Action off Heligoland: Conference held in London: Armistice: The Conference Fails: Renewal of Hostilities: Prussians Take Alsen: End of the War: Denmark Cedes the Duchies to Austria and Prussia: They are Governed by Commissioners: Symptoms of Disunion between the Two Powers—Convention of September between France and Italy: Removal of the Capital to Florence.

THE series of transactions on which we have now to enter is one in regard to which few Englishmen, even of those most wedded to the principle of non-intervention, can look back to the part played by their country without pain and some degree of misgiving. In 1864, Schleswig and Holstein, provinces which had been dependent on the crown of Denmark (though under different titles), the first since 1027, the second since 1386, were invaded and overrun by the armed hosts of Austria and Prussia, and forcibly severed from the Danish crown. This was done in disregard of the remonstrances and in defiance of the menaces of England, and in spite of the known disapproval of France. Yet England and France were both bound by a treaty passed when the Stanhope Ministry was in power in 1720, after the termination of the wars and disturbances caused by the ambition of Charles XII., by which they guaranteed to the King of Denmark, his heirs and successors, the peaceable possession of ducal Schleswig, promising to maintain them therein *contra quoscunque*. How came it that, when the critical moment came, neither power redeemed the solemn pledge given by the representatives of the two nations in a former generation? In the case of France, then under a "personal Government," the causes may, perhaps, be found not difficult of discovery; but why England deserted Denmark is a complex and embarrassing inquiry. We shall endeavour to place the facts before the reader in as plain and intelligible a shape as possible, and leave him to form his own judgment on them.



SCENE AT A BELFAST RIOT.

No Englishman can hope, within the limits of a lifetime, to unravel to the last complication the tangled skein of Schleswig-Holstein history, of Schleswig-Holstein politics. But we shall endeavour to throw light on certain prominent points of the controversy, which are these:—1. The nature of the connection between Schleswig and Denmark. 2. The nature of the connection between Holstein and Denmark. 3. The origin and validity of the claim set up by the democratic party in the duchies, and strongly supported in Germany, that the provinces could not and should not be separated. 4. The extent of the rights and obligations which England had incurred by treaty in reference to Schleswig-Holstein, and the manner in which these were recognised and fulfilled.

But first, for the sake of clearness, a few geographical and statistical details may properly be given. Continental Denmark consisted, before the war of 1864, of four provinces—Jutland, in the extreme north; Schleswig, to the south of Jutland, bounded on the south by the river Eyder; Holstein, between the Eyder and the Elbe; and Lauenburg, a small province to the east of Holstein, lying between it and Mecklenburg. The population of the monarchy in 1860 was as follows:—

Denmark proper (including the islands) ...	1,600,551
Schleswig	409,907*
Holstein	544,419
Lauenburg	50,147
Total	2,605,024

The language and nationality of Denmark proper are wholly Danish; in Schleswig, the population is pretty nearly divided between those who speak Danish and those who speak German, the former occupying the northern, the latter the southern districts of the duchy. Holstein and Lauenburg are wholly German. In religious profession there was no difference of any moment throughout the Danish monarchy; Lutheranism was the prevailing creed for Danes and Germans alike.

1. Let us now trace back to its origin the connection of Schleswig with Denmark. Charlemagne, the Nimrod of the dark ages, the great conqueror and civiliser of his day, carried his arms beyond the Eyder, and made of Schleswig a Danish mark, or march—that is, one of the outer and limitary provinces of his empire. Henry the Fowler, about the year 940, restored and strengthened this march. But the Emperor Conrad the Salic, in 1027, restored Schleswig to the Danes, handing it over to King Knut, the Canute of English history. Since that time the Eyder has been the northern boundary of Germany and of the Reich, or Holy Roman Empire, according to the ancient saying, "Eydora finis Romani imperii." From this period dukes ruled in Schleswig, holding it as a fief of the Danish crown. In the thirteenth century, the Danish crown having passed to another family, a long period of conflict between kings and dukes commenced, in the course of which the dukes naturally looked out for external help, and received it from the Counts of Holstein, the German province on their southern border. At last, through an usurpation—for there is no evidence that the arrangement was sanctioned by the Danish crown—the duchy reverted to a Count of Holstein, claiming through one of his ancestors, Count Gerhard the Great, whom several intermarriages with the ducal house, and the failure of direct heirs to the Schleswig dukes, had placed in a sort of hereditary nearness to the ducal title. This was in 1375. Queen Margaret of Denmark recognised accomplished facts, and, in 1386, invested the Count of Holstein, who belonged to what is called the Rendsburg line, with the duchy of Schleswig, to be held as a military fief of the Danish kingdom. Thus the Count-Duke, while still owing allegiance to the German empire in respect of Holstein, did homage to the sovereign of Denmark for the duchy of Schleswig. It is emblematic of the vitality of feudal usages and arrangements that this complicated plan of government, though much modified as time went on, remained substantially in force till 1864. After 1386, the union between Schleswig and Holstein was never entirely broken.

The Dukes of Schleswig-Holstein had a troubled time for many years. It was a favourite project of theirs to subjugate the brave Ditmarshers on the west coast, and one of them, Duke Gerhard VI., lost his army and his life on such an expedition. There were terrible family feuds also, and great confusion, during which a feudal court at Nyborg (1413) declared Schleswig to have lapsed to the crown of Denmark, and the German Emperor Sigismund ratified the award. But, in 1440, the then King of Denmark re-invested Duke Adolf with the duchy of Schleswig-Holstein, "as a direct hereditary fief" (Zu einem rechten Erblehn). Duke Adolf died in 1459, and with him the male line of the Rendsburg house became extinct. This is the most critical epoch of Schleswig-Holstein history.

For, in 1448, Duke Adolf's eldest nephew, Count Christian of Oldenburg, had been raised to the throne of Denmark, and soon after, probably not without some pressure from his uncle, he confirmed a constitution, first made in 1326, to the effect that Schleswig should never be united to the Danish crown. Moreover, when, by Adolf's death, the ducal throne was vacant, the Land-rath, or Estates, of Schleswig-Holstein, with whom by ancient constitutional right the choice of a new ruler rested, met in 1460, and elected their late Duke's nephew, Christian I.,

* The composition of the population of Schleswig, with reference to nationalities, is a question of great importance, and one on which extraordinary misstatements have been made. The Chevalier Bunsen, in his memoir addressed to Lord Palmerston, in 1848, describes the population of Schleswig as amounting to 700,000, of whom about 120,000, along the northern frontier, were of Danish origin. But the most trustworthy authorities that can be obtained represent the proportions very differently. According to the (Danish) Royal Almanack of 1851 (see Knight's "English Cyclopædia"), the population of the duchy of Schleswig then amounted to 557,000 persons, thus distributed in respect of language:—

29,000	speak Friesian (a dialect of Low German).
122,000	" Danish.
124,000	" Low German.
36,000	" A mixed dialect—half Danish, half German.
51,000	" Danish ordinarily, but have adopted German as the language of the schools and churches.
195,000	

The numbers given in the text are taken from the "Annual Register" for 1851.

King of Denmark, to be their Duke, "not as a King of Denmark, but out of affection towards his person." The new King-Duke pledged on his part to Schleswig and to Holstein to maintain them in good peace, that they might "remain together undivided for ever."* A personal union was thus established between Denmark and Schleswig, which was tolerably well respected during the next two centuries. The in-coming King of Denmark was elected, as a matter of course, Duke of Schleswig (and also Count of Holstein), provided that he first swore to ratify the ancient rights and privileges of the united lands. But the union between Denmark and Schleswig became gradually closer, and was extended, in 1533, to offensive as well as defensive alliance.

It may be said—and often has been said by German disputants—that after 1460 the Estates and people of Schleswig-Holstein were free to elect their ruler from among the heirs of a deceased King of Denmark under certain safeguards. But this is a complete distortion of the truth. The charter of Christian I., dated Kiel, 1460, which relates to this matter, was evidently framed, on the King's part, under the assumption that if a King of Denmark left more than one son, the eldest born would naturally succeed to the kingdom, while the second son would receive the united duchy and county as an appanage, and be elected as a matter of course by the Estates. But how if a King of Denmark should die, leaving only one son? This son would succeed to Denmark; but would Schleswig-Holstein be free to go a-field, and select its own ruler from among the heirs of the deceased King? The charter neither contemplates nor sanctions anything of the kind. It says:—"If we (Christian I.) or our children and heirs should die without leaving more than one living son, being King of Denmark, then the inhabitants of these lands may retain their right of free election to choose"—not any one they pleased among his heirs, but—"*the selfsame King* for a Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein and Stormarn; and then he shall be obliged to re-assert and to confirm anew, to increase and to swear, all the articles and privileges heretofore given under our seal to the aforesaid lands and inhabitants in their entire force." Should he decline to do this, *then* "the inhabitants shall not be obliged to choose the selfsame King for their lord, but they shall elect one of our nearest heirs for their lord." With a ruler who was only Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein, the Estates would have no difficulty in dealing; they required no charter prescribing that he should swear to their privileges, for he could not choose but do so, all his power and resources being derived from themselves. But with a ruler who had the power of Denmark at his back, it was a wise and reasonable provision that the duchy and county should not be compelled to take him for their lord unless he would first swear to their privileges.

The descendants in the male line of this King Christian I. reigned in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein for more than four hundred years, from 1460 to 1863.

The indivisible union which the arrangement of 1460 guaranteed to Schleswig and Holstein was soon infringed. Appanages had to be created by Kings of Denmark for their younger sons, and the readiest way of effecting this was to split up their feudal dominions into portions. Thus we find Schleswig, in the sixteenth century, divided into three duchies—that of Sonderburg and Segeberg (with which went the western part of Holstein), that of Gottorp (with which went eastern Holstein, including Kiel), and that of Haderslev. The King-Duke Frederic II. actually partitioned off a part of his duchy, viz., Sonderburg, to his younger brother (1564); but the Estates refused to recognise a *fourth* lord; so that the Sonderburg line could exercise only a limited and precarious sovereignty. The family of the Dukes of Haderslev became extinct in 1580; and now Schleswig owned but two lords—one the King of Denmark, representing the main stem of the house of Oldenburg, who was lord of royal or Segeberg-Schleswig; the other the Duke of the younger or Gottorp branch of the same house. The dominions of the first now began to be called Schleswig-Holstein-Glückstadt, the capital having been transferred to the new city of Glückstadt; those of the second were known as Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp. These two states remained in being till 1773; and as quarrels between the Duke and King-Duke were frequent, and the Estates common to all Schleswig-Holstein tended all the while to become weaker and weaker in political power, the times being everywhere favourable to the encroachments of absolutism, the Glückstadt portion and the Gottorp portion grew more and more like distinct and independent states, and the much talked of union between Schleswig and Holstein became more and more shadowy and imperfect. For because some part of Schleswig in each case was united to some part of Holstein, it cannot seriously be argued that the pledge that Schleswig and Holstein should be indivisible remained unbroken. If a charter of Edward I. had guaranteed that Wales should remain indissolubly united with England, and two distinct states had afterwards been formed, one comprising North Wales with England north of Shrewsbury and Derby, the other South Wales with the rest of England, who would gravely maintain that the charter continued to be observed? Yet this is what the Germans maintain in the case of royal Schleswig and ducal Schleswig.

In England, parliamentary institutions survived the searching trials of the seventeenth century, but we know the victory was not obtained without fighting. On the continent, absolutism engaged in similar contests and usually carried the day. Thus, in 1616, the Estates abandoned their old right of electing their lord, and consented that the succession should be regulated by the law of male primogeniture. The last ordinary Land-tag, or Diet of Estates, for the whole of Schleswig-Holstein, met in 1675, but separated almost immediately, owing to dissensions between the King and Duke. Since then there has been no common assembly for the affairs of both duchies; their union has consisted chiefly in their having a common system of law, a common military establishment, and

*Such must be the meaning of the words "holden an gudeme vrede, dat se bliven ewich tosamende ungedelt;" and it is a very different thing from "promising that they shall remain together undivided for ever," which is the sense that, so far as we have seen, all advocates of the German case have attached to the words.

certain important social institutions in common, that, for instance, of the Schleswig-Holstein knights.

In 1658 and 1660, constitutions were promulgated by the King of Denmark, abolishing the feudal relationship between Denmark on the one hand and the Gottorp and Glückstadt duchies on the other, and ceding to each duchy full and absolute sovereignty. We ask again, who can pretend that the so-called indissoluble union between Schleswig and Holstein—so far as a large portion of them, including Kiel, was concerned—had not been broken, after the cession of full sovereign rights to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp? The country which enjoys full sovereign rights is politically independent of every other country. Therefore, between 1660 and 1713 (the year in which the Gottorp duchy was annexed by Denmark), one half of Schleswig and one half of Holstein, being formed into a sovereign and independent state, were practically disunited from the other halves of the two duchies. Up to this time the succession, in the kingdom no less than in the duchies, had been confined to male heirs. But, in 1665, a Lex Regia was passed in Denmark which opened the succession to that kingdom to female heirs in case of the failure of the male line. Whether a similar change in the law of succession ever was in fact, or could be in right, introduced in Schleswig, is a question on which a great deal turns, and about which Danes and Germans are at variance. That the change could not be introduced into Holstein, no one disputes; for Holstein was a state of the German Reich, and in all German states the principle of the exclusion of females from the succession was unalterably fixed. Well, then, say the Germans, as the Holstein succession could not be opened to females, and as Schleswig and Holstein are by right indissolubly united, therefore the Schleswig succession could not be opened to females. This is simple enough, if the political indivisibility of the two duchies were so impregnable, both in fact and theory, as the Germans represent it; but we have shown that the case is far otherwise. The Danes allege, on their side,* that when, in 1721, the prelates, knights, cities, and magistrates of what had been ducal Schleswig (Holstein-Gottorp) assembled on the summons of King Frederic IV. to do homage to him as their new sovereign, they swore to maintain the succession in the entire duchy of Schleswig "secundum tenorem legis regiæ"—according to the tenor of the Lex Regia. This Lex Regia, say the Danes, was the statute of 1665 admitting females to the Danish succession; so that the inhabitants of Schleswig, in this act of homage, assented formally to the introduction of the same rule of succession into their own duchy. Against this Chevalier Bunsen argues—1) That the Lex Regia referred to may have been some other statute—the King's letter of summons, for instance (but this is surely inadmissible), or the statute of 1650 introducing primogeniture; 2) that whatever the words mean, the succession in Schleswig, owing to its union with Holstein, could not be altered. On the whole, the Danes appear to make out a very strong case in regard to the Schleswig succession, and to prove that, if the act of homage of 1721 was sufficient to effect a change (a point of law which would require a special discussion), the succession in Schleswig was then conformed to that which since the passing of the Lex Regia had been in force in the kingdom.

But we have been anticipating a little the course of the narrative. In the wars which arose out of the restless ambition of Charles XII., the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp sided with Sweden, while Denmark and Holstein-Glückstadt took part with the Czar Peter. After many turns of fortune, the cause which Denmark had espoused triumphed, and, in 1713, the King of Denmark took possession of the whole of the Gottorp duchy. Peace was made in 1720, and the Holstein portion of the duchy was restored to the vanquished Duke; but the Schleswig portion (ducal Schleswig) was retained by the King and incorporated with his own—the royal—portion. In his letters-patent of August 22nd, 1721, the King described ducal Schleswig as "an in difficult times in irregular wise from the crown of Denmark severed appurtenance." By a treaty, signed July 23rd, 1720, England and France guaranteed to the King of Denmark and his heirs the continual and peaceable possession of ducal Schleswig. Bunsen urges that the object of this guarantee was to secure Denmark against any attempt which might be made by the Gottorp line to recover the lost portion of Schleswig; and that when that line renounced all its claims both to Schleswig and Holstein, the guarantee fell to the ground. But, although the apprehension of claims from the side of Gottorp was doubtless the *occasion* of the treaty, yet the terms in which it is expressed are sweeping and unconditional. England undertakes "to guarantee and maintain the King of Denmark and his heirs in the *continual* and peaceable possession" of the annexed territory.

Duke Charles Frederic, whom we have seen to be despoiled of his share of Schleswig, married the daughter of the Czar Peter the Great, and his son succeeded to the Russian throne as Peter III. From the union of this Peter with the too notorious Catherine of Anhalt-Zerbst there was born a son, the Grand Duke Paul, for whom, while still a minor, his mother arranged, in 1773, a renunciation of the Holstein portion of the Gottorp duchy (which his grandfather, as we have seen, had been allowed to retain in 1720), and of all dormant claims and rights whatsoever over the Schleswig portion of the duchy, "in favour of the King of Denmark and of his heirs and successors to the royal throne." In exchange for this renunciation, Paul received from the King of Denmark the duchy of Oldenburg. Holstein, as a German state, could only go to male heirs; but the succession in Schleswig was a different matter; and Grüner,* the celebrated German publicist, admits that this renunciation lets in the female line of Denmark in *ducal* Schleswig.

After 1773, there is nothing in the relations between Denmark and Schleswig that need detain us until we come down to our own times. The old Estates having

* Memoir of the Chevalier Bunsen above cited.

* Quoted by Chevalier Bunsen.

long before come to an end by desuetude, Frederic VI., in 1831 and 1834, granted separate constitutional chambers to Schleswig and Holstein, by which they were accepted and worked till February, 1848. After 1835, the probability of the extinction of the male line of the house of Oldenburg, through the eventual death without issue of Frederic, only surviving son of Christian VIII., became stronger with each succeeding year. To keep the Danish monarchy together became, therefore, the one paramount object of Danish statesmanship. At first the Danish court thought of persuading or bribing the Duke of Sonderburg-Augustenburg, representing the younger branch of the elder or royal line of the house of Oldenburg, to whom, if females were excluded, both Schleswig and Holstein would descend at the failure of male heirs in the royal line, to resign his right to the succession. This plan was abandoned by Christian VIII., who appointed a special commission to examine the ancient laws, treaties, and other historic documents in the Danish archives. The result of the commission appeared in the King's letters-patent of 8th July, 1846, in which Christian VIII. stated it as his firm conviction that, so far as Schleswig was concerned, in consequence of the letters-patent of 1721, and the homage then done, the succession in Schleswig was now the same as in Denmark, and that he should exercise and maintain his right accordingly; while, in regard to Holstein, or certain parts of it, there existed certain facts militating against an equally positive opinion.

2. The relations of Holstein to the Danish monarchy are simple, and will not detain us long. The county of Holstein was from the first a German province, and came to be united with Schleswig through marriages between the ruling families. This union, as we have seen, was first effected in 1375. After the election by the people of the duchy and county of King Christian of the house of Oldenburg to be their lord, in 1460, Holstein remained united with Schleswig until the partitions among the princes of that house already described, and afterwards so far as those partitions did not disunite them. In 1474, Holstein was raised to the rank of a duchy. Between 1720 and 1773, it was divided into two states—one of which, having Kiel for its capital, and now absolutely disunited from Schleswig, remained in the hands of the Gottorp princes; the other, with Glückstadt for its capital, was attached to Schleswig, and belonged to the King of Denmark. In 1773, the Grand Duke Paul made the renunciation which has already been described; and since that time Holstein has formed one state, united to Schleswig, and ruled by the King of Denmark, but still a member of the Bund or confederation of German states, and as such represented by the King's ambassador in the German Diet. As the prospects of the extinction of the male line of Oldenburg drew nearer, the Danish court had little hope of preserving its hold over Holstein, which, as a German duchy, could only go to a male heir. That heir was ready at hand, in the person of the Duke of Augustenburg, who was lineally descended from the ancestor of the Sonderburg, or younger branch of the royal line of the house of Oldenburg. In 1846, Christian VIII. in his letters-patent hinted, as we have seen, that the case as regarded the succession in Holstein was obscure. But an outcry was raised at this, and the King hastened to make reassuring declarations, both in the Diet and to the people of Holstein.

3. We are now in a position to form an opinion upon the validity of the claim advanced in Germany, and in the German portion of the duchies, that Schleswig and Holstein should remain for ever indissoluble. If by this claim it be merely meant that there always has been, and always ought to be, some kind of connection between Schleswig and Holstein, that may readily be admitted. Ever since the charter of 1460 the two duchies have undoubtedly held much in common—their public law, for instance, several valuable privileges and immunities as against the Danish Kings, and various social institutions. But thus much, or more, they might easily retain in common, even though Schleswig were politically incorporated with Denmark, and Holstein had a separate constitution, or were even annexed to another state. For the purposes of the German argument, it must be shown that a true *political* union has generally subsisted, and ought of right to subsist, between Schleswig and Holstein. In order to prove this, the Germans point to the original charter of 1460, conceding, as they say, the indivisibility of the two lands, and to the numerous confirmations of that charter given by Danish Kings, down to the last confirmation by Frederic VII. in 1848. On the other hand, it may be urged—1. That (as already explained) the original charter does not promise, on the part of the King of Denmark, that the lands shall be undivided for ever, but only that he will "maintain them in peace, that they may remain"—or, so that they remain—"undivided for ever." If the first rendering were the true one, any King of Denmark consenting to the separation of Schleswig and Holstein would break the charter. But, according to the true meaning of the actual words, if circumstances beyond his control compelled a King of Denmark to promote the separation, though his *wish* would have been frustrated, his word would not have been broken. 2. The charter being so understood, the various confirmations of it must be understood in the same way, and no argument in favour of the indivisibility of the lands can be founded on them. 3. Actual political separation, as regards large portions of the duchies, was the rule rather than the exception during more than three centuries, say, from about 1470 to 1773: and during the latter portion of that time eastern Holstein was, in a political sense, wholly disconnected from Schleswig. 4. Holstein being a member of the German Bund, while Schleswig was not, whatever path the exigencies of German politics might force the former to enter, it does not follow that the latter should be forced to enter the same; on the contrary, its close connection with Denmark since 1027 would suggest that in case of an incompatibility, Schleswig should go with Denmark rather than with Holstein.

On the other side, it must be fully conceded that a strong community of interests and sympathies had subsisted for centuries between the German speaking populations of the two duchies, and that their desire to

remain in union was deserving of every respect and consideration. Chevalier Bunsen alleges that, before 1848, even the Danish population of Schleswig leaned rather to Holstein than to Denmark; but this point seems doubtful. If public and general manifestations of sorrow are to count for anything, the grief of the Schleswig Danes at being severed from the little kingdom, in 1864, was deep-seated and sincere.*

The sum of our analysis of the whole question may be thus expressed. Chevalier Bunsen, following the King of Prussia in his letter of the 24th March, 1848, to the Duke of Augustenburg, enunciates the German view in the following articles:—

1. That the duchies are independent states.
2. That these states are indivisibly united.
3. That male succession is alone permissible in either.

Of these articles, the first is admitted by all parties. With regard to the second, the resumé of the facts that we have attempted shows that it is either untrue or highly doubtful. On the third article, we have shown that the Danish view, that female succession is admissible in Schleswig, has, to say the least, a great deal in its favour. And the practical conclusion to be drawn is this—that England, when she guaranteed to Denmark, in 1720, the peaceable possession of ducal Schleswig, was justified in doing so, and that she would not have abetted illegality or oppression had she maintained that guarantee with all her strength as a nation when Schleswig was invaded and violently separated from Denmark in 1864.

SIR GEORGE GREY.

To resume the narrative of events. In the ferment which arose in every capital of Europe after the Revolution in Paris of February, 1848, a violent Danish national feeling manifested itself at Copenhagen, and forced the King, Frederic VII., to issue a proclamation declaring that Denmark and Schleswig were thenceforth to form an inseparable union under a common free constitution. The duchies, incited by a strong democratic and national feeling that had arisen in Germany, regarded this proclamation as a breach of their constitution,* and broke out into

* "Annual Register" for 1864, p. 240.

* The "Constitution of Waldemar" (1326) provided that the duchy of Schleswig should never be united to the Danish crown.

rebellion. They were aided, but in a hesitating irresolute way, by the King of Prussia, and carried on the war with Denmark with various success to the end of the summer of 1850. By the end of 1849, Austria had subdued both Hungary and Sardinia, and had now leisure to look after her interests in Germany. She disapproved of the advances which Frederic William had made to the German democracy, and of his making war on Denmark, and convened a meeting of the Diet at Frankfort with the view of counteracting Prussian schemes. The weak King won the battle. The loss on both sides amounted to about 7,000 men. Schleswig was thus recovered; but the Danish troops halted on the frontier of Holstein, in obedience to an article in the Treaty of the 2nd July, 1850, requiring Denmark to apply for the intervention of the Bund before resorting to hostilities against Holstein. This application was made; and, in reply to it, an Austro-Prussian army, acting in the name of the Bund, marched into Holstein, and required the *de facto* Government to lay down its arms. Thus was the whole of Schleswig-Holstein

COUNT BISMARCK.

immediately yielded, especially as Russia was giving urgent and imperious advice the same way; abandoned the duchies, made peace with Denmark (July 2, 1850), and actually assisted her in the task of subjugation. The duchies resolved to continue the war, but they were defeated in a great battle, and soon after compelled to submit. In this battle of Idsted (July 25, 1850), the forces of Schleswig-Holstein, nearly 30,000 in number, were commanded by General Willisen; the Danes were in rather stronger force, and were led by Generals Krogh and Schlepegroll. Schlepegroll fell in the heat of the battle, and the Danish line wavered, but Colonel De Meza assumed the command, led on his troops with the greatest bravery, and pacified (January 11, 1851); but military occupation of Holstein was still retained by the German Powers, pending the attainment of a definitive arrangement for the affairs of the duchies. Negotiations were at once opened between the King of Denmark, on the one part, and Austria and Prussia, representing the Bund, on the other part, and were protracted through the whole of the year 1851. It would detain us too long to dwell with any fulness of detail on this part of the history. But two points require to be carefully stated:—(1) The nature of the engagements taken by the King of Denmark with respect to the future government of the duchies; (2) the principal terms of the treaty which wound up the negotiations, and was

presumed to have finally disposed of the question of succession.

I. Denmark, in and by a diplomatic correspondence with Austria and Prussia, dated in December, 1851, and January, 1852, formally pledged herself, along with other clauses of less importance, to the following articles:—

1. That she would not incorporate, nor take steps towards incorporating, the duchy of Schleswig with the kingdom.

2. That the separate Diets of Schleswig and Holstein should, as to the matters falling within their competence, have *bonâ fide* legislative powers, instead of the mere right of advising, which was all they had before possessed; and that the constitutions under which these fuller privileges should be exercised should be framed after consultation with the provincial Estates. The matters falling within their competence were defined to be all such as were connected with taxation, and with the rights of persons and property.

3. That a common constitution should be devised for the monarchy, in which its four constituent parts should maintain a position of equality, none being subordinated to the other; and that, in framing this constitution, the four local Diets should be consulted.

4. That the German and Danish nationalities in Schleswig should meet with equal protection.

5. That all ties of a non-political kind between Holstein and Schleswig should remain intact.

Denmark having taken these engagements, Austria and Prussia, on the part of the Bund, gave up what had been the Federal policy during the war, namely, to insist on a real political union between the duchies, withdrew their troops from Holstein, and also undertook, on their own part, to accede to the Protocol of London (August 2, 1850), regulating the Danish succession. The project foreshadowed in that protocol was ultimately embodied in the Treaty of London (May 8, 1852); its origin and general purport were as follows:—

II. Of all the Princes of the Sonderburg line of the house of Oldenburg, the only one who sided with Denmark during the war was Prince Christian of Sonderburg-Glücksburg. (The Glücksburg is the *younger* branch of the Sonderburg line, the Augustenburg being the elder.) Many of the Sonderburg Princes stood nearer to the succession than Prince Christian, but what gave him an advantage (besides the favour with which his conduct during the war caused him to be regarded by the Danish court) was the fact of his marriage with the Princess Louise of Hesse, the daughter of a sister of Christian VIII., who, after her mother, brother, and an elder sister, stood the nearest in succession to the Danish throne under the Lex Regia. The following plan, therefore, was devised and executed. The mother, brother, and elder sister of the Princess Louise renounced their rights to the succession in her favour, and she then renounced her own rights in favour of her husband. Russia, by the Protocol of Warsaw (June 5, 1851), had already renounced in favour of Prince Christian [illegible] rights, whatever they were, arising on the extinction of the male line in Denmark, expressly reserving those rights, however, should the arrangement not be carried out. This reservation was a master-stroke of policy on the part of the Danish court, for the bare prospect of an "eventuality" which should seat the gigantic power of Russia in Copenhagen and in Kiel was enough to drive all the diplomatists of Europe into any arrangement calculated to defeat it. The Treaty of London, therefore, signed by Austria, France, England, Prussia, and Sweden, engaged the high contracting parties—not to *guarantee*—but to recognise in Prince Christian and his heirs male the right of succeeding to all the states actually united under the Danish sceptre, upon the death without issue of the reigning King. In the same year, the Duke of Augustenburg, representing the male line of the house of Oldenburg, on receiving from the King of Denmark a large sum of money in payment for his estates in Schleswig and the islands, which had been confiscated during the war, gave a written engagement that neither he nor any of his family would do anything to disturb the new order of succession, as regulated by the Treaty of London. The matter thus *seemed* to be settled, but it really was not. For, in the first place, all that the Princess Louise could surrender to any one was her right to the succession in *Denmark* (and possibly in Schleswig); she had no right whatever to the succession in Holstein, because that could only pass to male heirs. Secondly, it was highly questionable in law whether the Princess could execute a valid renunciation of her rights in favour of one who did not stand next in the order of succession to herself, without the consent of those whose right intervened between her and him; but no such consent was ever obtained. Thirdly, the Duke of Augustenburg might with some reason allege that his abandonment of his rights was not made freely, but under compulsion, or else one of his sons (as actually happened) might declare that his father's act did not bind him. Fourthly, even supposing the renunciation of the Duke of Augustenburg and his family to be persevered in, there were other Princes of the Sonderburg line whose rights, at any rate to the Holstein succession, were prior to that of Prince Christian, and who had not renounced those rights. Fifthly, and chiefly, *the German Confederation was not a party to the Treaty of London;* it was therefore free to resist the arrangement it contained, if it considered the interests of Holstein and the Bund to require it.

Yet, after all, the arrangement provided by the Treaty of London would probably have resulted in a solid settlement, had not the relations between the Danish Government and the German population of the duchies, during the eleven years following the Treaty of London, become strained and embittered to a dangerous extent. For this result Denmark was chiefly responsible. Before 1848, when no province of the Danish monarchy enjoyed representative institutions, but all alike were under the absolute rule of the King-Duke, everything went smoothly, because there was no collision of nationalities. Arbitrary and oppressive acts were sometimes ventured upon, but these usually affected individuals only; and the Danes

were no better off in this respect than the Germans. But after the disturbances of 1848, Denmark became a constitutionally governed country in the strictest sense; the King could only govern through his Ministry, and that Ministry could only retain power through enjoying the confidence of the majority of the Rigsraad, or Parliament. Had the majority in the Danish Rigsraad been actuated only by equitable and enlightened sentiments, the new arrangement would have answered as well in Schleswig and Holstein as the old one. But unhappily this was not the case, and perhaps it was not in the nature of things that it should be. The majority in the Rigsraad was largely influenced by the views of the Eider Dane party, a set of politicians fanatically bent upon the elevation and extension of the Scandinavian nationality. This party, unable to expel from their minds the feelings of animosity which the war had engendered, regarded the German inhabitants of the duchies as the population of a conquered country, and resolved, so far as they dared, and in spite of the engagements by which their King was bound to Austria and Prussia, to make them feel and taste their subjection. Hence ensued a line of conduct on the part of the Danish Government towards the German inhabitants of the duchies, which appears, from multiplied and unimpeachable testimony, to have been intolerably vexatious, and often actually oppressive. The following summary, though taken from a pamphlet written on the German side of the question, does not, it is believed, at all overstate the magnitude of the grievance. "The protective Danish tariff was extended to both duchies, their revenue appropriated to the interests of the kingdom; their military establishment, hitherto kept separate from the Danish forces, was incorporated in that army, and, for the first time in history, Schleswig-Holstein troops were stationed in Denmark, Danish troops in the duchies. The best offices in Schleswig were given to Danes, in violation of the old privileges of the land, and of the law requiring every holder of a higher office to have passed two years at the University of Kiel. In the churches and schools of Schleswig, the Danish language was substituted for the German, even in districts where not one in twenty understood a word of Danish, and the inhabitants were prohibited from employing private German teachers in their families. Thus, for more than ten years, and against repeated warnings of both England and Russia, Denmark carried out a system of oppressive encroachment, not upon abstract principles, but upon the ancient, positive, recorded rights and liberties of the duchies—a patrimony derived from their fathers, and to be transmitted to their posterity."*

This grievance with respect to language was no light or fanciful one. The petition of the Diet of Schleswig, in 1860, states that, against the wish of the inhabitants, and notwithstanding the humble petition of the Diet, the language used in school and church in the parishes comprised in the deanery of Schleswig had been arbitrarily changed from German to Danish. This attempt to strip a people of its mother tongue, of the loved and intimate vesture of its moral and intellectual being, could not but arouse a feeling of deep indignation, a burning sense of wrong. Many Danish clergymen were intruded into benefices which had formerly been served by Germans; and these, it was remarked, were more bitterly anti-German than even the lay officials. Police agents were everywhere, and arbitrary arrests were frequent. In short, according to an expressive phrase well understood on the continent, while Denmark was a constitutional state, Schleswig and Holstein were treated as *police states*.

It is therefore abundantly clear that the fourth of the above-named engagements, by which Denmark had pledged her word to Austria and Prussia that "the German and Danish nationalities in Schleswig should meet with equal protection," was not kept. Nor can it be reasonably doubted that the fifth engagement—"That all ties of a non-political kind between Holstein and Schleswig should remain intact"—was not faithfully observed. But, in point of form, it was not the breach of either of these engagements, but that of the third, binding Denmark to submit the common constitution of the monarchy to the previous examination of the four local Diets, which led directly to the Federal execution and all its momentous consequences. The sequence of events was as follows:—A common constitution for the monarchy was framed in 1854, and having passed the Danish Parliament, was published by royal ordinance (October 2, 1855), for the duchies of Holstein, Schleswig, and Lauenburg, without any previous consultation of their Diets. When the Imperial Parliament summoned under this constitution met, in 1856, the representatives from Holstein and from the German portion of Schleswig moved that since the common constitution could not yet be considered legal, it should be forthwith submitted, in order that it might obtain that character, for the approval of the local legislatures. This motion was rejected, whereupon the Holstein members and the German members from Schleswig, except the nominees of the King, left the assembly. The matter was taken up by the Federal Diet, which, in 1858, declared that by Federal law the common constitution proclaimed in 1855 was illegal, so far as Holstein and Lauenburg were concerned, because it had not been assented to by the legislatures of those states, and decreed a Federal execution in Holstein in case of the non-abrogation of that constitution. After many endeavours to evade compliance, Denmark (November, 1858) did abrogate the common constitution, so far as Holstein and Lauenburg were concerned. The execution was accordingly stayed (1860), but on the understanding that the King and his Holstein subjects would in concert frame some arrangement by which, in a manner acceptable to them and to the Diet, Holstein might participate in the common constitution. Between 1860 and 1863, much bickering took place between the King and the Diet as to the provisional relations which should exist between Holstein and the kingdom, pending the settlement of the constitutional question; but into these differences it is unnecessary for us to enter. On the 30th March, 1863,

* "Schleswig-Holstein Succession" 1864.

the King published, of his own mere motion ("octroya"), a proclamation fixing the future position of Holstein in the monarchy. The ruling idea of this proclamation was, that since Holstein would not come in to the common constitution on Denmark's terms, and since it was backed up by the Bund in this resolve, it must be allowed to remain outside; while, as between Denmark and Schleswig, the common constitution of 1855 should still be maintained. The most important clause was this: That, as regarded the common affairs of the monarchy, the legislative power should be exercised by the King and the Holstein Diet conjointly. The effect of the proclamation was—or would have been—the "severance of the Danish monarchy into two distinct groups, united by the personal *nexus* only—the line of intersection falling between Holstein and Schleswig."*

When this proclamation became known in Germany, it aroused a strenuous spirit of opposition. In the Diet, it was regarded as a repeated and more flagrant violation of the third engagement taken by Denmark in 1851—2, not to frame a common constitution without first consulting the local Diets. It deeply offended German feeling, by the disruption which it seemed to declare and consummate between Schleswig and Holstein, states which the national sentiment insisted on regarding as indivisible. The Diet, in July, demanded the retraction of the Ordinance of March 30, and on the Danish Government's refusal to comply, decreed that Federal execution should take place with the due forms. The mode of procedure was, that, after due notice had been given to the state against which execution had been decreed, Federal commissioners should be sent into it, supported by a sufficient force of Federal troops, and should administer the government in the name of the Diet until the offending state should have satisfied the demands of the Confederation. So far from attempting to appease the rising wrath of Germany, the Danish Government made matters worse by issuing (November 18) a new constitution for Denmark and Schleswig, intended to complete the scheme of government which the Patent of March 30 had commenced. This constitution was little more than a transcript of that of 1855; but, as Holstein was now excluded, the Germans regarded it as little less than equivalent to an incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark, contrary to the first of the engagements of 1851—2. Whereas in the Constitution of 1855 it was said, "The legislative power in common affairs is vested in the King and the Rigsraad conjointly;" in the new Constitution, for the words "in common affairs" were substituted the words "in respect of the common affairs of Denmark Proper and Schleswig."

On the 7th December, the Diet voted for immediate execution, and entrusted the fulfilment of its mandate to Saxon and Hanoverian troops. Denmark then withdrew the Ordinance of March 30; but the excitement in Germany had by this time risen to such a point, that the execution could no longer be stayed, though its character was somewhat altered. It now assumed an international instead of a strictly Federal character, and aimed at compelling Denmark to fulfil the engagements, in respect of *Schleswig* (which was no part of the Bund), by which it had bound itself to Germany in 1851—2. On the 24th December, 1863, the Saxon troops entered Altona, the border town of Holstein, through the Nobis Thor, and were received with demonstrations of wild delight and enthusiasm by the populace. The Danish troops quietly marched out of every town of Holstein just before the Germans marched in. In most places the Danish arms were then taken down, and the Schleswig-Holstein tricolour hoisted; but the execution was completed without bloodshed, and on the last day of the year the troops of the Bund were facing the Danes along the line of the Eider.

It is now time to ask, what part England had been taking in the transactions and negotiations which had resulted in so grave a complication. In September, 1862, Lord Russell had proposed, with reference to the dispute between the Bund and Denmark as to the common constitution, that the schedule of "common affairs" should be greatly curtailed, and that a large part of what had been hitherto deemed such should be placed within the legislative competence of the local Diets. This proposal Denmark had rejected, on the ground that its adoption must inevitably lead either to anarchy or to a return to arbitrary government. Again, in July, 1863, some days after the decree of the Bund ordering execution in Holstein, Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, had declared, in his place in Parliament, with reference to the proceedings of the German Powers, that (under certain circumstances) "it would not be with Denmark alone they would have to contend." This public declaration inspired the Danes with a firm confidence that England would come to their assistance in case of need, and doubtless made them resist the demands of Germany more obstinately. The despatches of Lord Russell to Lord Bloomfield at Vienna (July 31) and to Sir Alexander Malet at Frankfort (September 29) assume a high—almost a menacing—tone. Considering indeed that execution is a Federal, not an international, act, and may be regarded as a sort of measure of internal police employed by the whole Bund against a refractory member, there seems reason for saying that Lord Russell's interference in regard to Holstein erred as much on the side of vigour as his interference in regard to Schleswig, when the question had become international, erred on the side of weakness. Taught, however, by their experience of English intervention in favour of Poland, German diplomatists were not much disturbed by the vehemence of tone which characterised the despatches from our Foreign Office. Baron von der Pfordten, the Bavarian envoy to the Diet, told Sir. A. Malet one day that "he looked on Earl Russell's despatches as so much waste paper." Still the greater German Powers thought it expedient to proceed with caution; and as Lord Russell, in a Memorandum dated November 24, 1863, had said that "should it appear that Federal troops had entered the duchy on international grounds, Her Majesty's Government might be obliged to interfere," Austria and Prussia persuaded the Diet to proceed by

* "The Dano-German Conflict and Lord Russell's Proposals of Mediation." London, 1863.

way of execution, and not, as Bavaria and other states would have wished, by way of "*prise de possession*"—a formally hostile and therefore international act. Up to the end of 1863, then, although our remonstrances had not met with much attention, our general policy in regard to Denmark had not suffered a defeat.

But even before the execution an event had occurred which aggravated tenfold the difficulties of the situation. Frederic VII., King of Denmark, died suddenly on the 15th November. On the next day, Prince Frederic of Augustenburg, son of that Duke of Augustenburg who had accepted a sum of money for his forfeited estates from Denmark in 1852, and agreed not to oppose the new succession, issued a proclamation, addressed to the "Schleswig-Holsteiners," in which he claimed the succession to both duchies, as representing, after the extinction of the royal stem, the male line of the house of Oldenburg. A large and noisy party in both duchies was favourable to his claims; and after the execution had taken place, the Prince repaired to Kiel, was received there with acclamation, and put forth a second manifesto, in which he signed himself "Frederic, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein." The minor states of Germany were inclined to support him; for an independent German state of Schleswig-Holstein would have been an accession of strength to their party in the Diet, and helped them to stand their ground against their two great overbearing confederates, Austria and Prussia. But by this time Count Bismarck, whose one guiding thought was the aggrandisement of the Prussian monarchy out of all these complications, had decided upon his policy. For some months in 1863 the minor states had carried matters their own way; and Baron von der Pfordten, the Bavarian envoy, the ablest exponent of their policy, was for a time the most powerful man in Germany. But now Bismarck, having secured the cordial support of Austria by guaranteeing, on the part of Prussia, the integrity of her possessions, proceeded to take the initiative. On the 28th December, Prussia and Austria proposed to the Diet, that since the new Danish Constitution of the 18th November amounted to a distinct violation of the pledge given in 1851—2, not to incorporate Schleswig with Denmark, nor to take any steps leading thereto, the Diet should, upon international grounds, order the military occupation of Schleswig, as a material pledge for the fulfilment by Denmark of her engagements. Bismarck had probably satisfied himself that no opposition of a material kind would be offered by England under any circumstances; or else, now that Prussia was firmly allied with Austria, he did not fear such opposition. No action was taken by the Diet on this proposal for the moment, and a few days afterwards it was renewed with greater urgency by the two Governments, on the ground that the 1st January, 1864, was the day on which the new constitution was fixed to come in force. The minor states had different views; they wished first to get Duke Frederic firmly enthroned in Holstein, after which they would have proceeded quietly to take up the question of Schleswig. When therefore the proposal came to be voted upon in the Diet (January 14, 1864), a combination of the minor states rejected it, by a majority of 11 to 5. The representatives of Austria and Prussia then informed the Diet that their Governments intended to carry out the proposal in spite of the adverse vote; upon which announcement "the Assembly was for a time in a state of violent agitation."*

Meantime the body of the last male descendant of a line which had reigned in Denmark and the duchies for four hundred years, was carried to its rest in the ancient cathedral of Roskilde, which, like the sacred isle of Iona for his royal brothers of Norway, had been during many generations—

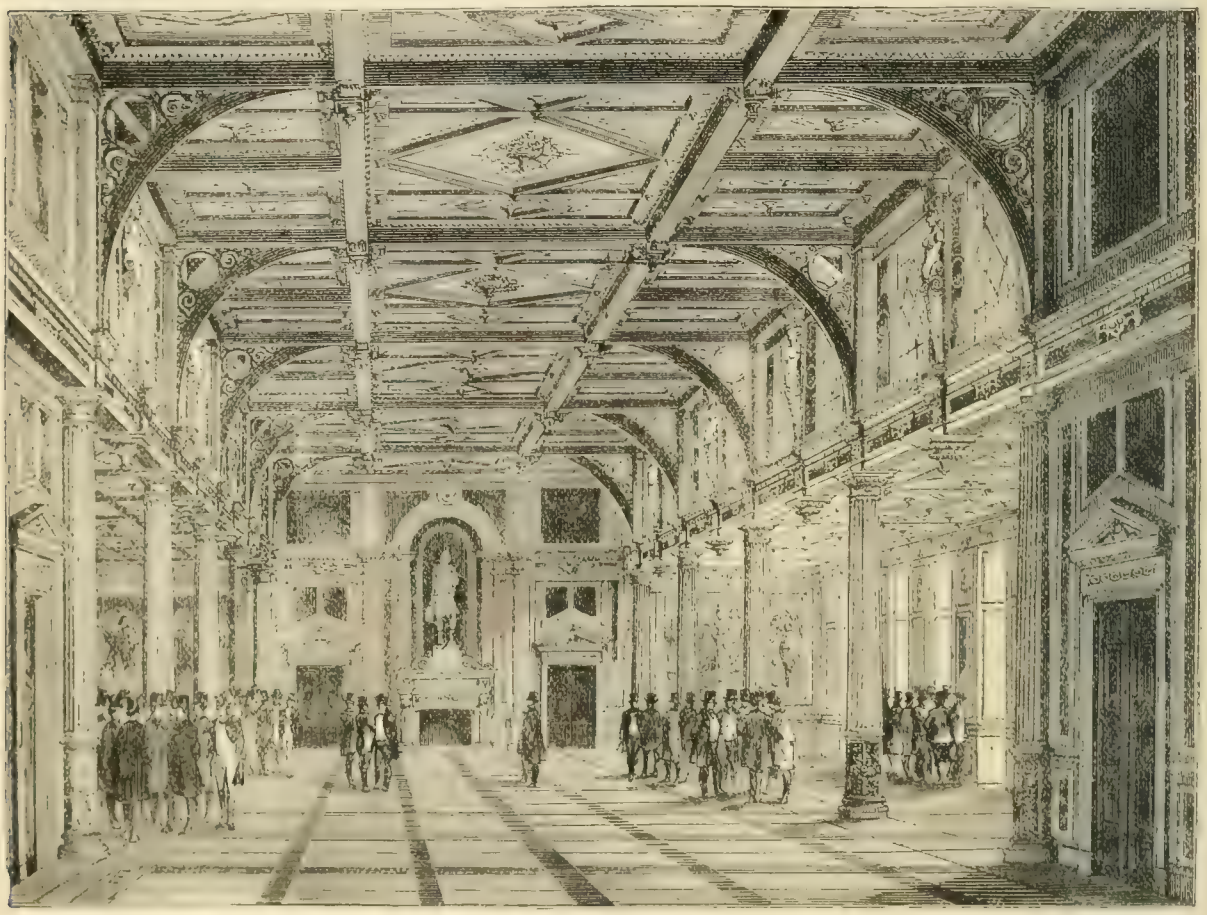
> The sacred storehouse of his predecessors,
> And guardian of their bones.

Yielding to the advice of Lord Russell, the Danes had offered no resistance to the execution; but when—probably after hearing of the proposal made to the Diet by Austria and Prussia on the 28th December—the Foreign Secretary sent Lord Wodehouse to Copenhagen to induce the Danish Government to revoke the constitution of the 18th November, the mission was ineffectual. In a despatch of the 31st December, Lord Russell proposed to the Diet that a conference of representatives of the Powers who signed the Treaty of London, together with a representative of the Bund, should meet and take into their consideration the points in dispute between Denmark and Germany; and that in the meantime, and until the conference had finished its labours, the *status quo* should be maintained. The proposal was received with cold disapproval by most of the members of the Diet, and Sir A. Malet wrote, a few days afterwards (January 8, 1864), "There is an absolute persuasion that England will not interfere materially, and our counsels, regarded as unfriendly, have no weight."

Prussia and Austria, having announced their intention of acting independently of the Diet, carried out their plans with energy and celerity. They informed the Diet that the Austrian and Prussian troops who were about to invade Schleswig must necessarily pass through Holstein, and with ironical courtesy expressed their conviction that the Civil Commissioners and Lieutenant-General von Hake, the Commander-in-Chief of the execution troops, would facilitate to the utmost of their power the passage of their armies. The Danes saw the gathering storm, yet made no sign of yielding; on the contrary, Bishop Monrad, the Premier, declared, in the Landthing, or Upper House, on the 22nd January, that the programme of the Government was simply this—not to allow a single German soldier to pass the Eider without offering the best resistance in their power, and to use every effort to expel from Schleswig all who should venture to intrude. The truth is, Denmark reckoned with tolerable confidence on receiving material aid from the Western Powers, particularly from England; and this hope was encouraged by the knowledge that Earl Russell was indefatigable in writing to, and sounding the intentions of, nearly every court in Europe, and that in a despatch to Paris he had spoken of "material assistance" to Denmark to prevent her dismemberment. The Danes also placed considerable

* Sir A. Malet's "Overthrow of the Germanic Confederation," 1870.

reliance on the strength of the Dannewerke, an immense system of earth-works, strengthened by forts, designed originally to protect Schleswig, and stretching to the south of that town, from a point on the estuary of the Schlei eastward to the town of Hellingstadt westward. Unfortunately their army, not exceeding 30,000 men, was too weak to defend so long a line against invaders who brought twice that number into the field. General Julius de Meza, the same who had behaved with such gallantry at the battle of Idsted, was Commander-in-Chief of the Danes; the Austro-Prussian army was under the command of Marshal Wrangel. On the 31st January, the Marshal summoned General De Meza to evacuate the town of Schleswig, in order to prevent the effusion of blood; to which the answer of the Dane was that he had orders to defend it. At midnight, between the 31st January and 1st February, the Prussians, holding the right of the allied army, crossed into Schleswig and advanced upon Eckernforde, at the head of the bay of the same name, from which the Danes retired. The Austrian troops, on the left, crossed the border on the same night at Rendsburg. On the 2nd February, the Prussians were repulsed with loss in an attempt to carry the *tête du pont* at Missunde, the point at which the Schlei narrows sufficiently to be bridged over. Nor did the Austrians meet with any better success in the attack which they made the same day on the works of the Dannewerke, at Bustorf. For the moment fortune seemed to shine on the Danish cause, but a few days changed the whole aspect of affairs. General De Meza had not enough troops to keep an effective watch along the whole course of the Schlei, from Missunde to the sea. A body of Prussian troops was transported across the estuary in fishing-boats, on the night of the 5th February, during a snow-storm, at an unguarded point between the villages of Arnis and Cappeln; an additional force crossed unopposed by a pontoon bridge; and thus the left of the Danish position was turned. At the same time the Austrians attacked the Dannewerke in front, and General De Meza, finding his position no longer tenable, for the Prussians on his left would in a very short time have cut off his line of retreat, withdrew his army in the direction of Flensborg, abandoning the whole of the heavy artillery with which the forts were armed. The mortification at Copenhagen, when the news of the loss of the Dannewerke reached the city, was intense; the cry of treason was raised by the



THE EXCHANGE, COPENHAGEN.

populace, and De Meza was superseded by General De Lüttichau. Retreating northwards, the Danes concentrated under the guns of the fortress of Fredericia, on the borders of Schleswig and Jutland, and behind the lines of Düppel, which command the approach to the island of Alsen. On the 7th February, Wrangel issued a proclamation announcing that Austrian and Prussian commissioners would administer the civil government of Schleswig, and ordered that the German language should be thenceforth used in all branches of the administration. The fortified lines of Düppel were stubbornly defended by the Danes, and their gradual reduction was not effected

ENGAGEMENT BEFORE DÜPPEL.

without severe loss to the assailants. On the 18th April, the last remaining bastions were stormed, and the Prussians became masters of the place. The main body of the Danish army, or rather garrison, retreated into Jutland, leaving a pretty strong force to occupy Alsen. Fredericia, which had been expected to offer a serious resistance, was evacuated soon after the fall of Düppel, the garrison crossing over into Funen. The Prussians, satisfied with having taken Düppel, made for the present no attempt upon Alsen, and there was a pause in the strife.

What all this time had been the behaviour of our Government—what the thoughts of Englishmen? Nine out of ten persons in this country who took any interest in foreign politics at all viewed with indignation the violent proceedings of the German Powers; but the intricacies of the Schleswig-Holstein question were known to be great; few had leisure to master them; and there was a general disposition to trust the Government for doing all that international duty and the obligations of treaties required England to do. The historical sketch with which we prefaced our account of these transactions will have made it clear to the reader that, in 1720, England had guaranteed to Denmark the continual and peaceable possession of ducal Schleswig. Eckernforde, Rendsburg, Missunde, and the town of Schleswig itself—the scene of the first hostile operations of the Austro-Prussians—are all situated in the part of the duchy so guaranteed. These circumstances appear to have escaped Lord Russell's memory, for, instead of frequent Cabinet councils, and the dispatch of peremptory missives to Berlin and Vienna, after the manner of the England of two generations back, the only expedient which seems to have occurred to him was to write (February 10) to Berlin, urging that the belligerents—the war having lasted exactly ten days—should agree to an armistice! The request was, it need hardly be added, ineffectual. But now the Danish Government took measures formally to remind Lord Russell of the obligations under which England lay. M. Torben Bille, the Danish minister in London, in a despatch, dated February 11, 1864, stated that his Government indulged the hope that Earl Russell appreciated the steps which Denmark had taken with a view to the maintenance of

peace, seeing that these steps had been taken by the Danish Government on the pressing advice of the Cabinet of London; that, however, the pacific desires of Denmark had been frustrated by the ambition of Austria and Prussia, and war had actually broken out; that in this war Denmark, if unaided, must eventually be crushed by the overwhelming numerical superiority of her opponents; that it was necessary, therefore, that, while there was yet time, the Powers friendly to Denmark should come to her aid, "and among those Powers there is none which the Danish Government address with more confidence than England." M. Bille proceeded to say:—"By the Treaty of July 23, 1720, Great Britain guaranteed 'to His Majesty the King of Denmark, his heirs and successors, the peaceable possession' of Schleswig, promising 'to maintain them therein *contra quoscunque* who might attempt to disturb them directly or indirectly.' This guarantee is still in full vigour at the present time, as is proved by the note which Lord Westmoreland addressed, on the 18th April, 1848, to the Cabinet of Berlin."

This was a categorical request, and the chilling reply which it elicited from Lord Russell must have been a bitter mortification to the over-matched and harassed Danes. After admitting generally that Denmark had followed the advice of the English Government, without which that Government "could not have given even its good offices to Denmark to prevent, if possible, the outbreak of hostilities," Lord Russell remarked that, as to "the request that friendly Powers should come to the assistance of Denmark, Her Majesty's Government could only say that every step they might think it right to take in the further progress of this unhappy contest could only be taken after full consideration and communication with France and Russia." He added, that as to the Treaty of 1720, inasmuch as Austria and Prussia had declared that they had no intention of disturbing the integrity of Denmark, it was not necessary, at that time, to examine the question of principle—that is, the validity of the guarantee itself. France and Russia were as much interested in the integrity of Denmark as Great Britain, and the British Government might fairly expect their advice and concert in any endeavour to preserve their integrity. Such a reply plainly foreshadowed that England did not intend to fulfil her engagements if other Powers did not fulfil theirs. The Danish Government made the fatal mistake of fancying that the England of 1864 was still the England of the Stanhopes and the Walpoles, and still of the same mind with her own Shakespeare, when he declares that—

> Rightly to be great,
> Is, not to stir without great argument;
> But greatly to find quarrel in a straw,
> When honour is at stake.

This ancient conception of national honour is undermined at the present day by the revolutionary tenet, that one generation is not bound by the pledges of a generation which preceded it, unless the execution of them is manifestly for its own interest. A "crowded and enthusiastic" meeting was held at Manchester, early in February, for the purpose of petitioning the Government and Parliament to maintain the principle of non-intervention in the war between Denmark and Germany. Nothing can more forcibly illustrate the change in public sentiment to which we are referring, than the general tone of the speeches delivered at this meeting. The Treaty of 1720 was absolutely ignored by all the speakers, including Mr. Ernest Jones, who had resided many years in Holstein and Schleswig, and professed to be thoroughly acquainted with the history of the controversy. The question, whether the honour of England was engaged, was treated in a slight and cursory manner, as if it possessed little interest for the speakers, but upon the inconvenience and costliness of war they dilated with great earnestness. Mr. T. B. Potter quoted a few words from a speech of Lord Palmerston, which, he said, showed that the honour of England was not concerned in the dispute, and then proceeded thus:—"All our interests were in the direction of peace. Our trade would be paralysed by war. We should have increased taxation and increased misery throughout the land. Besides, we must remember, that since the last wars there had been great changes, which would involve greater difficulties to the English nation than possibly to any other. By the resolutions of the Paris Conference the relation of belligerents and neutrals was changed. Neutral ships now covered an enemy's goods, and the goods shipped in neutral bottoms would lead to the transfer of our own carrying trade to neutrals. What would our shipowners in Liverpool, London, and Hull say to this? Were they prepared to see their vessels laid up in dock, or sold to neutral nations? There was another reason why we should hesitate to go to war. We had given hostages to fortune . . . he referred to the question of the *Alabama*. Although the American Government would be loyal and honest in its dealings, we knew that there were men in America in numbers who would fit out ships, and there would be a dozen or twenty *Alabamas* very soon in pursuit of our commerce all over the world." The expression of these views was received with continual cheering; and there can be little doubt that, although more nakedly stated than usual, they represent the habitual state of feeling of an immense mercantile class which has for many years swayed, though not *administered*, the government of England. Still there can be no doubt that the Government felt a real reluctance to abandon Denmark to its fate; and if France had shown any zeal in the matter, it seems not improbable that, in spite of the opposition referred to above, intervention would have gone the length of material assistance. But the French Emperor had been not a little mortified by Lord Russell's abrupt and decided rejection of his proposal for a general Congress of Powers, made in the autumn of 1863. That proposal, starting from the assumption that the Treaties of 1815 were "upon almost all points destroyed, modified, misunderstood, or menaced," urged the expediency of a joint endeavour, on the part of the nations of Europe, "to regulate the present and secure the future in a Congress." No other European Power, great or small, had absolutely rejected the Emperor's proposal; most had assented to it on the condition of a previous definition of

the subjects which should be laid before the Congress; but Lord Russell's unconditional refusal had caused the scheme to fall through. The feeling of mortification thence arising in the mind of the French Emperor led him to view the diplomatic efforts of England on behalf of Denmark with coldness, and her proposal for a *limited* Conference on Danish affairs with little favour. Still France, like ourselves, was bound by the Treaty of 1720, and the fidelity of the Danes to the first Napoleon, and the sufferings which they had undergone in his cause, constituted a moral claim which ought not to have been lightly disregarded. But here, there is reason to believe, the "personal" Government by which France was then ruled, and the interests of the Napoleonic dynasty, turned the scale against an active intervention. "There exists," says Sir A. Malet, "a very general persuasion that M. de Bismarck had already found means to influence the imperial mind. It has been surmised that his own schemes of aggrandisement for Prussia, at the expense both of Denmark and Germany, had been more than hinted at, and that visions of territorial advantages to accrue to France may have been held out to the Emperor, and entertained by him, in case Prussia was left free to pursue her own course without interruption. To reasons such as these, it is imagined, may in a great measure be ascribed the quiescent attitude taken by the Imperial Government in this question."

It may, however, be questioned whether, considering the small number of troops that England could bring into the field, there was any chance of a material intervention being successful in the face of the numerous battalions of two great military monarchies. Had both Austria and Prussia entered into the design of despoiling Denmark with equal heartiness, it may be admitted that material intervention on our part, though it might have retarded, would not have prevented, the catastrophe. But this was not the case; the Austrian Government was acting in the matter rather from a jealous disinclination to allow Prussia to take the lead and decide by herself questions in which German feeling was so deeply engaged, than because it desired to turn Denmark out of a duchy which had been linked to it for 800 years. "Had either" France or England, "or still more had they conjointly, said to Austria and Prussia in firm language that their attack on Denmark was a direct violation of public European law and could not be permitted, Austria would have been only too happy to find so plausible a pretext for extricating herself from a false position."* It is also nearly certain that Sweden, whose people sided most warmly with Denmark, would have immediately joined us had we resolved upon giving material aid. The particular form in which our assistance might have been most effectually rendered would have been the sending of a combined military and naval force to Schleswig. Lord Grey said, in the debate on the address (February 4, 1864), that, "looking to the geographical position of Denmark, the great exertions which the Danes seemed inclined to make in their defence, and the great support our naval power could give in a defensive war to a military force, he was convinced that such a force as this country ought to be able to send with ease and expedition to Schleswig might have an important effect on the contest."

It is not for us, writing at so short a distance of time, either to vindicate or condemn the abstention of our country from all active interference in favour of Denmark. It was, however, strongly urged at the time by many that if there was to be no *active* interference, it is much to be regretted that there was so much *diplomatic* interference. Had England, like France, stood aloof from the whole struggle, at least it could not have been said that we fed Denmark with false hopes, and then left her to be destroyed. It was fair enough, argued Lord Grey (and Lord Derby had before spoken in the same strain), to induce the Danish Government to revoke the Constitution of the 18th November "if we intended to support Denmark afterwards, but to give the advice without the intention of supporting her was neither just nor generous." Perhaps, too, the nation has some cause to complain of the conduct of the ministers who conducted the negotiations. Had Lord Palmerston, upon finding that, in spite of his assertion, in July, 1863, that Denmark if attacked would not stand alone, Parliament and the country had no mind for war, immediately resigned his office,—and had Lord Russell, on discovering that for the same reason his expressions about material intervention could never take effect, and that his diplomacy had failed to preserve Denmark, followed the example of his chief, both the country and the ministers themselves would have been in a far more satisfactory position. Mr. Lincoln, speaking, in his Message to Congress this year, of slaves who had been liberated under his proclamations, said, "If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, not I, must be their instrument to propose it." Similarly, it would have been more honourable for the two ministers and also for the country, when they found that the nation would not permit the hopes which they had held out to be realised, to declare that others, not they, should consent to the dismemberment of Denmark.

While the war was proceeding on the mainland, the Danish navy—which was superior in force to that of Prussia—had not been inactive, but had made numerous captures of German merchant ships. To obtain compensation for these losses, Marshal Wrangel, after the fall of Düppel and the evacuation of Fredericia, entered Jutland and imposed a war contribution of 650,000 thalers (£97,000) upon that province. A naval action, indecisive as to its result, was fought a few miles to the east of Heligoland, on the 9th May, between a Danish and an Austro-Prussian squadron. There were engaged two Austrian frigates, one Prussian corvette, and two gun-boats; total, 121 guns —the whole under the command of Captain Tegethof. The Danes had two frigates and a corvette; total, 71 guns. The leading Austrian frigate, the *Schwarzenberg*, lost her foremast and 100 men of her crew killed and wounded; she also caught fire, but her crew succeeded in extinguishing the flames. Towards evening, the German squadron

* Sir A. Malet.

retired within the neutral waters of Heligoland, and the Danes steered northwards.

The exertions of the Foreign Secretary to procure the consent of the belligerents and other great Powers to a Conference were at last crowned with a certain measure of success. Austria and Prussia agreed to the Conference but without an armistice. The first meeting was held on the 25th April, and the prime immediate object of the plenipotentiaries of the non-belligerent Powers was to obtain a suspension of hostilities. Denmark at first insisted that during the armistice her fleets should be allowed to maintain the blockade of the German ports, as an equivalent for the military occupation of the duchies; but to this the German Powers would not consent. Ultimately, Denmark, pressed by Lord Russell, consented to give up the blockade, and an armistice was arranged, to last from the 12th May to the 12th June. It is painful to trace the course of the negotiations which followed, and their complete futility may dispense us from the task of doing so at any considerable length. It soon became clear that the German Powers deemed the Treaty of 1852 to have been cancelled by the outbreak of war, and the envoy of the Diet declared that Germany would not consent to the re-union of the duchies to Denmark under any conditions whatever. Austria and Prussia proposed that Schleswig and Holstein should form an independent single state, under the sovereignty of Prince Frederic of Augustenburg; but such a solution the Danish plenipotentiaries declared to be wholly inadmissible. Lord Russell then brought forward the English proposal, which was that Holstein, Lauenburg, and the southern part of Schleswig, as far as the Schlei and the line of the Dannewerke, should be separated from the Danish monarchy. This arrangement, to the principle of which the Danish plenipotentiaries acceded, would have left Denmark in possession of about three-fourths of the duchy of Schleswig. The negotiations being now placed upon the basis of a partition of territory, the neutral Powers obtained with great difficulty the extension of the armistice from the 12th to the 26th June. Austria and Prussia agreed to a partition, but insisted that the line of demarcation should be traced from Apenrade to Tondern, thus leaving less than half of the duchy to Denmark, and depriving her of the purely Danish island of Alsen. Denmark would not yield this, and Prussia and Austria would concede no more. On the 18th June, eight days before the expiration of the armistice, Lord Russell proposed that the question of boundary should be referred to the arbitration of a friendly Power, but to this neither belligerent would consent. Finally, the French plenipotentiary proposed that the method of *plebiscite*, or popular vote, should be resorted to, and that the votes of the communes in Schleswig should be taken on the question whether they preferred reunion with Denmark or separation. The Danish envoy, M. de Quaade, positively negatived this proposal, which was also exceedingly unpleasing to Austria, in whose Italian dominions the application of the principle of the plebiscite would instantly terminate her rule. Thus the debates of the Conference came to an end, having produced no result. The conduct of Great Britain excited grief and astonishment in Denmark, and the President of the Council, Bishop Monrad, made an important statement in the lower house of the Rigsraad, on the 25th June, to the effect that Lord Russell, after having promised the Danish Government not to make or agree to any fresh proposal involving a less favourable boundary for Denmark than the line of the Schlei, had, by proposing that the question of the disputed boundary should be referred to arbitration, substantially departed from his word. Lord Palmerston, however, maintained, on behalf of his colleague, when questioned in the House of Commons on the subject, that there was no inconsistency. The Danish Government had under-estimated the fertility of Lord Russell's mind in the expedients of peaceful mediation. In former times, when England made a formal proposal for the settlement of a dispute between two nations, the world knew that if one of the two rejected the proposal, and continued to coerce its antagonist which acceded to it, England would go to war. But to Lord Russell, the rejection of one proposal, however just in itself and seriously made, was merely the signal for the framing of another, involving some concession.

The remainder of this melancholy history may be told in a few words. Hostilities recommenced, and on the 29th June the Prussians forced their way across the narrow sound which divides the island of Alsen from the mainland, and stormed with great gallantry the field works that had been thrown up on the opposite shore. The contest was bloody, and so infuriated had the feelings of the combatants by this time become, that there were several regiments on both sides, the men of which, when it came to hand-to-hand fighting, gave no quarter. The Prussians carried the position, but the greater part of the Danes made good their escape out of the island. The strong fortress of Fredericia had previously been abandoned; the Prussians were preparing to cross to Funen; and now nothing remained for the Danes, isolated as they were and without hope of aid, but to submit. Negotiations were immediately opened at Vienna, and on the 1st August the preliminaries of peace were signed, and embodied in the following October in a formal treaty—the Treaty of Vienna. Denmark ceded Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, without reserve, to the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia. Though thus compelled to ratify her own spoliation, the brave little kingdom came out of the struggle with honour, and with an undiminished right to the respect of Europe: it were much to be wished that of all the neutral Powers that looked on and did nothing the same could be said.

An incident, ominous of the strife which was soon to cover Germany with contending armies, occurred at Rendsburg in the middle of July. A quarrel having broken out there between some Prussian and Saxon soldiers, Prince Frederic Charles marched a strong body of Prussian troops into the place and turned out the Saxons. Lieut.-General von Hake, the commander of the execution troops, protested against this insult; the Saxon Chambers took up the matter with great heat, and Baron Beust, the Saxon Premier, delivered a reply which, under its guarded

phrases, betrayed extreme irritation on the part of his Government. The Lower House then passed the following resolution :—"The Second Chamber, in conjunction with the Upper Chamber, declares that the occupation of Rendsburg by Prussian troops, effected by abuse of an overwhelming force, is a violation of the rights of the German Confederation, and an outrage upon the honour of the German Federal troops. The Chamber protests against this act of violence on the part of a German Federal Power."

Austria and Prussia having now entered into full possession of the conquered territory, acted together for some time in considerable harmony. By a convention, dated the 16th January, 1864, it had been agreed between them that, if war arose in Schleswig, and treaty engagements came to an end, the future condition of the duchies should be established only by way of mutual understanding. One Austrian and two Prussian brigades were left in the duchies, for the civil government of which two commissioners were appointed—Von Lederer (soon succeeded by Baron Halbhuber) by Austria, and Von Zedlitz by Prussia. The government was to be in common, and its seat the city of Schleswig. The execution forces were now withdrawn from Holstein by a decree of the Diet. Count Rechberg, the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, was replaced about this time by Count Mensdorff. A difference of opinion soon manifested itself between the occupying Powers in regard to the proposal which they had jointly made at the London Conference, favourable to the hereditary claims of the Prince of Augustenburg. Austria still desired that the duchies should be disposed of in that way, but such an arrangement no longer suited the expanding views of the Count von Bismarck. He was resolved that Prussia should be great by sea as well as by land, and for this end the fine harbour of Kiel was a valuable and indispensable acquisition. Availing himself, therefore, of the fact, that a claim had been, since the Conference, put forward by the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, in whose favour (as the arrangements of the Treaty of 1852 had fallen through) the Emperor of Russia had lately renounced his reversionary interest in the Gottorp portion of Schleswig,—and of the further fact, that a very small minority of the population of the duchies had petitioned that they might be annexed to Prussia,—Bismarck declined to take any step tending to favour the succession of the Prince of Augustenburg. The wishes of the vast majority of the German population of the duchies were on the Prince's side, but that trifling circumstance made no impression whatever on Bismarck. The Diet, in December, took into consideration a motion to regulate the succession in the duchies by its sole authority, but the Prussian minister quickly informed the Courts of Dresden and Munich that no such interference would be permitted. At the same time (December 13, 1864) he hinted, in a despatch to Vienna, that the annexation of the duchies to Prussia, though not to be carried out except with the assent of Austria, would be highly advantageous to German interests, and not detrimental to those of Austria. Count Mensdorff replied in a despatch which, surreptitiously conveyed to the Berlin papers, did infinite damage to the reputation of Austria. Instead of taking a high tone, as he might so easily have done, Count Mensdorff said that "Austria would only assent to the incorporation of the duchies with Prussia upon an *equivalent augmentation of her own German territory being guaranteed to her.*" Such an augmentation could not be made except at the expense of some existing German state, which would have to be despoiled for the purpose; it seemed, therefore, that Austria was even less scrupulous than Prussia, for the rights of the Prince of Augustenburg, however well grounded they might be, had never yet been translated into actual possession.*

By keeping a French corps in the Roman territory, the Emperor of the French knew that he gave continual umbrage to the Liberal sentiment of Europe; he was therefore anxious to withdraw his troops, yet so that Rome should be left secure from attack, whether from the Italian Government or the partisans of the Revolution. Thus arose the famous Convention between France and Italy of the 15th September, 1864, the principal articles of which were these:—1. Italy engaged not to attack the territory then belonging to the Pope, and to prevent, even by force, every attack on that territory from without. 2. France undertook to withdraw her troops from the Pontifical States in proportion as the Pope's army should be organised; but the evacuation was, under any circumstances, to be completed within the space of two years. 3. The Italian Government engaged to raise no protest against the organisation of a Papal army, even if composed of foreign volunteers, sufficient to maintain the Pope's authority and tranquillity as well in the interior as upon the frontier of his states, provided always that this force should not degenerate into a means of attack against the Italian Government. 4. Florence was to be substituted for Turin as the capital. This last stipulation was insisted on by the French Emperor, because it was evident to all that the capital of the Italian kingdom could not much longer remain at Turin—a city exposed on two sides to a sudden invasion across the Alps; if, then, it were once removed to the other side of the Apennines and fixed at Florence, not at Rome, he calculated that there it would probably remain, and that the ardent longing for Rome, as the natural and necessary capital of Italy, would gradually fade away from the Italian heart. Thus only, he considered, was it possible to reconcile the urgent claim of French Catholics, that the Pope should be protected, with the political and military necessity which compelled the Italians to seek a more central position for their capital. But in the Italian intellect the Emperor encountered an adversary not less tenacious, not less wily, than himself, and endowed besides with a swift, flashing audacity which was foreign to his own character. The Italians thought it a clear gain that the French eagles should be withdrawn from their soil, and trusted to the chapter of accidents to bring them to Rome at last. Cialdini, in an eloquent speech to the

* It has been since alleged that Count Mensdorff had in his mind the county of Glatz in Silesia.

Senate, counselling the removal of the capital to Florence, made no secret of his ulterior aims. He fully concurred, he said, in the opinion ascribed to the great Napoleon, that Florence was not sufficiently central to be the capital of Italy, "and exactly for that reason I desire and hope to go to Rome." The discontent of the people of Turin, at the prospect of losing the advantages which had hitherto accrued to their city from being the seat of Government, broke out into open rioting; the troops had to be called out, and several lives were lost before the tumult was quelled.

PRINCE FREDERIC CHARLES.

CHAPTER IX.

American Civil War in 1864: Battle of Olustee: Federal Failures in Louisiana and Arkansas: Grant takes the Command in Virginia; He crosses the Rapidan: Battles of the "Wilderness" and Spotsylvania Court House: Terrible Slaughter: Death of Stuart: Fighting on the North Anna: Battle of Cold Harbour: Grant transfers his Army to the South of the James River: Fruitless Assault on Petersburg: End of the Campaign: Inexhaustible Resources of the North: Early Invades Maryland: Menaces Washington: Is twice Defeated by Sheridan: Devastation of the Shenandoah Valley by Sheridan's Order: Sherman Advances into Georgia: Fall of Atlanta: Hood Invades Tennessee; Repulsed from Nashville: Sherman's Great March: Fall of Savannah: The *Alabama* and the *Kearsarge*: Capture of the Mobile Forts by Farragut: The Florida at Brest: The *Shenandoah* Raid: Constitutional Amendment Abolishing Slavery: Re-election of Mr. Lincoln—Maximilian accepts the Mexican Crown: Arrives in Mexico: His progress in putting down the Juarists—Destructive Cyclone at Calcutta.

THE course of the Civil War in America in 1864 was characterised by as desperate fighting, but distinguished by fewer picturesque incidents than the campaigns of the two preceding years. The contest became more sanguinary as it proceeded; in this year we hear of the massacre of prisoners, of fights in which no quarter was given, of the burning of villages and farms, of the ruthless destruction and wholesale plunder of property. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward erected the preservation of the Union into a religion, and did not fear to characterise those who sought to dissolve it as the "enemies of the human race"! Naturally, therefore, they made it a point of duty to wade through seas of blood and stride over wide-spread ruin to their object. On the other hand, this frightful pertinacity maddened the Confederates, and infused a spirit of vengeful fury into their resistance, so long as any resistance was possible.

In the outlying portions of the vast territory over which the war raged, the events of the year were, upon the whole, unfavourable to the Federals. In an attempt, made in February, to overrun and recover Florida for the Union, General Seymour was defeated (February 20), with heavy loss, by the Confederate General Finnegan, at

a place called Olustee, near the northern frontier of the state; and this was the last serious fighting that occurred in Florida till the final collapse of the Confederacy. In the part of Louisiana which lies to the west of the Mississippi, a great combined military and naval expedition, under General Banks and Admiral Porter, the object of which was to clear the valley of the Red river and to defeat, to work them down again, in which operation he was much hampered by the low state of the river, and the continual attacks of the enemy from the banks, losing one or two of his gun-boats from the former cause, and a considerable number of men from the latter. In Arkansas, a state on the western bank of the Mississippi, north of Louisiana, the Federal General Steele set out,

MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

reach and capture Shreveport, a place of considerable importance in the north-western corner of the state, resulted in complete failure. The Confederate General Kirby Smith attacked Banks' army while its divisions were scattered at Sabine Cross Roads (April 8), and defeated it with heavy loss in guns and prisoners. Banks fell back on Grand Ecore, repulsing his pursuers with loss at Pleasant Hill, and thence on Alexandria; ultimately he retired to Simmsport, a place not many miles from the Mississippi. Admiral Porter, who had worked his fleet of gun-boats up the Red river to within a short distance of Shreveport, was compelled, on hearing of Banks' in the spring, from Little Rock, the capital of the state—which he had captured in the previous September—on an expedition to Camden, a town near the Louisiana border. But a portion of his force being defeated and compelled to surrender at Mark's Mill (April 25), Steele retreated, not without considerable difficulty, to Little Rock; the greater portion of the state was recovered by the Confederates, and the attempts at a Union organisation, which the success of the previous year had encouraged, were nipped in the bud. In Missouri, on the other hand, in spite of a last and very daring inroad by General Price, the Federal hold of the state remained unshaken;

yet, on the whole, the Confederates west of the Mississippi were stronger at the end of the year than they had been at the beginning.

The Army of the Potomac was entrusted this year to General Grant, who was nominated by the President, on the 1st March, Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the United States, a dignity hitherto accorded only to George Washington. What emphatically recommended General Grant both to the President and to Congress—notwithstanding his civilian training and frequent serious mistakes in strategy—was his "utter disbelief in the efficacy of any rose-water treatment of the rebellion."* His policy, agreeing with that of Mr. Lincoln himself, was to wear out the Confederacy by continual and simultaneous attacks in every quarter, to give them no rest either winter or summer, and thus to make the utmost possible use of the great advantage possessed by the Federals in their practically unbounded resources in men and material, and to impede the Confederates as much as possible in the use of the advantage which they possessed—that of moving on interior and shorter lines of communication. He was determined—to use his own words in his final report on the war—"to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but" submission. He assumed the command of the army, which, however, still remained under the immediate direction of Meade, early in March, and devoted the rest of that month and the whole of April to a careful re-organisation, massing his entire force, amounting to about 100,000 men, in three corps, under Generals Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick. Lee also had re-formed his far inferior army into three corps, under Hill, Ewell, and Longstreet. When all was ready, Meade was ordered to cross the Rapidan, and enter the "Wilderness"—a tract of broken table-land densely covered with dwarfish timber and bushes, which lies to the west of Chancellorsville. His columns crossed the river without opposition, and moving to their right were about to emerge from the tangled broken country, when Lee, who had drawn up his army outside the western border of the Wilderness, vigorously attacked and checked their progress. The battle raged with various success through the 5th and 6th of May; but, about sun-down on the 6th, a sudden Confederate charge broke the Federal right, and led to the capture of several thousand prisoners. The total losses in the two days' battle were—on the Federal side, nearly 20,000 men, of whom some 6,000 were taken prisoners; on that of the Confederates, according to their own estimate, only 8,000. General Longstreet was severely wounded in this battle.

On the next day (May 7), as Lee did not attack, Grant resolved to resume his march upon Richmond, and pushed his columns in a southerly direction through the Wilderness into the open country round Spotsylvania Court House. Here he found Lee posted in a position of considerable strength, fortified by earthworks and *abattis*. During four days (May 8, 9, 10, and 12), there was continual fighting round Spotsylvania, with frightful carnage. On the first day, General Sedgwick, while placing his guns, and bantering some of his men who winced at the singing of Confederate bullets, was struck in the face by the ball from a sharp-shooter's rifle and fell dead. The command of his corps was given to General Wright. Grant wrote to the War Department, on the 11th May, declaring that the result of six days' heavy fighting was much in his favour (which was only true in the sense that he could better afford to lose two men than the Confederates one), and ending: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." The Federal losses round Spotsylvania again amounted to nearly 20,000 men. After the action on the 12th, several days of marching and counter-marching ensued, Grant endeavouring, but without success, to find a weak place in the Confederate lines. On the 21st, he withdrew his army by its left in a south-easterly direction, and marched upon the North Anna, a stream which, when joined by the South Anna, forms the river Pamunkey. Meantime, General Butler, commanding at Fortress Munroe, had advanced with 30,000 men up the James river towards Richmond, which he hoped to find feebly defended. Both he and Grant were aided in their movements by the operations of a powerful cavalry, now far more numerous and well appointed than the Confederate horsemen, whose brilliant raids had carried consternation far across the Federal border in the earlier years of the war. Stuart himself, the best cavalry officer on the Confederate side, had fallen mortally wounded at Yellow Tavern, near Richmond, on the 11th May, while resisting, with far inferior numbers, the attack of a large cavalry force under the command of General Sheridan. But Beauregard was summoned up from Charleston, the attack on which had been turned into a blockade, to oppose Butler, and attacking him at Proctor's Creek (May 16), on the James river, forced him to retreat.

When Grant reached the North Anna, he found the ever-watchful Lee confronting him again in a strong position to the south of that river. Two days' fighting (May 23, 24) ensued; after which, perceiving the impossibility of forcing the Confederate entrenchments without a loss which even the Federal armies could not afford, Grant again withdrew by his left, and moved towards the Chickahominy. Lee, moving on a shorter line, had time to post himself at Cold Harbour, north of the river, before the Federals could reach it. His position was naturally strong, and he knew how to make the most of its advantages. "No other American has ever so thoroughly appreciated and so readily seized the enormous advantage which the increased range, precision, and efficiency given to musketry by rifling have insured to the defensive, when wielded by a commander who knows how speedily a trench may be dug and a slight breastwork thrown up, which will stop nine-tenths of the bullets that would otherwise draw blood." Yet, if Grant was to reach Richmond on this line, he must force Lee's position, and the attempt was accordingly made. The Federals came on bravely and swiftly, but were as swiftly

* Greeley.

repulsed with terrible slaughter. Twenty minutes after the first shot was fired, ten thousand men were stretched on the sod, dead, dying, or disabled; while the loss on the side of the Confederates did not exceed a thousand men. When, some hours later, General Meade ordered the assault to be renewed, the soldiers simply and unanimously refused to obey. The total loss to the Federals in this battle of Cold Harbour (June 3) exceeded 13,000 men.

But Grant's nerves were as firmly steeled as those of Count Bismarck; and the sole alteration which this day of slaughter induced in his plans was the transference of his line of attack from the north to the south of the James river. Running down from Richmond in a general south-easterly direction, the James is joined at City Point by the river Appomattox, flowing from the south-west, on whose banks, about twenty miles due south of Richmond, stands the town of Petersburg. This is an important railway centre, to which all the railways communicating with Richmond from the south converge, except one. Its capture, therefore, by cutting off the capital from its main sources of supply, would render the continued occupation of Richmond by a large Confederate army a work of difficulty. The army was safely conveyed over the James river in the first week of June, and with as little delay as possible Grant hurled strong columns of assault against the defences of Petersburg. Some success was obtained at one or two points, and the attack was renewed from day to day for several days (June 10—20), but eventually the assailants were beaten back, with the loss of 10,000 men. The Federal army then entrenched itself in front of Petersburg, and Grant opened communication on his right with General Butler, who had gradually advanced up the James river as far as a point on the left bank known as Deep Bottom, only ten miles from Richmond, where he constructed a bridge, so as to ensure an easy and rapid communication between the extreme right and left of the Federal line. Desperate fighting, attended by heavy loss to the Federals, especially in prisoners, continued through the best part of June, Grant's object being now to seize and destroy the lines of railroad connecting Petersburg with the interior. There was a lull in July; but, on the 30th of that month, a mine having been sprung with terrible effect beneath an advanced redoubt forming part of the Confederate lines at Petersburg, which blew the garrison of 300 men into the air, and opened a yawning breach in the defences, storming columns were ordered to the assault. But the arrangements were planned with little skill and executed without ardour; and the Confederates, recovering from their first consternation, repelled the attacking force with heavy loss. In August, Grant made decided progress, though effecting it at an enormous cost, inasmuch as the Weldon railroad, running due south from Petersburg, was seized and firmly held by Warren and Hancock. In the last week of October, there was more fighting on Hatcher's Run, to the south-west of Petersburg, but with no particular result. The Virginia campaign for the year was now at an end. Grant had neither defeated Lee, nor penetrated to Richmond, nor even taken Petersburg. The losses during the campaign, in his and Butler's army together, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, reached, according to Federal accounts, the amazing total of 100,000 men; while the Confederate losses amounted to little more than half that number. But for the overwhelming numerical superiority on the part of the North, and the stubborn resolution of the Government, such a result of the campaign would have been equivalent to hopeless and admitted defeat. As it was, a loss which nearly equalled the entire strength of the army with which General Grant began the campaign had no effect in lessening the pressure upon the Confederates, for the numbers of the Federals "had been nearly or quite kept up by reinforcements from various quarters."* Thus the severe losses sustained by the Confederates, though falling far short of those they had inflicted, yet, since they could not be made good, left them relatively weaker than when the campaign began. It is easy to conceive the feeling of despair which must have gradually infused itself into the breasts of the Southerners, both officers and men, at seeing the futility of all their victories and all their sacrifices, when measured against a political zeal—which some might call patriotism, others fanaticism—that counted human lives as nothing compared with the attainment of its object.

In Western Virginia, the course of events at first went favourably for the Confederates, but ended with a crushing disaster. Breckinridge defeated Sigel in the Shenandoah valley in May, giving place afterwards to Early, whose army was raised to a strength of 20,000 men. Defeating the Federal generals who opposed him, Early crossed into Maryland and threatened Washington, sending a force under General M'Causland to Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania. The panic in the frontier states was for a short time greater than at any period since the commencement of the war. But troops were soon collected in sufficient numbers to secure Washington, and Early having advanced within seven miles of the city (July 11), and exchanged fire with some of the outer forts, thought it prudent to make a speedy retreat. M'Causland imposed a heavy war contribution on the town of Chambersburg, under penalty of conflagration, and when the money was not produced, set fire to the place; about two-thirds of the town were destroyed. Sheridan was now appointed by Grant to the chief command in the valley, with an army of 30,000 men. This able General defeated Early at Opequan Creek, near Winchester (September 19); and when, in the following month, the Confederates had surprised and routed General Crook, one of Sheridan's subordinates, at Cedar Creek (October 19), Sheridan, who was then on his way to Washington, turned back in time, restored the battle, and by masterly generalship transformed defeat into a decided victory. Previously to this, Sheridan, acting upon an order addressed to his predecessor in command by General Grant, had commenced a systematic devastation of this fertile region. Since the ravaging of the Palatinate, by

* Greeley, "American Conflict," vol. ii. p. 589

order of Louis XIV., history can point to nothing more ruthless than the devastation of Western Virginia, and afterwards of South Carolina, by the agents of a Republic which started on its career with an ostentatious declaration of its respect for human rights. Sheridan writes to Grant on the 7th October:—"The whole country from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain has been made untenable for a rebel army. I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat and hay and farming implements, over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat; have driven in front of the army over four thousand head of stock, and have killed and issued to the troops not less than three thousand sheep. This destruction embraces the Luray valley and Little Fort valley as well as the main valley. A large number of horses have been obtained, a proper estimate of which I can not now make."

We have now to speak of Sherman's advance into Georgia, and of the great march by which that General cut his way through the heart of the Confederate dominion, dividing its eastern from its western half by a broad belt of plundered and wasted territory. Appointed in March to the chief command of the military division of the Mississippi, he mustered his forces from their winter encampments round Chattanooga, and at the head of an army but little short of 100,000 men of all arms, commenced his forward march on the 6th May. The Confederate General Johnston, posted at Dalton, had barely 50,000 men to oppose to this formidable force. The movements, feints, surprises, combats, which followed possess little interest except from the purely military point of view; suffice it to say that Johnston, though resolutely defending every available position, was pushed back, by weight of numbers and skilful strategy, to the lines which covered Atlanta, an important city in the north of Georgia, where the Confederate Government had established extensive workshops and manufactories. In the battle of Kenesaw mountain (June 14) the Southern service lost a valuable officer in Lieutenant-General Polk, formerly the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Louisiana, who was instantaneously struck dead by a cannon-shot. President Davis considered—erroneously, it would seem—that Johnston had given ground too easily, and sent Hood to Atlanta to supersede him. The change was unfortunate. Hood, a rash, eager, impatient man, vainly flung his troops against Sherman's disciplined and well-handled masses; he was beaten in almost every encounter, and compelled, Sherman having seized the railway in his rear, to evacuate Atlanta (September 5), after destroying engines, stores, and war material to the utmost of his power. But instead of interposing his army between Sherman and the coast, and trusting to being reinforced so as to hold his ground, Hood resolved to transfer his army to a different field of operations, foolishly imagining that the invasion of Tennessee by a beaten army would draw Sherman out of Georgia. The Federal commander followed him for a few days, as he was rapidly marching out of Georgia into Northern Alabama; but since Hood declined battle, Sherman gave up the pursuit, and after taking care that General Thomas (who had been left in command at Nashville, the capital of Tennessee) should have an ample force left at his disposal wherewith to defend that state, returned to Atlanta. The end of Hood's ill-judged enterprise may be told in a few words. Entering Tennessee from Alabama, he first met with serious resistance at Franklin, a few miles south of Nashville, where General Schofield defended himself vigorously in an entrenched position (November 30), but being outnumbered, fell back on Nashville. In this action the brave Irishman, Pat. Cleburne, sometimes called the "Stonewall Jackson" of the West, fell mortally wounded. Thomas had collected at Nashville a force fully equal to that under Hood, and better fed and equipped; and when the latter appeared before the city, the Federal General at once attacked, defeated his adversary in several engagements, and finally drove him out of Tennessee.

Meantime, Sherman, having thoroughly destroyed the railways in his rear, and collected thirty days' supplies for his men, set out from Atlanta (November 11) at the head of a seasoned and efficient army of 65,000 men. The withdrawal of Hood's army had left the way almost open before him, the natural obstacles of bad roads, forests, marshes, and rivers being the chief impediments in his path. The army was divided into two divisions or wings, one under Howard, the other under Slocum; and a skilful use of cavalry on each wing to cover and conceal the march of the main body left the feeble Confederate force remaining in his front in continual uncertainty as to his objective point. At one time they thought he was aiming at Macon; at another time Augusta, a large town on the South Carolina border, appeared to be menaced; and they broke up and moved about their forces accordingly. Milledgeville, the political capital of the state, fell into Sherman's hands on the 23rd November. Pushing steadily forward at the rate of about fifteen miles a day, and subsisting on the resources of the country, his troops arrived in front of Fort M'Alister (December 13), the chief defence of Savannah on the west. The fort, defended by a weak garrison of two hundred men, was easily stormed, and Savannah was immediately invested, communications being now opened between Sherman's army and the Federal blockading fleet in the river. On the night of December 20, Hardee with 15,000 men evacuated the place, and effected a safe retreat into South Carolina. Savannah, one of the most important towns in the Confederacy, with 25,000 bales of cotton in its warehouses and 154 guns mounted on its ramparts, became the prize of the conqueror. Here he remained over a month, resting his troops, and making preparations for the continuation of his march into South Carolina. His losses on the long march from Atlanta to Savannah did not amount to 600 men.

The naval transactions of the year comprise the termination of the destructive career of the *Alabama*, and the capture of the Mobile forts. Up to the beginning of 1864, one hundred and ninety-three merchant ships, valued with their cargoes at more than thirteen millions of dollars, had been captured by Confederate cruisers; and of these, all but seventeen were burnt after capture.

This was unavoidable, because the Confederate ports were closed by the blockade, and England had, by express proclamation, at the commencement of the strife, prohibited captors from bringing prizes into any British or colonial port. Of these captures, a large share had fallen to the *Alabama* and her active captain, Raphael Semmes. Being in Cherbourg harbour in June this year, and learning that the *Kearsarge*, a Federal gun-boat, was off the port, Captain Semmes sent a challenge to her commander, Captain Winslow, which was, of course, accepted. The two ships were pretty equally matched, the *Alabama* carrying eight guns, the *Kearsarge* seven, but the heavy 11-inch guns of the latter gave her the advantage. The *Alabama* sailed out of Cherbourg on the morning of the 19th June, attended by the English yacht the *Deerhound*, owned and sailed by Mr. Lancaster. The *Kearsarge* was waiting about seven miles from shore. The fight began, the ships moving round each other in circles, and lasted for about an hour, when the *Alabama*, having been hulled several times by the heavy 11-inch shot of her antagonist, was observed to be in a sinking condition. When she was nearly filled with water, Semmes hauled down his flag, and the boats of the *Kearsarge*, assisted by those of the *Deerhound*, took off him and his crew. In twenty minutes after she struck her colours, the *Alabama* went down stern foremost. Her practice had been far inferior to that of the *Kearsarge*, which only had three men wounded, one of them mortally; while of the crew of the *Alabama*, nine were killed and twenty-one wounded. Captain Semmes was landed from the *Deerhound* at Cowes, and afterwards claimed as a prisoner of war by the American minister; but the claim was disallowed.

By the summer of 1864, nearly all the ports of the Southern States were effectually sealed against blockade-runners, except Mobile and Wilmington. It was now resolved to attack the first of these. Mobile, the principal sea-port of the state of Alabama, a flourishing and populous city before the war began, stands at the head of the bay of the same name, some thirty miles from the open sea. There is a double entrance into the bay, Dauphine island separating the two inlets; and the approaches were guarded by three large forts—Fort Powell, Fort Gaines, and Fort Morgan. Inside the bay was a Confederate squadron, comprising the formidable iron-clad *Tennessee*, under the command of Admiral Buchanan. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Admiral Farragut, having a fleet of four iron-clads and fourteen wooden ships-of-war (including the stout old *Hartford*, in which he had run the gauntlet of the forts below New Orleans) at his disposal, and aided by a land force under General Granger, resolved to attempt to fight his way between the heads. On the morning of the 5th August, the fleet steered for the eastern entrance. The leading ship, the iron-clad *Tecumseh*, struck upon a torpedo, which blew a large hole in her bottom, causing her to go down immediately with the greater part of her crew. But the other ships held on their way undaunted, and, passing between Forts Morgan and Gaines with little loss, encountered, inside the bay, the Confederate squadron, which, after a brave resistance, was overpowered. The *Tennessee* and *Selma* were captured, while the remaining vessels either ran on shore or escaped up the bay to Mobile. All the three forts were reduced within a few days with the help of General Granger, and the entrances to Mobile bay were thus effectually closed against the friends or customers of the Confederacy.

The *Florida*, which escaped out of Liverpool, at an early period of the war, under the name of the *Oreto*, had like the *Alabama*, made havoc of Federal commerce for a considerable time. In the October of this year, she was lying in the harbour of Bahia, whither she had gone for repairs, when the U.S. frigate *Wachusetts*, Captain Collins, suddenly attacked her, at a time when her captain and half her crew were on shore, compelled her to surrender, and towed her out of the bay. The Brazilian Government loudly protested against this flagrant breach of international law, and Mr. Seward promptly disavowed the act, and informed the Brazilian chargé d'affaires that the captain of the *Wachusetts* would be suspended, and the consul at Bahia, who had urged the captain to the act complained of, dismissed. As to the *Florida*, she could not be restored, having sunk at her anchors in Hampton Roads, "owing to a leak which could not be seasonably stopped;" the fact being that a war transport, by a convenient accident, had run her down.

An unpleasant incident occurred in the autumn, which, but for the firm and moderate attitude of Mr. Lincoln, might easily have involved us in a serious difficulty with the United States. A considerable number of Confederate refugees had gradually gathered in Canada, men rendered desperate by the wreck of their property and the misfortunes of their country. Some twenty-five of these men, in the month of October, crossed the border into the state of Vermont, and entering the little town of St. Albans in the dead of night, attacked and plundered the bank, shooting dead several of the townspeople who endeavoured to arrest their proceedings, and escaping back into Canada. They were soon arrested by the Canadian authorities, and the money was recovered. The case being an important one, it was removed from the jurisdiction of the magistrates of St. John's, the place where the raiders were arrested, to that of the Supreme Court at Montreal, and a writ of *habeas corpus* was refused. The American consul, Mr. Edmonds, was instructed to demand their extradition, but this was refused on legal grounds, and an investigation was instituted into the affair under the Ashburton Treaty. A number of witnesses were examined, and much time consumed; but in the end Judge Coursol decided that his court had no jurisdiction in the case, and ordered the release of the raiders from custody. The Canadian Government wisely resolved that so flagrant a miscarriage of justice should not be permitted; in fact, their law advisers gave it as their opinion that the Judge's decision was bad in law; and accordingly warrants were issued for the re-apprehension of the criminals. Already, as a precautionary measure, the colonial Government had appointed special stipendiary magistrates to prevent breaches of international law along the frontier. But the news of the Judge's decision, releasing the raiders, had reached New

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York before the subsequent conduct of the Canadian Government was announced, and it aroused, not unnaturally, great excitement and indignation. Major-General Dix, who commanded in the state of New York, went so far as to issue an order in which he said :—

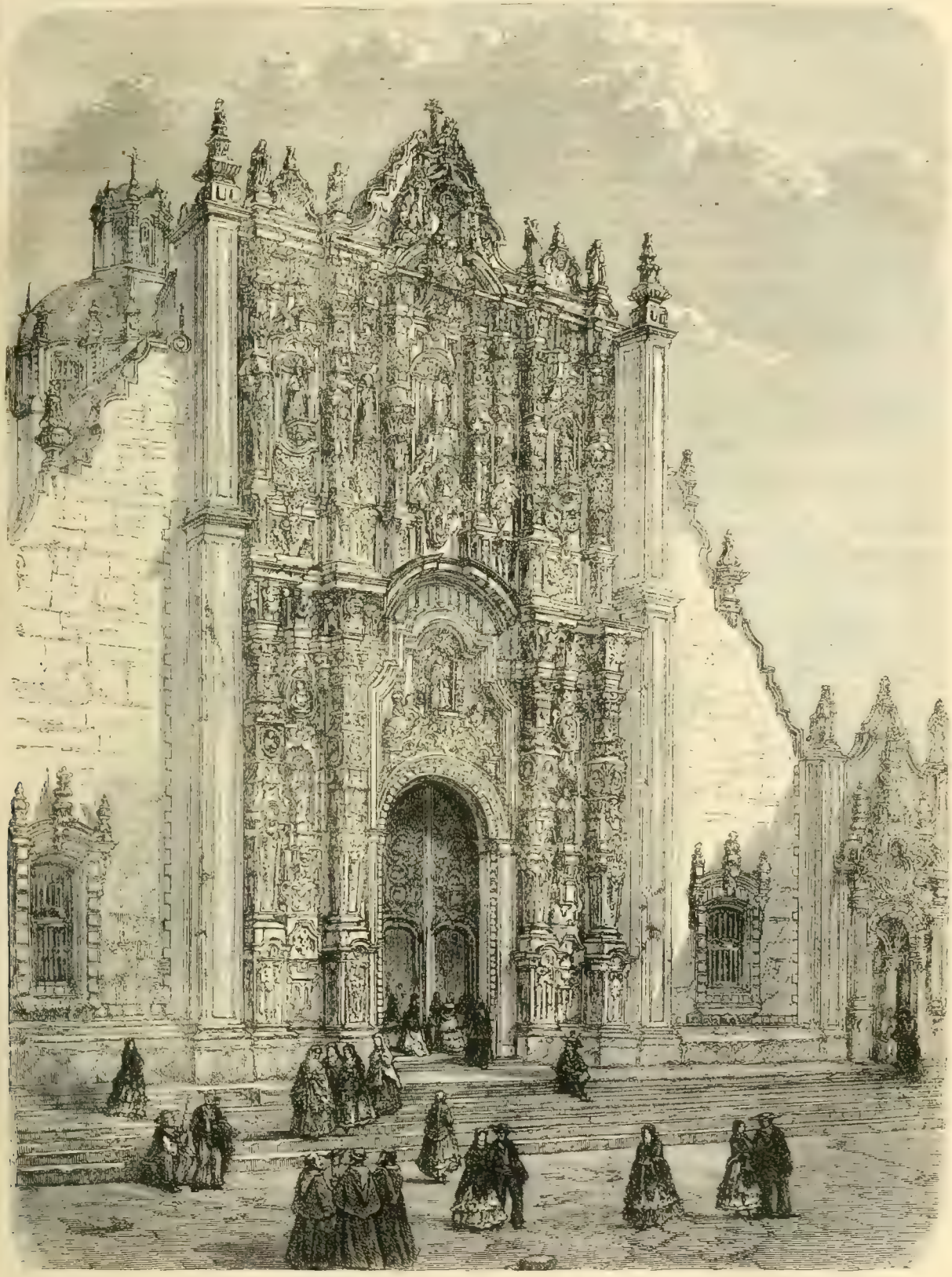
"All military commanders on the frontiers are instructed in case further acts of depredation and murder are attempted, whether by marauders or persons acting under commissions from the rebel authorities at Richmond, to shoot down the perpetrators if possible while in the commission of their crimes; or if it be necessary, with a view to their capture, to cross the boundary between the United States and Canada, the said commanders are hereby directed to pursue them wherever they may take refuge, and, if captured, they are under no circumstances to be surrendered, but are to be sent to these head-quarters for trial and punishment by martial law."

This order, which the Major-General must have penned while under the influence of excited feeling, was cancelled by President Lincoln. But the President, with the approval of the Senate, gave notice to the British Government that after the expiration of six months, the period stipulated under existing arrangements, the United States would hold themselves at liberty, in view of the insecurity of life and property on the Canadian border, to increase if necessary their naval armament on the Lakes. But in his message to the new Congress (December 6, 1864), Mr. Lincoln expressly stated that the colonial authorities of Canada were not deemed to be internationally unjust or unfriendly towards the United States; but that, on the contrary, there was every reason to expect that, with the approval of the home Government, they would take the necessary measures to prevent new excursions across the border. These anticipations were fully justified by the subsequent conduct of the Canadian Government. A strong force of militia was stationed at various points along the frontier, several of the raiders were arrested under the warrant for their re-apprehension, the Court at Montreal reversed its former decision and declared that it *had* jurisdiction, those captured were tried anew, and at least one of them was adjudged on the evidence to be guilty of robbery, and ordered to be given up to the United States.

ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH TROOPS IN MEXICO.

A constitutional amendment had been passed by the Senate, on the 8th April, 1864, abolishing and for ever prohibiting slavery throughout the United States, but it had been thrown out by the House of Representatives. The Congress, which met in December, 1864, took up the question again; the amendment was passed by both Houses in January, 1865, and having been afterwards ratified by more than two-thirds of the States, became part of the Federal Constitution.

The usual political agitation in connection with the election of a new President began in the autumn of this year. Mr. Lincoln offered himself for re-election; the Chicago Convention, representing the Democratic party,



ENTRANCE TO THE CATHEDRAL OF MEXICO.

chose General M'Lellan for its candidate. The Democrats held an essentially false position; they professed to be as firmly opposed to disunion as Mr. Lincoln himself; yet they desired to have peace with the South, and trust to conciliatory and peaceable means to bring about re-union. How baseless and irrational such views were was clearly demonstrated this year, when President Davis, on being sounded, by some Northern men, who had been permitted to pass through the lines of both armies, on the subject of peace, declared that he desired it most fervently, but that it could not be obtained on any other basis than the recognition of Southern independence. Republican candidates were chosen in an overwhelming majority, and Mr. Lincoln was accordingly re-elected President for another term of four years.

The imperial crown of Mexico was offered, as we have seen, to the Archduke Maximilian, in the autumn of 1863. Pressed by the Emperor Napoleon, and confident in his own upright intentions, Maximilian in an evil hour suffered himself to be persuaded to accept the fatal gift. Money was before all things necessary in order to carry out the fair programme of beneficent reforms which the new Empire was to introduce, and also to re-imburse the French treasury, which had the fear of the biting eloquence of Thiers always before its eyes, in a portion of the enormous expense of the Mexican expedition. The capitalists of Vienna, Paris, and London were consulted, and a Mexican loan of some £15,000,000 was set afloat, but under conditions onerous in the extreme, so that Maximilian was able to take a very small portion of this sum with him, when he sailed for Mexico. With regard to the future, the Austrian Court must have deemed that its hazards were sufficiently guarded against by means of the convention which Maximilian entered into with France. Under this convention (April 10, 1864), it was agreed that a French corps of 25,000 men should remain in Mexico, and should only quit it when the Emperor should have organised his own army. In any case, even after the recall of her troops, it was agreed that France should, during a further term of six years, leave in Mexico a force of 8,000 men, composing the foreign legion in the service of that country. The Emperor of Austria also gave permission for officers of the Austrian army to volunteer into the Mexican foreign legion, retaining for six years their Austrian military rank. The Archduke formally accepted the crown on the 10th April, and a few days afterwards he and his Empress left Miramar, and embarked for Mexico, taking Rome on their way. They arrived at Vera Cruz at the end of May, and entered the city of Mexico, amid the acclamations of the people, on the 12th June. The rest of the year was spent in endeavours to crush the partisans of Juarez and the Republic, who were now called "insurgents". On the whole, considerable progress was made in pacifying the country, and in putting down the Juarists, who were defeated in a pitched battle at Durango towards the end of September. Unfortunately for Maximilian, he had incurred the anger of the powerful ecclesiastical interest in the country. Juarez some years before had confiscated the immense landed property of the Mexican Church, and had been excommunicated by the bishops. The Regency, after the French capture of the capital, and afterwards Maximilian, determined to uphold the law of secularisation; against the former the bishops launched an excommunication, and if they refrained from that extreme measure against the new Emperor, their disaffection and covert hostility must have been seriously detrimental to his interests. Hence must be explained the singular fact, that, in the autumn, while the Emperor was absent on a tour through several provinces, Miramon, the native general most attached to the Church party, supported by the Archbishop of Mexico, rose in rebellion, and got possession of a portion of the city. But his success was only ephemeral, and before the end of the year the French had taken Matamoras on the eastern, and Acapulco on the western coast, and armed resistance to the Empire in the field was well nigh at an end.

An appalling calamity befell the capital of our Indian empire in the autumn of this year. On the morning of the 5th October, a heavy gale set in from the north-east at Calcutta; gradually it veered round to the eastward, increasing in fury all the time, then to the southward, and finally to the south-west, so as to leave no doubt that it was a true *cyclone*, or revolving storm, to which the site of Calcutta is peculiarly exposed. But such a hurricane as this had never been known within the memory of man. With a noise like distant thunder the nucleus, or most violent portion of the storm came on, tearing up trees by their roots, carrying off the roofs of houses, overturning walls and buildings, and heaping up masses of ruin in the streets and roads, where neither foot nor carriage passengers could make their way. Nearly all the churches and chapels in Calcutta were unroofed or otherwise seriously damaged, and scarcely a house in the city escaped without some injury. The native huts, especially in the suburbs, were nearly all blown down. Except the cocoa-nut and other palms, scarcely a tree was anywhere left standing after the storm had passed away. The beautiful avenues in Fort William were entirely destroyed, and the Eden Gardens turned into a wilderness. But it was on the river that the storm was attended with the most disastrous consequences. So long as the wind blew from the eastward, and therefore across the Hooghly, no great damage was done; but after it had gone round to the south, the force of the hurricane, aided by a high tide, raised such a sea that no moorings could hold out against it. Tier after tier of vessels broke adrift, in most cases taking moorings, buoys, and tackle with them, and drove about in clusters of four, six, and eight, entangled together, and carrying with them ships at anchor in the stream, and everything else with which they came in contact. Of more than two hundred ships in the Hooghly, it was said that only ten were left at their moorings after the storm, the rest having been stranded or sunk. The *Bengal*, one of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers, another British steamer, and a French ship were fairly lifted up and deposited on shore. The total loss of life was very considerable, but does not appear to have been accurately ascertained. In the city and suburbs of Calcutta it was reported at forty-one natives, and two Europeans, besides some twenty seriously wounded by the

fall of their houses. On the river some hundreds of lives were supposed to have been lost with the European vessels that went down, besides those drowned in the multitude of small native boats, which were overwhelmed with sudden destruction. Great distress was soon caused by the rise in the price of all articles of food, which compelled great numbers of the people to feed on all kinds of garbage, and particularly on rice damaged by the heavy rains which succeeded the gale—a food said to be extremely injurious to health. Subscriptions to a Cyclone Relief Fund were quickly opened in all the three Presidencies, and also in England; in one day the opulent native community of Bombay subscribed £10,000 to the fund.

CHAPTER X.

Meeting of Parliament: The Queen's Speech—The American War: The beginning of the end State of India—State of New Zealand—Affairs at Home: Debate on the Repeal of the Malt Tax; Mr. Neate's Amendment; Rejection of Sir F. Kelly's Motion: Extension of the remission of the Fire Insurance Duty: Mr. Gladstone's Budget: The Army and Navy Estimates: Premonitory symptoms of future legislation: Mr. Baines' Parliamentary Reform Bill: Mr. Lowe's Speech on Democracy: Mr. Villiers' Union Chargeability Bill: Bill for the Erection of New Law Courts; Satisfaction expressed thereat; Objections thereto; Site chosen for the Buildings: The University Tests Bill introduced by Mr. Göschen; Mr. Grant Duff's support; Mr. Gladstone's opposition; Defeat of Lord Cranbourne's Amendment: The Roman Catholic Oaths Bill of Mr. Monsell; Mr. Monsell's Speech; Opposition in the Commons; The Bill read a second time; Opposition and Defeat in the Lords—Death of Cardinal Wiseman—The Case of Dr. Colenso *versus* Dr. Gray: Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

When Parliament met for the session of 1865, the Lord Chancellor truly described in a few words the state of England. "Her Majesty," said the Queen's speech, "commands us to inform you that the general state of the country is satisfactory, and that the revenue realises its estimated amount." In truth, the opening of the year was as calm, both at home and abroad, as could possibly be, save for the echoes of storm which still continued to be heard in the West. The American War still continued, but it was quite evident that the collapse was at hand. The war between Denmark and the two great German Powers had ended in a treaty of peace. India was prosperous, save for the traces of the great hurricane which had swept over Calcutta a few months before. In one only of the colonies, New Zealand, was anything visibly disturbed, and there the Maori war seemed to have passed its climax. At home, Lancashire distress had abated; the harvest had been good; the public purse was full. Everybody, so far as politics was concerned, was waiting quietly for the dissolution of the Parliament for which, as Lord Derby said, "all its experienced advisers could do was to find it some gentle occupation, and take care that its dying moments were not disturbed by any unnecessary excitement."

In financial matters, before Mr. Gladstone brought forward his Budget, there had been two important debates in the House of Commons which bore upon it. The first was that on a resolution moved by Sir Fitzroy Kelly, afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, to the effect, "That in any future remission of indirect taxation, this House should take into consideration the duty on malt, with a view to its immediate reduction and ultimate repeal." The malt duty, from which at present the revenue receives six or seven millions sterling a year, has always been more or less of a grievance to the agriculturists; and the representatives of agricultural constituencies are always ready to argue against it. The farmers hold that it puts a serious restriction upon the cultivation of barley; saying that more beer would be consumed, and, consequently, more barley required, if the tax were repealed. Sir F. Kelly and his supporters, who were a numerous body among the county members, Sir E. B. Lytton, the novelist, being his seconder, brought forward several plausible arguments for his motion, principally selected or parodied from the grammar of free trade. "It is," he said, "an axiom of free trade that raw material should not be taxed, and malt may be called a raw material. Moreover, whereas the indirect taxation of the country had been greatly reduced of late years, tea, sugar, tobacco, and wine, having been at least partially freed from duty, malt, a home-grown article, had been allowed no reduction." Mr. Henley saw no reason to doubt that the law by which increased consumption always followed reduced taxation, should not hold in this case. "In a year or two," he said, "the revenue will be recouped even if it reduces half the duty." But Mr. Neate, the member for Oxford, always notable in the House for the somewhat crotchety cleverness with which he handled questions of political economy, turned the tables upon the landed interest by an amendment. He, and all the opponents of the resolution, maintained that the real advantage of the repeal would fall, not upon the consumers, not upon the farmers, but upon the landlords; for increased receipts on the farmers' part always mean increased rent on the landlords' part. So he moved, "That considering the immunities from taxation now enjoyed by the owners and occupiers of land, they are not entitled to any special consideration on account of the pecuniary pressure of the malt tax; and that if, on other grounds, that tax should be reduced or abolished, compensation to the revenue should be sought, in the first instance, by withdrawing from landed property the advantage it now has in the shape of total exemption from probate duty, and partial exemption from succession duty and income tax." This, however, the House of Commons could not stand; it was too much, at least for an unreformed Parliament, as it probably would be for a reformed one. The supporters of the Government—especially Mr. Milner Gibson, who was its spokesman—contented themselves with the resolution and left the amendment alone. The question was met on two grounds—first, that the revenue could not afford to do without it; and secondly, that though malt was a raw material, stimulants and their components were fit subjects for taxation. Indeed, the figures quoted by Sir F. Kelly had been in themselves alarming enough. "Assuming," he said "the annual consumption of beer to amount to *sixty millions sterling* ——." It was hardly necessary to hear more. When it was granted that the amount spent in

beer would more than pay the whole expenses of the army, the navy, and the interest of the national debt, the House of Commons thought it unnecessary to encourage the trade to extend itself. Sir F. Kelly's motion was rejected, the "previous question" having been passed, by a majority of 251 to 170.

The other point in which it was proposed to give an instruction to the Government as to the disposal of part of the surplus, was Mr. R. B. Sheridan's motion for extending last year's remission of the fire insurance duty to "houses, household goods, and all descriptions of insurable property." This resolution was carried by a large majority, though the Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed it, thinking it rash to bind the Government to any special course before the exact surplus was known. The vote, of course, secured that Mr. Gladstone should carry out the reduction in question in his Budget.

When the day came for the Budget to be presented, Mr. Gladstone found himself, as usual, in the presence of a crowded and eager House. He did not disappoint his hearers. His Budget speech was, in the words of one of his admirers, one of those "deliverances, crammed with arithmetic and argument, epigram and eloquence, figures and fancy," which he and no other Finance Minister that ever lived in England—M. Thiers perhaps rivalled him in France—knew well how to give. In this instance Mr. Gladstone had an unusual opportunity for an effective display, from the fact of the Parliament having arrived at the end of its existence; he had five previous years spread out before him for review, and could strike out brilliant comparisons, and draw large inferences at his pleasure. Some of his figures may be given. He said that the actual expenditure of the year which had just elapsed was £65,951,000, a reduction of £1,514,000 upon the first year of that Parliament and that Ministry, and a reduction of £6,547,000 upon the year 1860—61, when the alarms consequent upon the Italian War had caused us to spend vast sums upon the army and navy. As to a comparison between revenue and expenditure, he found himself with a surplus in hand of £3,231,000. Customs, Excise, and all other great heads of revenue had given more than their estimated amount, Excise especially yielding a million and a half of increase. The prosperity of the country he tested on an even larger scale than this, by a comparison of annual revenues during the last twenty-five years; and showed that whereas the average growth of the revenue from year to year, from 1840 to 1852, was £1,030,000; the same growth was, from 1853 to 1859, at the rate of £1,240,000, and from 1859 to 1865, at the rate of £1,780,000. This was strong evidence of the country's prosperity; and more was forthcoming in the statistics of various trades which he produced. The paper trade, in spite of the outcry of the paper-makers when he abolished the duty, was increasing, the amount of raw material imported in 1865 being exactly five times what it had been in 1859. The trade with France, thanks to Mr. Cobden's Commercial Treaty, had doubled in five years. The total amount of exports during the year ending September 30, 1864, was £487,000,000, an increase of £219,000,000 since 1854. In other words, the export trade of the country had nearly doubled in ten years.

To all this encouraging retrospect Mr. Gladstone added his own gifts for the future. He had a large surplus to dispose of, and what was he to do with it? As he said, there are always "crowds of hungry claimants" for a surplus; everybody who suffers from a tax that his neighbours are exempt from thinks he suffers an injustice and struggles to get it redressed. It is enough to say that the malt tax was not touched; and that the duty on tea was lessened by sixpence per pound, and the income tax lowered from sixpence to fourpence in the pound. It is needless to say that these reductions were received with gladness by the House and the country, though the irrepressible malt tax repealers felt themselves hardly used.

The other two important financial statements (leaving the finances of India to be mentioned in a future page) were, of course, those made in moving the Army and Navy Estimates. Of neither is there very much that requires to be recorded. The Marquis of Hartington showed great clearness of head and general administrative ability in moving the Army Estimates; but he had little to say except to move for a reduction of 4,000 men in the establishment. The alarm of 1860 had passed away, and the alarm of 1870 had not come; so there was neither increase nor re-organisation to be accomplished. The only difficulty with which Lord Hartington had to deal was the everlasting, insoluble gun question, new phases of which are ever occurring and ever likely to occur. Similarly with the navy, for which a little over ten millions were voted. There, too, was to be a reduction, especially in the coastguard and marines; and there also were to be fresh ships built on fresh models. Lord Clarence Paget, who moved the Estimates, pronounced himself satisfied with the general efficiency and discipline of the service; and the House generally agreed with him.

Turning from finance to the other departments of public business, one is not surprised to find that in the last session of an old Parliament, with Lord Palmerston still living and directing its course, but little positive legislation was accomplished. An expiring Parliament is never fertile; it produces infant measures, but has not the force to bring them to maturity; and in the consciousness of approaching death, it makes its peace with the future by recording good resolutions. Lord Palmerston, too, in the last year of his life, showed no intention of departing from his well-known home policy—namely, to let things be ever doing, never done. Thus it happens that the history of the session of 1865 reads like a table of contents of the five or six sessions that followed it. There is a sound as of immense activity, but it remains for a time without result. One is astonished by the number of projects with which the brains of honourable members appear to be teeming. Almost all the important questions that have since been solved, or at least handled, by the Government of Mr. Gladstone, were brought forward, discussed, and left unanswered in 1865. The Irish land question was touched upon, in a debate on a motion of Mr. Pope Hennessy, at the beginning of the session, and discussed

at length on Mr. Maguire's moving, on March 31st, for a select committee. The Irish Church question was raised by Mr. Dillwyn, and the debate which followed was remarkable as extracting from Mr. Gladstone a clear statement of the views which he afterwards put into effect. Mr. Berkeley brought forward his Ballot Bill, but in vain. The Test question was raised by Mr. Göschen. National Education, both in England and Ireland, was before the House of Commons in two important debates. The O'Donoghue moved an address to the Crown referring to the question of University Education for Ireland. And lastly, Mr. Baines took the feeling of the House on the question, soon to become all-important, of Parliamentary Reform. Besides these, which may be called premonitory symptoms of future legislation, there was, of course, a good deal of important but unpretending work actually accomplished, which we may shortly record. But first it will be worth while to dwell for a moment upon one of the abortive measures, that of Mr. Baines. The rest were not only abortive, but they led to nothing immediate; whereas the debate upon this measure had an intimate and direct connection with the general election which followed the dissolution. "Reform" was the cry with which the Liberal party went to the country.

The main object of Mr. Baines' bill was substantially the same as that of the Government bill of the next year—namely, to reduce the limit of the borough franchise from a rental of £10 *per annum*, where it had been fixed by the Reform Bill of 1832, to a rental of £6. The measure was, as we said, abortive; its introduction seems indeed to have been only intended to stimulate popular interest in the question of Reform; but the debate has become historical from the great speech in which Mr. Robert Lowe, member for Calne, in Wiltshire, passed at once and beyond all question from the second to the front rank of parliamentary orators.

Mr. Lowe had chosen his opportunity well. No moment could have been more favourable for declaring war against the inevitable enemy. Mr. Lowe saw very well that Reform was to be the immediate question of the future, and that both of the great political parties agreed to look upon it in that light. The question had slumbered since 1859, lulled to rest by Lord Palmerston; but now popular interest was beginning to revive, the Press was taking up the problem in serious earnest, and a general impression was abroad that Lord Palmerston's day was over. In proportion to the popular interest in the question, in proportion to the shortness of its own remaining life, was the dislike of the existing House of Commons to the very name of Reform. Their "unerring instinct" told them that the time of their peace was at an end, bound up as it was with the predominance of their present leader. Reform, as they saw, meant an indefinite future of agitation; meant grappling with question after question which till then had lain comfortably in abeyance; meant the infusion of new blood into the councils of the country, and the application, in all probability, of dangerously new ideas. Hence from the Whig as well as from the Conservative benches—from all, in fact, except the benches below the gangway on the Liberal side—the cheers rang out as Mr. Lowe, the most impartial of cynics, the narrowest of utilitarians, a Liberal without enthusiasm, a Tory without prejudices, delivered the first of his famous philippics against the democracy of the future.

The line of argument which he adopted was, first, to show the vanity of any assumption of an abstract right of all men to have a share in their own government—in other words, to establish one standard by which questions of this kind were to be judged, namely, the standard of public utility; and next, to show that in this case public utility demanded that the qualifications for the franchise should remain as they were. "If these abstract rights to a vote exist," said Mr. Lowe, "they are as much the property of the Australian savage and the Hottentot of the Cape as of the educated and refined Englishman. Those abstract rights are constantly invoked for the destruction of society and the overthrow of government, but they can never be successfully invoked as a foundation upon which government may securely rest." This kind of protest against the doctrine of "abstract rights" was followed by a series of illustrations, immensely relished by the House, of the evils of democracy in other countries, and of the ruin it would bring upon England. Mr. Lowe attacked in turn "the sentimental argument," "the fatalistic argument," and "the argument of necessity;" denying that the franchise, when made cheap and vulgar, would elevate the working classes; denying that sooner or later the upper class would have to give way; and denying that the working classes were "thundering at the gates" of the upper class and demanding admission with dangerous noise. He went on to draw two companion pictures, of the prosperity and happiness of the England of the present, with its adequate House of Commons, and of the dismal prospect offered by the England of the future, with the franchise, as he said, "degraded into the dirt," with its "institutions imperilled," with the boroughs handed over to the improvident class, with the state "cast loose from its only safe moorings in the £10 franchise, and set adrift on the ocean of democracy without chart or compass." Then, after pointing out natural differences between America and England which made, as he maintained, what was advisable there unadvisable here, Mr. Lowe concluded:—"The great Liberal party may well be presumed to know its own business better than I do. I venture, however, to make this prediction—that if they do unite their fortunes with the fortunes of democracy, as it is proposed they should do in the case of this measure, they will not miss one of two things: if they fail in carrying this measure, they will not ruin their party; and if they succeed in carrying this measure, they will ruin their country."

The rest of the debate is not specially memorable. Sir George Grey, speaking from the Treasury bench, expressed the feelings of the Whigs when he declared, almost in so many words, that the Government had not made up its mind, and when he implied that he at least approached the whole question with reluctance.

But, as we said above, not all the measures proposed in this session failed to be carried; one at least of great practical importance became law. This was the Union

Chargeability Bill, brought in by Mr. Villiers, the President of the Poor Law Board. The object of this bill was to improve still further the working of the new Poor Law of 1834—the law which created such a revolution in the system of relieving paupers. It will be remembered that that law sprang from the gross abuses to which the old Poor Law gave rise, and the palpable encouragement to pauperism which was given by the system of home-relief to the able-bodied. The new Poor Law went a long way to remedy those evils, but still it in its turn was open to objections; and this in spite of frequent amendments which

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Parliament had passed. The principles of the law were, that while all necessitous persons had a claim to relief, that relief was only to be given on conditions—namely, in the case of the able-bodied, in exchange for labour, and that labour to be given, not at the pauper's own home, but in the workhouse. The increased importance of workhouses led to their being consolidated. Instead of a separate and, probably, ill-appointed house in each parish, a large and well-appointed house was established for Unions of parishes, and these were to be under the control of properly elected guardians and of a central office. It appeared from Mr. Villiers, that, however well this system had worked in general, much inequality was caused by the overburdening of some parishes, and the inducement which the landowners and occupiers in some others had to drive away the poor. Hence followed a capricious distribution of the burden of the rates. Mr. Villiers proposed the simple plan—a plan, however, strongly opposed by the strenuous defenders of the strict parochial system—that the Union fund should for the future have to support all the poor within the Union, so that where its administration reached its charges should reach too. This very simple and just measure, denounced by some and applauded by others as the first step towards a system of national rating, was a good deal opposed by members of the Conservative party, but was finally carried both through the Commons and the Lords by considerable majorities. Mr. Villiers acknowledged that he proposed it as an instalment towards the removal of "settlement" altogether—that is, towards allowing a pauper to claim to be taken in to any workhouse, no matter what his domicile or "settlement" might be. But it was only a step. The total abolition of the parochial system, and the substitution of a national system for it, is not done in a day, nor in a single session. Few other measures of importance passed into law during this session. One at least, however, if we look to its future realisation rather than its present dreary uncertainty and delay, was important enough: this was the bill for the concentration of the courts of justice into one great building, the site indicated by the promoters being either one on the Thames Embankment, near the Temple, or the space of ground between the Strand and Lincoln's Inn Fields. The proposal was received with satisfaction both by the House, the lawyers, and the country; and every sane man was gratified at the thought that English law would be at last

administered in courts that were properly built and decently ventilated. Only a few objectors, led by Lord St. Leonards, found fault with the proposal for paying the cost of the building out of the accumulated "Suitors' Fund" in Chancery. It was thought, however, that the great public convenience to be gained amply justified the wrong done to purely imaginary sufferers. The bill was passed, and, as all Londoners know, the Carey Street site, between the Strand and Lincoln's Inn, was decided upon.

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But, as is equally well known, beyond the choosing the site and demolishing the houses upon it, and selecting a plan to be modified until everybody be pleased, nothing was done for many years. Greenwich Hospital was also reformed in this session. A Public Schools Bill was brought forward, but postponed; and the legislation on the subject will come into the history of another year.

This year was a quiet one in the religious world. In the course of it several interesting measures relating to religious tests and subscriptions were brought into Parliament; and though in the end little or nothing was done towards a practical settlement of the questions raised, still public attention was kept alive to them and to the importance of the convictions and feelings at issue. It is the wholesome check imposed upon every serious change in the opinion and rules of society, that it takes long years of slow and apparently fruitless effort before the general sense of the community is at length arrived at, and its decision given and recorded. There are now no such short cuts to change, especially to religious change, as were possible in bygone centuries; the jurisdiction of force in matters of opinion and belief has been minimised, and the reformer knows well that his only trustworthy support lies in the gradual accumulation of thought and opinion in his favour. Thus regarded, as steps in an inevitable road, even abortive Reform Bills, and Test Bills lost in the Commons, have a lasting interest and value. The University Tests Bill of 1865 was introduced by Mr. Göschen, then one of the members for the city of London, and the motion for the second reading was seconded by Mr. Grant Duff—both men who have since won for themselves distinction in official life, and the latter a most eminent writer upon contemporary European

politics. The bill, said Mr. Göschen, did not propose to admit Dissenters to the governing body of the University, although it might lead to that result eventually, but to enable degrees to be conferred without reference to religious tests. The Universities were not ecclesiastical corporations designed for the benefit of a portion only of the people. On the contrary, they were lay corporations, in which the ecclesiastical element had been accidentally introduced, and it was never contemplated that the clergy should assume the sole control and authority. If tests and subscriptions were done away with altogether, he did not believe that the University would be revolutionised, or the Established Church at all endangered. The change he proposed was large and substantial. It would give a degree independent of any theological test. It would also go beyond the Cambridge Act, and give a vote in Convocation; whilst it would admit to certain privileges and emoluments, to obtain which under the present system the degree of Master of Arts was an essential qualification. He could not believe that these concessions would lower the tone or impair the *prestige* of Oxford. So far from injuring the University, they would rather widen its basis and make it more useful and acceptable to the country, for he was convinced that no system could flourish which practically excluded one half the population from their traditional seat of learning.

In a short effective speech, Mr. Grant Duff gave three reasons for his support of the bill: (1) That it would be beneficial rather than hurtful to the Church; (2) that it was an act of simple justice to the Dissenters, who had been from the beginning of their history altogether excluded from the higher education of England; (3) that it would be useful to the University, by enabling it to understand more fully its duties to the nation and the proper scope of its influence and training.

But the time was not yet come for the admission of the principle upon which these arguments were based. Lord Cranborne and Mr. Gladstone, alarmed by certain conclusions advanced in Mr. Göschen's speech—such as, "We could not do better than copy the Universities of Germany in the matter of religious tests;" and "that our Universities and Colleges were national institutions not connected with any particular form of religion,"—and persuaded that the effect of the bill would be to give over the government of the University to Dissenters, offered a warm opposition to it. The promoters of the bill, said Mr. Gladstone, openly avowed their desire to separate education from religion, and that was a principle to which he was resolutely opposed. How resolutely, the conduct of his Government with regard to the Education Act of 1870 has amply shown. Mr. Gathorne Hardy and Mr. Henley followed suit. According to Mr. Hardy, "the generalisation of religion was a dream of philosophers; there must be something definite and dogmatic in religious teaching; and the connection of the Church of England with the Universities was essential to their existence as teaching bodies." Mr. Henley thought that "simple indifference or downright unbelief" would follow the introduction of the proposed change into the Universities. Finally, Lord Cranborne's amendment—that the bill should be adjourned for six months—was negatived by 206 votes to 190. But it was felt that with so small a majority it was useless to push the bill any farther. If such was the temper of the Commons, it was well known that the Lords would make short work of it, and the measure was temporarily abandoned.

The Roman Catholic Oaths Bill again brought forward the subject of religious tests, only, however, to afford another triumph to religious conservatism. The object of Mr. Monsell, its introducer, was to alter the form of the oath required from Roman Catholic members of Parliament under the Relief Act of 1829, and to substitute for it the simple oath of the Queen's supremacy. The oath as administered under that Act required a Roman Catholic member to swear that he renounced, rejected, and abjured the doctrine that princes excommunicated or deposed by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome might be deposed or murdered by their subjects or by any person whatever;—that he disclaimed, disavowed, and abjured any intention to subvert the Established Church; and that he would never disturb or weaken the Protestant religion, or the Protestant Government in the United Kingdom. Such an oath, it was argued, was not an anachronism; it was a grievance and a degradation. It was apt to give rise to all kinds of strained interpretations, with which those who subscribed to it were liable to be harassed whenever it suited their opponents. For instance, some people had been found to declare that the terms of the oath ought to prevent Catholic members from voting on any Church question, and it might become a serious difficulty, whenever the question of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church should be raised, as men saw it must be raised sooner or later. Why, said Mr. Monsell, are Roman Catholic members alone required to take such an oath? Were they the only members who regarded the principle of the English Establishment as erroneous, and the Establishment itself a thing to be got rid of? Were they or the Dissenters most likely to subvert the present Church Establishment? Was it not, at least, a monstrous thing, that the oath should not be imposed in the one case, while it was required in the other? And of what real use to a Government is the imposition of oaths? (Here Mr. Monsell quoted from Mr. Speaker Onslow.) "A Government is never secure of the hearts of the people but from the justice of it, and the justice of it is generally a real security. When men habituate themselves to swear what they do not understand, they will easily be brought to forswear themselves in what they do understand. The like danger is from the frequency of them, which always takes off from the awe of them, and consequently form their force." The oath was, indeed, a remnant of the state of things before Catholic emancipation, and there could be no doubt that the just and liberal course would have been to oblige all members of Parliament, without exception or variation, to take a uniform oath. A strong and finally successful opposition, however, was advanced. Mr. Whalley's and Mr. Newdegate's Protestant consciences took the alarm; "in the interests of social and political order and the peace of families," they felt themselves bound to resist the

measure. Sir George Grey, who supported the bill, was taunted with his Ultramontane leanings; and, according to Mr. Whiteside, the proposed change affected the Constitution, the Church, and the property of the country! However, by the help of Government support, given, said the Opposition, from electioneering motives, the bill was read a second time, and successfully maintained in committee. Substantially unaltered, it was sent up to the Lords, where, however, a night's debate disposed of it. Lord Derby made a long and powerful speech, appealing to every Tory cry and every Tory prejudice, till the measure assumed such formidable proportions that it frightened even its supporters. Lord Harrowby, Lord Chelmsford, and others followed suit, and, in spite of the efforts on the Liberal side, the bill was lost on division by twenty-one votes.

A word of notice is called for by some other Parliamentary discussions which took place this year on ecclesiastical matters; but as none led to any practical result, they may be dismissed with a word. Mr. Dillwyn's motion about the Irish Church has been already mentioned; it called forth, as we have said, an emphatic declaration from Mr. Gladstone, and to that declaration is to be traced, in a great measure, his rejection by Oxford University. Mr. Newdegate attempted, but without success, to substitute a rate of twopence in the pound on real property for the existing Church rates. In the House of Lords, Lord Lyttleton, with the approval of most of the Bishops, proposed a resolution in favour of an increase of the Episcopate—a subject always dear to the High Church party, but considered by the Evangelical party to be of less importance than a development of the parochial system. The dioceses of Exeter, Winchester, and London were pointed to as those which ought to be relieved by the creation of new bishoprics. The resolution, however, was not put to the vote, nor had it any legislative result.

This year saw the death of the first Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster. Cardinal Wiseman died on February 15th, and was buried in the Roman Catholic Cemetery at Kensal Green, amid a display of religious pomp and ceremony such as had not, perhaps, been accorded to any Roman Catholic dignitary in England since the Reformation. With one exception, he was the first English Cardinal buried in English soil. The chapel in Moorfields, where the coffin, surrounded with lights, lay upon a bier, covered with velvet and cloth of gold, was filled with a crowded congregation, most of the Roman Catholic nobility, and the French, Spanish, and Belgian Ambassadors, being present. One Archbishop, twelve Bishops, besides many minor dignitaries, and upwards of two hundred priests took part in the service; and as the procession passed round the bier, chanting softly and slowly the *Requiescat in Pace*, the effect was such as only the Roman Catholic Church knows how to produce. Cardinal Wiseman had indeed proved himself her faithful and energetic son. He was born in 1802, of Roman Catholic parents, under the shade of the orange-groves of Seville. His parents sent him to England while still a child, and he was brought up principally at the Roman Catholic College of Ushaw till the age of sixteen, when he was transferred to the English College at Rome, then just founded. Here he became a diligent reader in the Vatican, and laid the foundations of a really wide knowledge of Oriental languages. His zeal and learning attracted notice, and when only a boy of eighteen he was invited to preach before the Pope. In 1827, having taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and received holy orders, he was nominated Professor of Oriental Languages in the Roman University, and seven peaceful years followed, employed by him in exploring further the treasures of the Vatican, and in gathering in a quiet harvest of scholarship, of which he was to make ample use in after years. In 1835, he returned to England, and he was soon felt by the Roman Catholics to be a power amongst them. A series of controversial lectures on the doctrines and practices of Rome, delivered by him in St. Mary's, Moorfields, attracted considerable attention, and he followed them up by a theological controversy with Dr. Turton, then Bishop of Ely, which ended, as such controversies generally do, in the hardening of opinion on both sides. In 1840, Dr. Wiseman was made head of St. Mary's College, Oscott, near Birmingham, with the dignity of Vicar-Apostolic. During his stay there what is known as the Oxford movement took place, and English Catholics watched it eagerly, persuading themselves that it meant great things for their cause, and thankful for any break in what they considered the dead Evangelical level of the Establishment. English Churchmen of all parties have good cause to regret the final issues of this movement—the loss of John Henry Newman, Mr. Ward, and other earnest though less brilliant men, to the side of Rome; and the moderate Churchman, in tracing back to it the extravagancies of modern Ritualism, is apt to make a sad comparison between the large-heartedness and candid, sensitive mind of a Newman, and the narrow externalism which too often governs men who have caught his watchwords without inheriting his spirit. Cardinal Wiseman took a warm interest in the wave of thought which finally brought Dr. Newman to his side, of which his "Strictures on the High Church Movement in Oxford," and "Letter to the Rev. J. H. Newman on the Controversy relating to the Oxford Tracts for the Times," may be taken as proofs. In 1848, Wiseman was made Bishop; he might by this time be considered the most prominent of English Roman Catholics, and it was upon his shoulders that the brunt of English wrath fell when Pope Pius IX. took that extraordinary step popularly known as the "Papal Aggression," by which the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England was restored, and Wiseman was made at once Cardinal and Archbishop of Westminster. All the world knows what a storm that step raised in England; how it took shape in that most hasty and absurd of all bills, the Ecclesiastical Titles Act; and how at last, like a ghost story that has been cleared up, people became ashamed of the bugbear which had frightened them—the Act was repealed, and Wiseman came out of the hubbub Archbishop, having published during the uproar "An Appeal to the Reason and Good Sense of the People of England," one of those bits of amiable policy for which he was

famous. From that time till his death he was known to the general world as an able controversial writer in various reviews, and as holding that place in London society which was due to one "so wise, fairspoken, and persuading." He gave frequent lectures in the metropolis on popular subjects, and always gathered a large and attentive audience. His aim seemed to be to show that Roman Catholicism against Protestantism must henceforth be an open fight fought with weapons common to both; he took up the cries of the opposite party—the Bible, Free Thought, Natural Science—and worked them so cleverly, that English Protestantism felt rightly that he was a more formidable antagonist than a dozen fanatics could have been. He was elegant, versatile, accomplished; he had begun life on Roman Catholic premises, and this limited him on all sides; but, as far as his creed would allow, he was an educated man and a scholar. In society he was always welcome; and though he had few of the qualities of the prophet, and little of the religious unction and nervous feeling which made men like Frederick Faber famous, he had gifts of manner and powers of conversation, which he well knew how to use, and when he died the Roman Catholics rightly felt that one was gone who had given a powerful impulse to their cause in England. He was succeeded in the Archbishopric of Westminster by a man of rarer fibre than himself—Archdeacon Manning.

This record of important events in the religious world would not be complete without a reference to the judgment delivered by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in the case of the Bishop of Natal, the well-known Dr. Colenso, *versus* the Bishop of Capetown, Dr. Gray. Dr. Gray, like many other members of the Church of England, having been much scandalised by the publication of certain writings which bore Bishop Colenso's name, and which were thought to contain matter contrary to the doctrines of the Church, took it upon himself, in virtue of the Queen's letters-patent conferring upon him the dignity of Metropolitan Bishop, with coercive authority over the two suffragan Bishops of Grahamstown and Natal, to depose Dr. Colenso from his bishopric, forbidding the clergy to render him any further obedience, and appointing substitutes to do the work of the diocese. Against this judgment Dr. Colenso appealed, and the case was finally referred to the Lords of the Judicial Committee, before whom it was argued by counsel on either side in December, 1864. Their judgment was delivered on the 20th of March in this year, to the effect:—

First: That the royal letters-patent quoted by Bishop Gray, as appointing him Metropolitan Bishop, and creating a metropolitan see or province in South Africa, were null and void in law, because, after the establishment in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope of legislative institutions, the Crown stood in the same relation to the colony as to the rest of the United Kingdom, and had no power by virtue of its prerogative alone, without the intervention of Parliament, to create a bishopric or assign any ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the colony. In other cases of colonial bishoprics, while the Crown had been able to command the consecration of a bishop, an Act of Parliament had always been resorted to to confer upon him ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the power of exercising episcopal functions. The letters-patent, therefore, could not be sustained in the appointment of Dr. Gray as Metropolitan Bishop.

Secondly: Still less would they confer upon him any coercive legal jurisdiction, such as would have given him the power of deposing Bishop Colenso. The Crown cannot create a new court with a new jurisdiction without an Act of Parliament, and the ecclesiastical law of England could not be considered to hold good in a colony which had no Established Church.

Thirdly: Their lordships considered, with regard to the oath of canonical obedience to Dr. Gray taken by Dr. Colenso, that it was not legally competent to the Bishop of Natal to give, or to the Bishop of Capetown to accept, any such jurisdiction as was afterwards claimed by Dr. Gray, and that the oath therefore could not be pleaded in Dr. Gray's behalf. Their decision, therefore, after a careful review of the circumstances of the case, was "that the proceedings taken by the Bishop of Capetown, and the judgment or sentence pronounced by him against the Bishop of Natal, are null and void in law."

This judgment gave rise to much comment and discussion, into which we need not enter. Its importance can hardly be overrated, for it clearly defined, on the authority of the highest tribunal in the country, the legal position of the Church of England in the colonies, and indirectly affected very sensibly the position of the Church of England at home. To those who prefer that ecclesiastical offenders should be subject to the law of the land, and to that only, the judgment was very acceptable, whatever may have been their opinion of Bishop Colenso's teaching. To those, on the other hand, who long for a special organisation of Church tribunals for Church offenders, under which the clergy shall be supreme over the legal status of their erring brethren—in other words, for the High Church Separatists—it was a great stumbling-block.

CHAPTER XI.

The Edmunds Scandal: Its Origin: The Lord Chancellor's connection with it—The Wilde Scandal: Report of Select Committee: Motion of Mr. Ward Hunt—Lord Westbury resigns the Seals: Succeeded by Lord Cranworth—Parliament Dissolved—General Election: Mr. Mill returned for Westminster: Mr. Gladstone rejected by Oxford University; Returned for South Lancashire: Large Liberal Majority—The Road Murder—Accident on the Matterhorn—Speculative Enterprise—The Cattle Plague: Official Description of the Malady: High Percentage of Fatal Cases: Orders in Council—The Milk Supply.

THE end of the session of 1865 was troubled by certain transactions which caused great tribulation to the Government of Lord Palmerston, and proved fatal to the career of one of the highest officers of state. These transactions are commonly grouped together under the name of "the Edmunds scandal." Their details are complicated, and can only be told shortly here; the circumstances are such as no Englishman can read of with

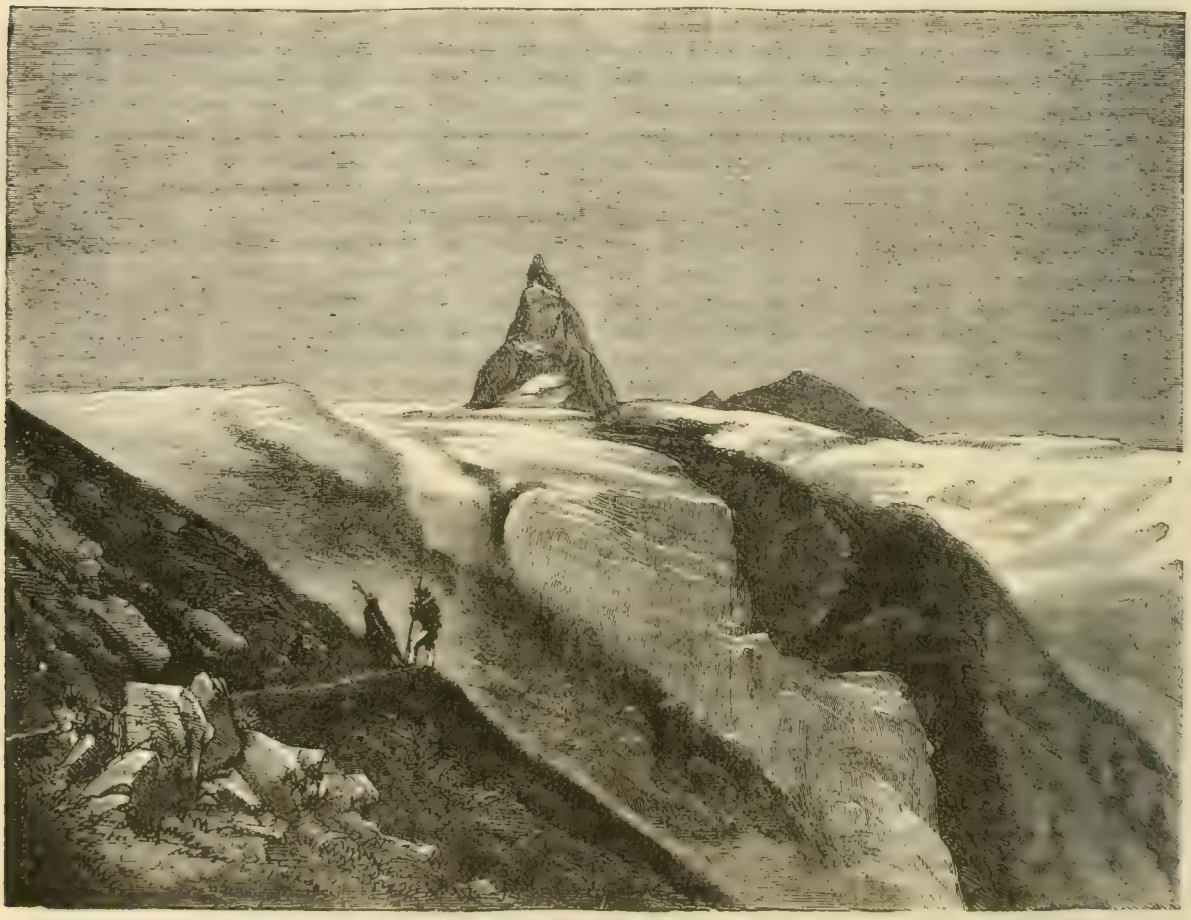
pleasure, and yet there is a kind of consolation in the fact that so much was made of them at the time, and that the principal persons concerned were so severely visited. Irregularities will occur even in high places; but Parliamentary government, whatever its faults, has the merit of resenting irregularities, and of a readiness to call their authors to account.

The name of "the Edmunds scandal" is not quite properly applied; for, strictly speaking, there were two sets of transactions—the one referring to Mr. Edmunds, the other to an appointment in the Leeds Bankruptcy Court. The case of Mr. Edmunds was as follows:—In 1833, Lord Brougham, at that time Lord Chancellor, had appointed Mr. Leonard Edmunds to the post of Clerk of the Patents, at the small salary of £400 a year. In 1852, the Patent Laws were amended, and a new body called the Commissioners of Patents, consisting of high legal officials, was formed; and in October, 1852, Mr. Edmunds was appointed their clerk. This brought him in an additional salary of £600 a year. In two years from this time, a quarrel took place between Mr. Edmunds and Mr. Woodcroft, also an official of the Patent Office, and each charged the other with irregularities, mismanagement, or worse. Two lawyers of position—Mr. Hindmarch and Mr. Greenwood, both Queen's Counsel—were appointed to make a full inquiry into the cross-accusations; and their finding was adverse to Mr. Edmunds. They determined that, during the twelve years since 1852, he had been generally extremely irregular in his payments of public money into the Exchequer; that he had in 1853 advanced £500 out of the public money to buy stamps, and that ten years afterwards he had placed to his own credit £500 of public money in pretended repayment; that he had put public money to his own use without accounting for it; that he had sent to the Treasury an incorrect return of his fees, keeping back, in 1852, the sum of £5,190; that, in short, a total sum of £9,617 had been improperly retained by him, and was due to the Treasury. This report was handed to the Lord Chancellor by the two commissioners—Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Hindmarch—with the very natural suggestion that Mr. Edmunds should be at once removed from the Patent Office. The authorities, however, were lenient enough to allow him to resign, on his repaying the sums due to the Treasury. And then arose the question which brought Lord Chancellor Westbury into his unfortunate position. Mr. Edmunds, as well as being clerk in the Patent Office, was clerk in the House of Lords; and it was to his evident interest to resign that post before rumours of his troubles in his other office should reach the ears of the Parliament Office Committee, and defeat his chance of a pension. What immediately followed is obscure, nor is the part played either by Lord Westbury or by Mr. William Brougham, a friend and partisan of Mr. Edmunds, absolutely clear. It is known that Mr. Brougham asked the Lord Chancellor to "help Mr. Edmunds to a pension," and that the Lord Chancellor promised to do "all he could with propriety to obtain him a pension;" adding the significant postscript—"I can with truth certify that Mr. E. has properly discharged all the duties of the office he holds in the House of Lords." So Mr. Edmunds at once addressed a petition to the House of Lords, asking leave to retire from his post of clerk, and begging for a pension, "in conformity with the usage on like occasions." Now the time at which this petition was presented was during the critical interval between Mr. Edmunds' defalcations having become officially known to the Lord Chancellor and their becoming known to the public. That is to say, the Lord Chancellor knew of them, and the House of Lords did not. Nevertheless, the Lord Chancellor himself presented Mr. Edmunds' petition; himself moved that the resignation should be accepted, and that the question of pension should be referred to a select committee, of which he was to be one; and this without one word of reference to the grave charges which were hanging over the head of Mr. Edmunds. The select committee was appointed, and recommended to the House that a pension of £800 a year should be conferred on Mr. Edmunds; and this recommendation the House adopted. Meanwhile, the Chancellor appointed his son, the Honourable Slingsby Bethell, to the post in the House of Lords vacated by Mr. Edmunds.

Before long, however, the floating rumours about Mr. Edmunds' conduct in the Patent Office had caught the public attention, and Lord Stanley expressed the general uneasiness about the affair in some questions which he addressed to the Attorney-General in the House of Commons. Next night, the Chancellor himself took up the matter, and, courting inquiry, moved for the appointment of a select committee to examine all the circumstances. The committee sat; reported that the charges against Mr. Edmunds were fully proved by evidence; and, by a majority of one, gave it as their opinion that the Lord Chancellor had failed in his duty, when he presented Mr. Edmunds' petition without informing the committee of the facts of the case. But, by way of softening their censure, the select committee added, "that they had no reason to believe that the Lord Chancellor was influenced by any unworthy or unbecoming motives in thus abstaining from giving any information to the before-mentioned committee."

Upon this, the House revoked Mr. Edmunds' pension, and there apparently the matter ended. The committee had not condemned the Lord Chancellor; his position remained as before; and yet everybody felt uncomfortable. It was known that Lord Westbury was not a stupid man; it was suspected, in fact, that he was the cleverest man in England; and when a clever man makes a blunder it is generally felt to amount to a crime. Hence it was in no lenient mind that the public heard rumours of a fresh scandal, touching the Lord Chancellor still more nearly, in the matter of certain appointments in the Leeds Bankruptcy Court. Mr. Ferrand, member for Devonport—a man whose *spécialité* lay in troubling the peace of Governments—brought this new scandal before the world in some questions addressed in Parliament to the Attorney-General; namely, whether Mr. H. S. Wilde, Registrar of the Leeds Court of Bankruptcy, had been required by a superior official, by au-

thority, to resign his office; whether, on his having refused, he had been promised, on his producing a medical certificate, a pension of £600 a year, he being then in good health; whether, upon Mr. Wilde's accepting this arrangement, a Mr. Welch, a man of precarious health, had been appointed, under arrangement that he should hold the post until the reversal of the outlawry of the Hon. Richard Bethell, a son of the Lord Chancellor; whether Mr. Bethell's appointment had been made out after his outlawry had been reversed; and whether, on or about the year 1864, with improperly passing the accounts of his subordinates, and with borrowing money of them "to the destruction of his independence and efficiency." The Lord Chancellor, through Mr. Miller, the Chief Registrar, called upon him, in May, 1864, to explain the charges; but apparently no satisfactory explanation was forthcoming, for, on the 26th June, Mr. Miller, by order of the Chancellor, wrote to Mr. Wilde, offering him in a peremptory way the option of resignation, or of appearing in open court to show cause why he should not be dismissed. But



VIEW OF THE MATTERHORN.

24th of February last, he had attended the Leeds Court, and then told the officials that he was appointed Registrar?

The answer of the Attorney-General was sufficient to show that Mr. Ferrand was mainly wrong as to the details of the Leeds transactions, but that there was evidently something in the rear which wanted clearing up. So the appointment of a select committee followed, and five members were chosen, with Mr. Howes for chairman, to inquire into the whole affair. The result of their investigations, during which all the persons concerned, including the Lord Chancellor, were examined, was to bring to light a most lamentable state of things, the principal facts being the following:—Mr. Wilde, the Registrar of the Leeds Court of Bankruptcy, had been charged, in the Mr. Miller added, without the Chancellor's authorisation, that if Mr. Wilde chose to resign upon a medical certificate, he might perhaps claim a pension. Mr. Wilde took the hint, and sent up a certificate from a Mr. Key, a Leeds surgeon, saying "that, in the previous August, Mr. Wilde had consulted him on account of the failure of his sight"—a certificate weakly expressed, but, according to the evidence of the Lord Chancellor, not seen or noticed by him. Mr. Wilde was allowed to retire on a pension, and Mr. Welch was appointed by Lord Westbury to the office he had resigned. Now Mr. Welch was a friend of Mr. Richard Bethell; he was a barrister on the Northern Circuit, and he had money; Mr. Bethell, on the other hand, had, in the month of May, been compelled by his

father to resign his post as Registrar in Bankruptcy on account of debt, and money was of importance to him. Here came the scandal. A certain Reverend George Harding gave his evidence before the committee to the effect that, in May, 1864, an arrangement had been made between himself, Mr. Welch, and Mr. Richard Bethell, of the following nature. Mr. Welch was to give Mr. Bethell £500 for his good influences with his father, the Lord Chancellor, and a further £1,000 on receipt of an appointment, one-third of this latter sum to go to Mr. Harding as his share in the transaction. The fact of Mr. Welch having given Mr. Bethell a cheque for £500 on May 6th was not denied, nor was the fact of Mr. Welch having made further advances to him to the extent of £550. In February, 1865, after Mr. Bethell had been for some time abroad, his claims for a new office were pressed on the Chancellor by Mr. Miller; and hopes were held out that some post in the country, not in London, might be found for him—in fact, that Mr. Welch might be transferred to London, and Mr. Bethell appointed to Leeds. Presuming on this, he went down to Leeds on the 24th, and talked to the officials as if the arrangements were concluded, but meanwhile the Lord Chancellor had changed his mind, and did not appoint his son.

The report of the select committee acquitted the Lord Chancellor "from all charge except that of haste and want of caution in granting a pension to Mr. Wilde;" but it went on to say that the inquiry had been a most necessary one. The newspapers were immediately filled with criticisms of the Chancellor's conduct; but Parliament was just about to be prorogued, and it was generally supposed that he was to be left free from authoritative censure. But just before the prorogation, a motion on the matter was put on the notice-book of the House of Commons by Mr. Ward Hunt, member for Northamptonshire, and afterwards Mr. Disraeli's Chancellor of the Exchequer. The least hint of a "personal question" always fills the House; and when, as on this occasion, the question nearly touches a great officer of state, not even the heat of July can keep members away from Westminster. Mr. Hunt spoke to full benches when he proposed his motion: "That the evidence taken before the committee of this House on the Leeds Bankruptcy Court discloses that a great facility exists for obtaining public appointments by corrupt means; that such evidence, and also that taken before a committee of the House of Lords in the case of Leonard Edmunds and laid before this House, shows a laxity of practice and want of caution, on the part of the Lord Chancellor, in sanctioning the grant of retiring pensions to public servants over whose heads grave charges are impending, and in filling up the vacancies made by the retirement of such officers, whereby great encouragement has been given to corrupt practices; and that such laxity and want of caution, even in the absence of any improper motive, are, in the opinion of this House, highly reprehensible, and calculated to throw discredit on the high offices of state." In other and shorter words, Mr. Ward Hunt proposed that the Lord Chancellor should be compelled to resign; and a lively debate ensued on the question whether, on the one side, scandalous blunders in the matter of patronage were to be held a capital offence, or whether, on the other side, the blunders were to be held venial and condoned by a comparison of them with the Chancellor's services and successes. The debate ended in the adoption, after the Government had been defeated on the question of adjournment by a majority of 14 in a House of 340, of an amendment, proposed by Mr. Bouverie, substantially the original vote of censure clothed in milder terms. The next day Lord Westbury resigned, and on the day after made a farewell statement in the House of Lords—a statement in which a genuine contempt for the majority which had condemned him was veiled by language of the most respectful submission. He passed from the woolsack, to be succeeded by Lord Cranworth, Chancellor for the second time; and the public career of one of the greatest of law reformers ended in disgrace.

A scandal of this kind was by no means a pleasant end to the life of a Parliament, and for the Government by no means a pleasant prelude to a general election. Yet it seemed, after all, to do them very little harm with the constituencies. Questions as to the personal conduct of a minister are more piquant in the clubs than in election committee-rooms; such amount of interest as the elector had to spare for personal questions was absorbed by the personal character of the candidate that asked his vote, and his public and strictly political interest was taken up by the election cry of Reform. But it cannot be said that public feeling was very deeply or very generally stirred. There was no question of deciding upon the life or death of a Ministry; it was a "natural dissolution;" Parliament had died of old age, and not by the violent hands of a defeated minister. So most of the constituencies fought out their battles quietly and uneventfully; the Liberals making, as we have said, Reform their war-cry, and the Conservatives making answer that Reform was neither necessary nor expedient. It was generally expected that Lord Palmerston's Government would have a considerable majority. Only two contests were looked upon with a very high degree of interest—that for the University of Oxford, where Mr. Gladstone was opposed by Mr. Gathorne Hardy; and that for Westminster, where Mr. John Stuart Mill came forward as a candidate. It was almost the first time, perhaps the very first time, in English history that a philosophical and economical writer of the first rank had come forward to ask for the vote of a constituency solely on the ground of his writings. Hence it was that Mr. Mill's candidature was looked upon with such intense interest by so many persons. A large committee was formed, including most of the leading Liberal names in England, to carry him into Parliament at no expense to himself—in accordance with the principle which he had laid down in his book on "Representative Government," that a man ought to look upon the representation of his fellow citizens in Parliament rather as a duty to be undertaken under certain circumstances, than as a duty to be paid for. The exertions of his admirers, the novelty of the experience, and the influence of Mr. Mill's own dignified presence, seen as it was by so many for the first time, carried him to his seat, and gave him for three years to the service of his

country and his party in Parliament; and of those who had voted for him, few regretted his success when they saw how his clear luminous speeches tended to enlighten difficult questions, and how his lofty character seemed sometimes to raise the very character of debate and of legislation itself. But enthusiasm for an idea does not hold its ground for very long in England. When we come to tell the story of the general election of 1868, we shall have to record the defeat of Mr. Mill.

The other election which concentrated public attention, was that for the Oxford University. Mr. Gladstone had represented that exceptional constituency for eighteen years, though many attempts had been made to remove him from his seat, as from time to time his opinions showed fresh divergence from those of his youth. On this occasion a powerful opponent was brought forward in Mr. Gathorne Hardy, one of the most influential members of the Conservative party. The constituency of the University is composed of the members of its Convocation—that is, of all persons who have taken a degree not lower than that of Master of Arts, and who retain their names on the register by certain payments. The full number of possible voters amounts to about 4,000, the majority of them being clergymen of the Established Church, scattered about in parishes throughout the kingdom. In this election, for the first time, it was legal to use voting-papers, which enabled members to vote without coming up to Oxford to record their votes in person. This provision, passed only in the last Parliament, was fatal to Mr. Gladstone. His Liberalism, supposed to be extreme, and supposed to include views not wholly adverse to the disestablishment of State Churches, cost him his seat. He was beaten by Mr. Hardy by a majority of 180, the numbers being, Hardy 1,904, Gladstone 1,724. Mr. Gladstone took his farewell of the University in an address which expressed his "profound and lasting gratitude" for its support during the "arduous connection of eighteen years." The very night of his defeat, he owned, in the Liverpool Amphitheatre, that he had "clung to the representation of the University with desperate fondness;" and all who have studied his career, all who have watched the perpetual struggle in his mind between chivalrous affection for the past and boundless hope in the present, between the love of the culture of the few and the passion for the elevation of the many, know how truly he spoke. That day, the 18th of July, was typical of the whole of his life. He stood, to use words of his own, between the "ancient, great, and venerable University" and the "hives of teeming enterprise." He went from Oxford to South Lancashire, and after a campaign of magnificent speech-making, was returned by a narrow majority. We shall have to record, in the history of the next election, his subsequent loss of the same seat; but that loss mattered comparatively little. The real turning-point in his political career, and in the history of his party, was his rejection for Oxford University. From that moment he was, politically speaking, another man.

The total result of the elections was the return of 367 Liberals and 290 Conservatives—a gain of nearly fifty votes to the former party. It will be seen, however, that a large number of those who described themselves as Liberals soon showed their dissent from the policy of the Liberal Government; so that the majority was in reality very much smaller than might have been supposed.

Leaving Ireland to be spoken of in another chapter, the political history of the year ends with the elections. From July to December, political passions slept, political voices were dumb; only the Cabinet were at work on the questions of the next year—questions which, after Lord Palmerston's death, became more pressing and important. As to the general and social history of the country, there is, with the exception of the account of the cattle plague, which is given below, neither more nor less that is worth recording than is usual in any average year. The two events which startled people most were, perhaps, the confession and voluntary surrender of Miss Constance Kent, on the charge of having murdered her infant brother at Road in Wiltshire, in 1860; and the dreadful accident on the Matterhorn, by which three English gentlemen and a guide lost their lives: these were Lord Francis Douglas, Mr. Hadow, the Rev. C. Hudson, and Michael Croz. The tragedy was enhanced by the fact of this having been the first time that the gigantic peak had been successfully scaled: the English party and an Italian party literally raced to the summit from different sides; the English party won the goal first, and it was only on the descent that the fatal slip took place.

Trade and finance were prosperous during this year, though the cotton market had not quite recovered from the shock of the American War. It had, however, partially recovered; and to the manner of its recovery, indeed, is to be indirectly traced much of the disastrous panic of 1866. The full history of that panic will be told in a future chapter; at present we may remark that the stoppage of the American supplies caused first of all a stoppage, more or less complete, of English trade; that a new cotton supply was looked for from India, and that hence new and various channels were opened for trade; that hence arose all kinds of feverish, unsteady, and unwise speculation, the newspapers being crowded with daily advertisements of new enterprises, many of them on a gigantic scale. For this year, all went well. Two hundred and eighty-seven new "Limited Liability" companies were started, embracing every kind of undertaking, from the negotiation of foreign loans to the manufacture of an improved blacking: everybody turned investor; the price of consols went down from 91⅞ in April to 86¾ in December, showing that where so many profitable investments were open, people would not buy stock which would pay them only three per cent. In a word, everything looked well, and every one was busy; the crash was as yet far distant, and all had their fortunes to make.

The general prosperity of the country received, however, a severe blow in the outbreak of the cattle plague, which first appeared in June in this year, and which by the end of December had carried off more than forty thousand head of cattle. The disease, which was in a high degree contagious, was that which is known in Germany under the name *Rinderpest*; and all that is known of its origin

is told in the admirable First Report of the Royal Commissioners (Lord Cranborne, Mr. Lowe, Dr. Lyon Playfair, and several others) who were appointed to investigate it. Two English cows, says the report, were purchased at the Islington Cattle Market on the 19th of June, and on the 27th a veterinary surgeon first noticed symptoms of disease in them. They were in the shed of the cow-keeper who had bought them. Two Dutch cows, bought at the same time and place, were also taken with the disease in another shed. Immediately afterwards, the plague—for it had become a plague—broke out in numerous London sheds, and spread very fast and very destructively. The Islington cow-keeper lost her whole herd, ninety-three in number. In a very few weeks the disease had passed out of London to nearly every county in England, and even to Scotland. It had even gone across the sea to Holland with some Dutch oxen which had been sent for sale to the London market, but which were sent back again, because they could not be sold at a remunerative price. Now, among the foreign cattle which had been sold in the Metropolitan Cattle Market about this time, were some oxen from Revel on the Baltic; and it was shown that some of these were ill, at the time of their landing, with what afterwards proved to be the disease. But this, though not improbable in itself, was considered by the commissioners to be not proved; and they left it an open question whether the plague had been imported this way or viâ Holland. Anyhow, there was and is little doubt that the original home of the disease is the steppe country of Southern Russia. Increased facilities of transit have naturally increased the trade in the Russian cattle, and therefore, of course, encouraged the spread of the murrain. Four times at least in previous centuries had the plague, or one very similar to it, appeared in England; the last attack, which continued for the twelve years from 1745 to 1757, carrying off several hundred thousand cattle, formed a precedent of great value for the guidance of the authorities in the present year. The records of that plague told how inspectors were appointed, sick cattle were killed, a compensation rate was established, cattle travelling on roads were stopped and examined; how, finally, when Act after Act had been passed, it became necessary to abolish all fairs, and even all movements of cattle, except for slaughter. Similar regulations, as will be seen, were afterwards made in agreement with the commissioners' report.

The official description of the disease was as follows:—"The cattle plague is, in the language of medicine, a specific disease belonging to the class of contagious fevers. The contagious matter is subtle, volatile, prolific in an unexampled degree. It is conveyed in a most virulent form in the excretions from the diseased animal. Any particle of those excretions may serve as a vehicle for it. We know not the limit of time within which it disengages itself from them, nor to what distance it may not be diffused. It may travel, we know, in the hide, horns, hoofs, and intestines of the dead animal; the offal, therefore, is highly dangerous. It lurks undeveloped in the system for a period about which some difference of opinion exists, which certainly is not less than five days, usually is seven or eight, but appears to be more prolonged in some cases. Towards the end of this period of incubation, but at what precise point we do not know, it becomes capable of diffusing itself by contagion. . . . The proportion of cases in which it is fatal is extraordinarily large. No specific has been discovered which neutralises or expels the poison; judicious treatment may enable nature to resist till the virus has spent itself, injudicious treatment may have a contrary effect, but that is all." The conclusion, said the report, to which both reason and experience lead us is, that since all remedial measures are experiments and cost much time, and since the contagion is subtle, swift, and unsparing, it is better to stamp out the disease than to attempt to cure it. "The experience of Prussia," where *cordons* are quickly drawn round infected districts, and the murrain stamped out, "is especially valuable in this respect. The plague was often appeased, says Professor Gerlach, in the provinces bordering on the Russian empire—in East Prussia, Posen, and Silesia; but has never since 1815 penetrated westward even so far as Brandenburg." With this and similar experience to guide them, the commission made their recommendations.

They found the only regulations in force to be certain Orders in Council, published as a Consolidated Order, in September, 1865, under the authority of an Act of Parliament originally passed in 1848, which gave to orders of the kind the force of law. This Consolidated Order appointed inspectors, or caused them to be appointed by the local authorities, gave these inspectors full power to enter any shed, &c., and then and there destroy any infected animal; and made strict regulations forbidding the transit of diseased animals, and closing the Metropolitan Cattle Market, "except for purposes of immediate slaughter." This order, as the commissioners said, was good, but insufficient. It left room for its prohibitions to be evaded; above all, it left too much to the discretion of the "local authorities." Local authorities are, no doubt, very useful in local matters, but, as the report said, "wider interests are concerned than those little circles enclose. . . . All justices are not equally firm, equally ready to do an unpopular thing, equally convinced of the magnitude of the calamity." The report dealt with the question as what it really was—a question of imperial, and not of local interest. It told the country plainly that difficulties and sacrifices must be expected; that London must import her meat dead, and not alive; that the only way to get rid of the disease quickly was to prevent the movement of cattle *absolutely*. To prevent the communication of drove with drove would be, as the commissioners said, the best and quickest way of letting the plague die out. But at the same time such a prohibition would have been a very serious step; it would have caused a sudden and alarming interruption in trade, and would probably have led to an evasion of the law. Hence the commissioners—though a majority of them ventured to recommend the total stoppage of all movement of cattle as the best course—advised certain alternative measures in case the difficulties of that course should be found too great. These

alternative recommendations forbade the transit of lean or store stock, and imposed strict regulations on the movements of fat stock for slaughter. The report also suggested great restrictions on the importation of foreign cattle; such as that they should only be allowed to land at certain ports, that the fat stock should be immediately slaughtered, and that various forms of quarantine should be imposed upon the stock not immediately meant for the butcher. For Ireland, where the disease had not appeared, the commissioners urged the extreme importance of being prepared in case it should appear, and of being ready and able to stamp it out.

These recommendations were, of course, open to the objection that the measures they pointed to were centralising, imperial—in other words, un-English. It was in vain that it was answered that it was the disease which was un-English; that it was against the disease that the objection lay, and not against the recommendations. Lord Russell's Government knew that the very breath of an Englishman's life is the liberty to do what he likes with his own. He does not like to lose his cattle, but he likes still less to be prevented from losing them if he likes. The same spirit which moved a great popular leader to denounce the Adulteration Laws as "an interference with the freedom of competition," would have moved the farmer, the salesman, the butcher, and even the consumer, to denounce any really thoroughgoing measures of repression as tyrannical and over-governmental. So the Ministry did what commended it to the people, and what did less than nothing to check the disease. It "empowered the local authorities." It gave to mayors of boroughs and to the county quarter sessions certain powers, apparently extensive, really very limited, towards hindering the plague. It did not even empower the justices in quarter sessions to prevent the movement of sheep, or pigs, or goats from place to place *within their jurisdiction*. A farmer, for instance, in South Oxfordshire might send a flock of sheep to another farmer in North Oxfordshire, whether the quarter sessions liked it or not, and whether the sheep did or did not carry germs of contagion with them, as they very well might. Most of all, though the new Orders in Council *empowered*, they did not *compel*. A blundering bench of magistrates, an indolent mayor, might, if they chose, take no care to prevent oxen passing from one part of a county to another, or through a borough, whether they brought the plague with them or not. The result was, that the tradition of English liberty was preserved, and that the disease spread like wild-fire. The first report of the commissioners was dated October 31, 1865; the orders followed very soon; and yet the number of animals attacked, which had been 11,300 up to October 7, increased by January 27 to 120,740. To mark the mortality from the disease it may be observed that of these hundred and twenty thousand, only 11,162 are known to have recovered.

The following table may be useful as showing the number of cases throughout Great Britain during one week in November and two in December; and the total numbers since the commencement of the disease:—

Census Divisions.	Attacked. Week ending December 30.	Attacked. Week ending December 16.	Attacked. Week ending November 18.	Results from Commencement of Disease. Attacked.	Killed.	Died.	Recovered.	Remaining.
1. Metropn. Police District	31	43	216	7238	3103	3263	284	588
2. South-Eastern Co. ..	64	70	92	4602	1456	2521	379	242
3. South Midland Co. ...	981	745	211	6720	1487	4026	367	840
4. Eastern Counties ...	196	390	212	6306	2365	3086	406	449
5. South-Western Co. ...	85	101	39	714	178	376	59	101
6. West Midland Co. ...	143	143	34	1853	425	1018	154	256
7. North Midland Co. ...	530	318	63	2393	435	1442	136	380
8. North-Western Co. ...	1823	945	143	6669	449	4114	441	1674
9. Yorkshire	1446	1202	453	10891	731	6612	1297	2251
10. Northern Co.	213	109	70	1578	518	718	132	209
11. Monmouthshire & Wales	206	287	96	2287	93	1565	218	411
12. Scotland	1975	1701	1040	22298	2696	12749	3172	3681
Total	7693	6054	2669	73549	13931	41491	7045	11082

The loss was all the more severe from the fact of its falling so unequally upon different districts. The corn-growing counties suffered, of course, comparatively little; many of the grazing counties were nearly ruined. Cheshire, for instance, the land of cheeses, had 17,971 cases of the disease up to the 27th January, 1866; Yorkshire had 19,331; while Lincolnshire had only 4,080. Moreover, the districts which breed cattle but do not import them—the North and West Highlands of Scotland, and almost the whole of Wales—continued up to this time to be quite free from the murrain. This partiality of the disease had the additional effect of complicating the question of compensation to the sufferers. The local insurance associations, started to meet the losses of each district, began to find it difficult in some cases to meet their liabilities, while in other districts there were scarcely any liabilities to meet. Hence arose a strong cry for a state insurance—that is, a system of public compensation; and the question derives additional interest from the fact of its having called forth the emphatic opposition of Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, in the next year, of having given rise to many a lively passage of arms in the House of Commons between the great economist Mr. Mill and the ready debater Mr. Lowe. One paragraph from Mr. Gladstone's letter to Sir Thomas Lloyd may be quoted. After dwelling on the inevitable waste and fraud that such a scheme would create, on the probable relaxation of individual vigilance, and on the present duties of landlords, the letter went on to say:—"If the disease should extend very widely, the result must inevitably be felt in a much augmented price of meat. The consumer would then, probably, taking the country all over, pay the same or a larger aggregate amount of money for a greatly diminished quantity. All those who are not smitten in their own cattle would thus profit largely by the disease as producers, while as consumers they would only suffer in common with the community at large. How, then, could the community be asked to pay twice—first, for their meat in extra price; and secondly, for the cattle lost,—while landlords and cultivators of the soil would probably, as a class, have their loss (as in a bad corn year) counteracted by a corresponding or greater benefit?"

It is enough to add, that the project of a state insurance came to nothing, and that Mr. Gladstone's prophecy

as to the increased price of meat proved lamentably true. Although the fear of approaching contagion drove the farmers to send unusually large numbers of cattle for slaughter—and, therefore, the supply, instead of falling off, increased—the price of meat rose enormously. Instead of eightpence or ninepence, tenpence or a shilling became the common price for a pound of meat; and from this rate it has never since declined. With this increase came a corresponding and more justifiable rise in the price of milk, especially in London. The 7,000 cattle which, as our table shows, had been attacked in the London district up to the end of the year were almost entirely milch-cows; the London dairies were drained of their supply, the London cow-yards emptied. Of course, an immediate rise in the price of milk followed, and a dislocation of the London milk trade. The dairymen became importers instead of producers. The railways began to develop new facilities for the carriage of milk from the country into London; and then were first to be noticed on a large scale what now may be seen on every railway line, trucks loaded with great broad-bottomed cans bringing up the produce of country meadows for the use of the metropolis. No disinterested person can regret this at least among the results of the plague. No one who has once entered a London cow-yard, and been conscious of its dirt, its squalor, its confined space, its want of ventilation, and the unhealthy look of the animals within it, will deny that in changing the source of the metropolitan milk supply, the cattle plague has been a blessing.

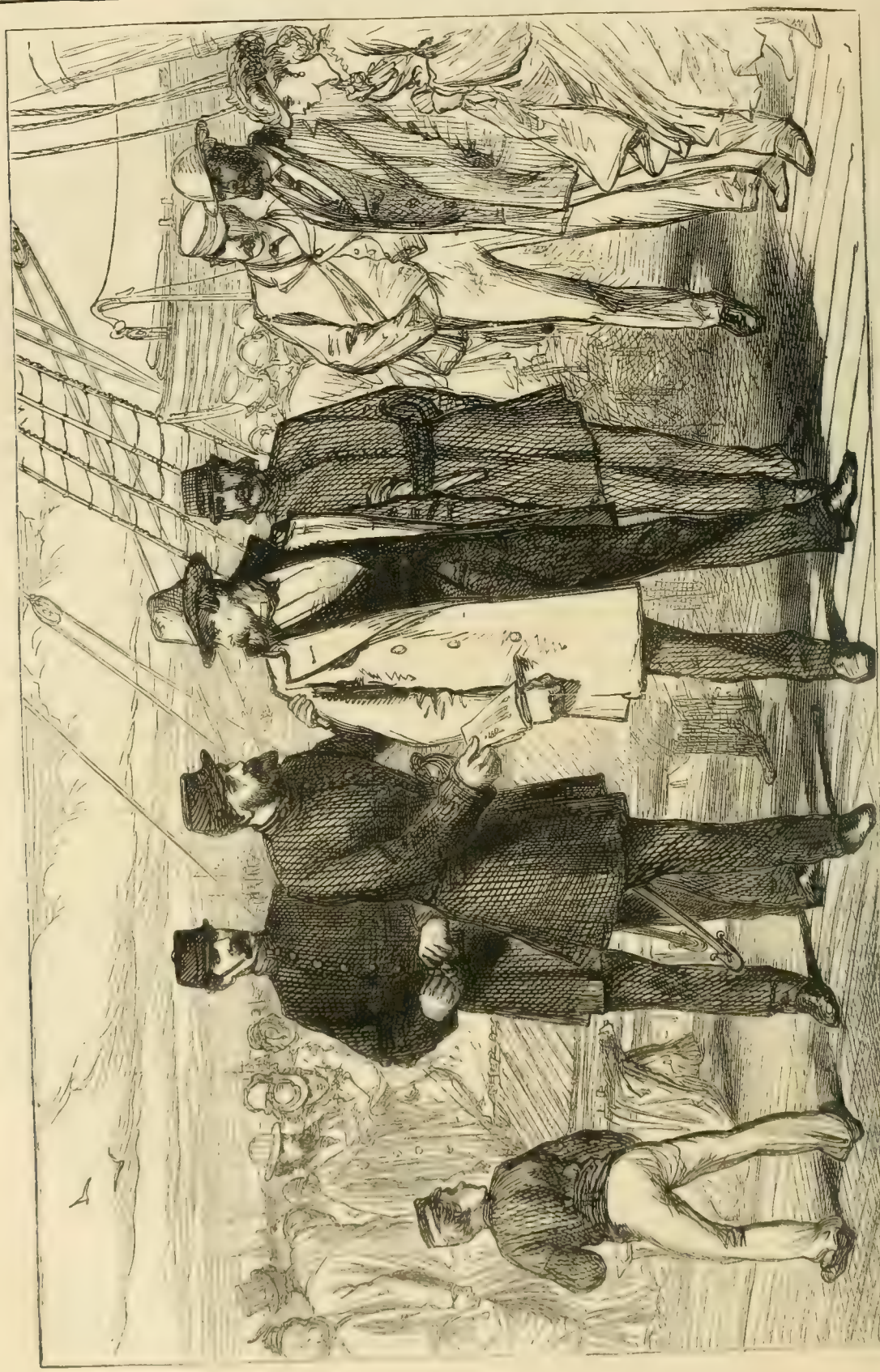
The remaining history of the disease, and of the interesting economical questions to which it gave rise, will be better treated when we come to speak of the year 1866.

CHAPTER XII.

State of Ireland in 1865—The Fenian Conspiracy: Origin of the Brotherhood: Its rapid Development after the Cessation of the American War: Its Constitution and Laws: Measures of Lord Wodehouse: Arrest of Stephens, the Head Centre; His Escape from Richmond Bridewell: Fenian Prisoners tried by Special Commission: Case of Thomas Luby—Reflections on Irish Disaffection.

Among the results of the American War, that which came home most rapidly and strikingly to the English mind was the organisation of the Fenian conspiracy. Ireland has suffered for centuries from chronic discontent, the effect of many causes, which may, perhaps, be summed up in one—that of a radical incompatibility of temper between the ruler and the ruled, the Saxon and the Celt. Often, as is well known, this chronic disease has become acute; discontent has flamed out into civil war, fanned by some favouring breeze of circumstance. Sometimes the occasion has been trouble in England, as in Cromwell's day,—for, according to the often quoted maxim, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity;" sometimes, as in 1798, and partly in 1848, it has been the prevalence of revolutionary doctrine abroad; sometimes it has been misfortune at home, as was partly the case in 1848; and now, in 1865, it was the sudden cessation of a long war across the Atlantic. Every American knows well the extent of the "Irish element" in the United States. For years the stream of Irish emigration has flowed westward, and emptied itself into the Hudson river. In 1871, there were close upon five millions of Irish Catholics in the United States, the bulk of whom had fled from home as a plague, and bitterly attributed their expatriation to British mis-government. Of the discontented Irish, the most discontented have long looked on New York as their home—or rather, not as their home, but as a convenient base of operations from which to sail back again to the conquest of Ireland. The end of the war threw hundreds of Irishmen out of work. It mattered little whether they had fought for North or South; hatred of "the Saxon," and the chance of making a display in the cause of Erin, were strong bonds of union. Hence arose the Fenian Brotherhood—a military conspiracy, with civil branches, having for its object "the overthrow of the Queen's government in Ireland, and the establishment of the Irish Republic." No one seems to know quite certainly the origin of the name "Fenian;" but the commonest explanation, and a very suitable one, is that it is derived from Fingal, or Finn, or Froinn, one of the heroes of Irish legend, and well known from the relics of his name in the north of Ireland and from the part he plays in Macpherson's "Ossian." At all events, it is now notorious that the name of the organisation was suggested by John O'Mahony, of New York, a Celtic scholar of some repute, who had to fly from Ireland, with his life in his hand, in "'48," for an abortive attempt to excite the Tipperary peasantry to armed resistance. Whether or not the Fenians claim kindred with Fingal, their object was to bring back Ireland under the rule of its own people; and this, not by lawful means, not by Home Rule agitation and pressure on Parliament and public opinion, but by force. "There is no time to be lost," wrote one of the leaders (John O'Leary, afterwards putative editor of the *Irish People*); "this year—and let there be no mistake about it—must be the year of action. . . . The flag of Ireland, of the Irish Republic, must this year be raised." "I was told," said a witness at one of the Fenian trials, "that arms were to be given to carry out those objects. . . . They told me that the Fenians in Ireland were to be officered by French officers; and since the war was over in America, that they were to be officered by Federal officers." Again, a Thomas Mooney wrote, "We have an Irish leader in John O'Mahony, backed by 50,000 veteran Irish soldiers in America ready for the word." These are a few indications, taken at random from many documents which were produced at the trial of various prisoners. But the most striking of all, that which illustrates most vividly the nature and extent of the organisation and the intensity of the feeling underlying it, is that which was called an "Address to the Brotherhood all over the world." The principal portions of it are as follows:—

"Brothers! We deem it prudent to withhold, for the present, from publication in the newspapers certain important resolutions, having special reference to the revolutionary movement in Ireland, which have been submitted to this Convention by the Head Centre of the Fenian



ARREST OF CHARLES O'CONNELL.

Brotherhood in America, and unanimously adopted. Printed copies of these resolutions will be placed before the different circles of our organisation in this country, and will also be transmitted, at the earliest fitting opportunity, to our friends at home. In the meantime, we do not wish to separate without addressing to you a few guarded words, such as we can afford to have read by all whom it may concern, respecting the present aspect of our cause. We

How much Irish blood has fallen upon the battle-fields of the world? Alas! how much Irish blood has been shed in the service of our country's oppressor—the plunderer and murderer of her people—the fell enemy of her faith? Over this subject, and others connected with it, we have pondered long and bitterly. But our resolve is fixed and irrevocable; the foul stigma which attaches to our name must be wiped out. We do not ask, will you be ready?

SIR JOSEPH PAXTON.

are solemnly pledged to labour earnestly and continuously for the regeneration of our beloved Ireland. That pledge, with the blessing of Divine Providence, we shall redeem; and when the wished-for hour *will have arrived*,* we shall be prepared, with you, to meet the implacable persecutors of our race in battle array, to put an end for ever to the accursed system under which our unhappy people have suffered such cruel tortures, or die like men in the attempt. And in what holier cause has man ever died?

We know you are ready; nine-tenths of the Irish people have at all times been ready in the heart and will to dispute with armed hands the invader's right to enslave and exterminate them. But this is not enough. We must be 'skilled to do' as well as 'ready to dare.' We are thoroughly convinced of the utter futility of legal and constitutional agitations, parliamentary 'policies,' and all similar delusions. These things have brought more suffering upon our people than would be caused by the most protracted and devastating war. The best of them would but expose the ardent and the brave to the vengeance of cruel despots, and, be it remembered, that such

* This misuse of "will" is explained by the nationality of the writers.

sacrifices beget no noble aspirations. No enslaved people ever regained their independence, or became formidable to their enslaver, without illegal (in the enslaved sense) pre-organisation. . . . Here we have soldiers armed and trained (thousands of them trained in the tented field, and amid the smoke and thunders of battle), with able and experienced generals to lead them. Let the cities and towns and parishes of Ireland have their brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies of partially disciplined soldiers of liberty silently enrolled. Above all things, let every man be pledged to obey the commands of his superior, and pledged also never to move without such commands, for obedience to command is the first and the most important requisite to the soldier; all the rest is secondary. Thus you will not only be prepared to strike with effect, but all rash attempts at insurrection will be prevented. Without such an organisation as we contemplate, partial uprisings of the people will be sure to occur, having no results but the sacrifice of brave men, and perhaps the ruin of our cause. When we strike, let us strike home; and are there not strong arms within the enemy's own shores to second the blow? Circumstances are in our favour such as Providence never before vouchsafed to an enslaved people. We have but to act as becomes brave and reasoning men, and ours shall be the pride and the glory of lifting our sorrowing Erin of the streams to her place among the nations. Brothers, rely upon us. We rely upon you.

"JAMES GIBBONS, Pennsylvania, Chairman; JOHN O'MAHONY, New York, President and Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood; RICHARD O'DOHERTY, Indiana, DANIEL GRADY, District of Columbia, and DANIEL CARMODY, Wisconsin, Vice-Presidents; HENRY O'C. MCCARTHY, Illinois, and JOHN A. STUART, Indiana, Secretaries." *

In the possession of one of the convicted prisoners, by name Moore, a blacksmith, was found a pamphlet containing the rules and bye-laws of the Fenian Brotherhood, from which the following passages are extracted. They are sufficient to show that the Fenian movement is or was a thing undertaken in earnest by serious men.

"CONSTITUTION AND BYE-LAWS.

"1. *The Fenian Brotherhood.*—The Fenian Brotherhood is a distinct and independent organisation. It is composed, in the first place, of citizens of the United States of America, of Irish birth and lineage; and in the second place, of Irishmen, and of friends of Ireland, living elsewhere on the American continent, and in the provinces of the British Empire wherever situated. Its head-quarters are, and shall be, within the limits of the United States of America. Its members are bound together by the following general pledge:—

"2. *General Pledge.*—I [. . .] solemnly pledge my sacred word of honour as a truthful and honest man, that I will labour with earnest zeal for the liberation of Ireland from the yoke of England, and for the establishment of a free and independent Government on the Irish soil; that I will implicitly obey the commands of my superior officers in the Fenian Brotherhood; that I will faithfully discharge my duties of membership as laid down in the constitution and bye-laws thereof; that I will do my utmost to promote feelings of love, harmony, and kindly forbearance among all Irishmen; and that I will foster, defend, and propagate the aforesaid Fenian Brotherhood to the utmost of my power.

"3. *Form of Organisation.*—The Fenian Brotherhood shall be subdivided into state organisations, circles, and sub-circles. It shall be directed and governed by a Head Centre, to direct the whole organisation; State Centres, to direct state organisations; Centres, to direct circles; and Sub-Centres, to direct sub-circles. The Head Centre shall be assisted by a central council of five; by a Central Treasurer, and Assistant Treasurer; by a Central Corresponding Secretary, and a Central Recording Secretary; and by such intermediate officers as the Head Centre may from time to time deem necessary for the efficient working of the organisation.

"4. The Head Centre shall be elected annually by a general congress of representatives of the Fenian Brotherhood, which congress shall be composed of the State Centres and the Centres, together with elected delegates from the several circles of the organisation—each circle in good standing being entitled to elect one delegate."

These two documents are sufficient to show the kind of organisation, and the nature of the designs of the brotherhood. Although a prosecution had been resolved upon before either of them came into the hands of the authorities, enough was known to make severe measures not only justifiable, but necessary, if Ireland was to be saved from civil war. Lord Wodehouse (soon afterwards created Earl of Kimberley) was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at the time, and the credit or responsibility of most of the measures taken rests with him. The blow of authority first fell on the Press. A paper called *The Irish People* had for some time been published in Dublin, and widely circulated, which made no secret that its design was to incite the people of Ireland to insurrection and to a forcible severance of the union with England. A Privy Council was held at the Castle on the evening of the 15th of September; Mr. Stronge, the Chief Magistrate, was instructed to draw out warrants; a strong body of police was told off for sudden duty. None had known till that moment that anything was to be done. The warrants were given to the police, and they were marched to Parliament Street, to the office of the *Irish People*. The usual tactics were observed; bodies of police were placed at every point of egress, and the door was forced. Ten persons were arrested in the house, the principal of whom was the famous Mr. O'Donovan Rossa; and an immense amount of letters, printed papers, type, and numerous important lists of Fenians were seized, and carried off to the Castle yard. Very little disturbance, and absolutely no resistance, ensued. The prisoners

* These names show the extent to which the organisation has reached in the Western states—a dangerous symptom, for those states are certainly not "centres of corruption," as New York city is sometimes said to be.

hardly protested; the crowds which collected together and followed the police on their return attempted no rescue. Nor was any greater difficulty encountered by the Cork police, who made a descent upon the Fenians in that city at the same time. Indeed, the Irish police in general showed themselves very active at this juncture, and many of the southern towns were the scene of interesting captures. Each important arrest led to more, or gave a direction to the search, from the discovery of papers compromising other people. One person, for instance, who gave his name as Charles O'Connell, but whose real name was "Rafferty," was arrested as he entered Queenstown harbour in a steamer from New York. He had been an American captain; and his papers gave an illustration of the aid which Fenian agents had received from officers of high rank on the Federal side—a kind of set-off against the conduct of England towards blockade-runners and Confederate cruisers. O'Connell had numerous "passes" signed by American generals and others; one, a very significant one, may be given:—

"Executive Department, Indianopolis.
"May 6, 1864.

"The bearer hereof, J. Daly,* wishes to visit the army of the Cumberland and the Mississippi departments. He requests he may be permitted for the purpose of visiting the Irish soldiers therein.

"Morton, Governor of Indiana."

The document given above shows what was meant by the term "Head Centre." There were at this time two Head Centres—one in the United States (John O'Mahony), and one in Ireland (James Stephens). This latter—a personage of the highest importance in the brotherhood—was known under many names; his commonest designations being "J. Powell," and "James Stephens;" though he occupied his comfortable house in the neighbourhood of Dublin under the name of James Corbett. Stephens, it ought to be related, had passed three years in the country previous to the establishment of the *Irish People*. He had traversed and re-traversed the country in a variety of disguises, and under a cloud of *aliases*, sounding the peasantry as to their readiness for rebellion, and succeeding even in corrupting the loyalty of small portions of the Irish regiments. He went so far as to try his capacity for "organisation" by making overtures to the Orangemen of the North; but his advances were coldly repelled, and he found it useful to confine his ill-directed efforts to the other provinces. In these his fiery eloquence and bland persuasiveness prevailed with the lower part of the population. It is historically probable that, if the funds which afterwards poured in in such abundance from America had arrived in time, or had even been utilised when they did arrive, for the purpose for which they were contributed, there might have been a darker end to the disloyal conspiracy. But the movement was doomed to failure almost from its inception. When the long-threatened blow was on the eve of being struck, discontent broke out amongst the rank and file of the insurrectionary battalions. Hundreds of men who had worn the American uniform, and won their epaulettes on the battle-field, were starving in the garrets and kennels of Dublin and London; whilst the great Head Centre and financial fountain himself was living in an extravagant manner, and denying himself no indulgence. Disgusted at their treatment, about fifty of the immigrants proposed to end the matter promptly by shooting him, and precipitating a rebellion on their own responsibility. Stephens was warned of the plot, and took steps to pacify his infuriated subordinates. He distributed money amongst them freely, and to this sudden outburst of judicious liberality he probably owed his life. This generosity came too late, for America unexpectedly ceased to send supplies, and the old murmurings broke out again with redoubled vehemence. This it was which broke the back-bone of the conspiracy and saved Ireland, let us trust for the last time, from the horrors of civil war. The police discovered that this James Corbett was the man they were in search of, and accordingly surrounded his house early one morning. They met with little resistance, though Stephens and his friends were well supplied with arms. In the same house with Stephens three other prominent Fenians were arrested, one of them being the "Charles J. Kickham" who had been looked for ever since the razzia upon the *Irish People* newspaper. When the prisoners were brought up for examination, Stephens protested most indignantly against the very existence of the law under which he was to be tried; he refused to take measures for his defence, and defied punishment. As it happened, and as perhaps he had guessed beforehand, he never came in want of legal assistance or in danger of punishment. "Bolts and bars could not hold him." He escaped from Richmond Bridewell on the night of November 24, and no amount of police activity or Government reward could secure his recapture. The naked truth is, that at a meeting of the Fenian Secret Council, held in Townsend Street, in Dublin, on the morning of November 22, it was decided to spend £250 in rescuing the imprisoned chief. The service had been offered, the reward was punctually paid, and the "General," as his followers called him, was rescued from his gaolers. The deliverance was effected in the middle of a night of rain and storm. Stephens' cowardice on this occasion dealt the first blow at his supremacy. Irish-American soldiers could not conceal their contempt for a man who, in his nervous panic, dropped the revolver with which he was furnished to fight his way, if necessary. It was plainly impossible that an escape of the kind, managed simply by unlocking seven of the prison doors one after another, could have been effected without collusion with some official or other. So the Government thought, and suspended the Governor of the gaol, and got Byrne, the turnkey, committed for trial. But Stephens never came back. It was not without reason that he had defied English punishments.

But even though the Head Centre was lost, there were enough prisoners in hand to make it necessary to try them by means of a Special Commission. The nature of a special commission is explained by its name. It

* This was one of the *aliases* of Stephens.

is issued by the Crown with a definite and special intent; it does not go beyond that intent; it is not limited by time or place, as in the case of ordinary assize trials; and it acts with additional judicial force, and a special jury. In this case the judges were Baron Fitzgerald and Justice Keogh—both of them men of marked ability, and neither of them likely to act with much leniency towards convicted political prisoners. Their work lasted more than a fortnight in Dublin; then they went to Cork; and then again returned to Dublin, where it was several weeks before the work was over. An example of the mode of trial and of the evidence produced, may be found in the case of Thomas Clarke Luby (a man whose father was a Senior Fellow, and who was himself a student of Trinity College), which was the first that came before the court.

Mr. Luby had been a registered proprietor of the *Irish People* newspaper, jointly, it appears, with O'Donovan Rossa. Indeed, he was the foremost writer in that paper; to which Stephens, during his entire connection with its *personnel*, contributed only one sorry article, headed "Isle and Doom." So popular, however, did the journal become amongst the disaffected classes, that the older "National" organs had reason to tremble for the security of their existence. The *Irishman*—then conducted by P. J. Smyth—was on the verge of bankruptcy, and the *Nation* was barely holding its own, when the crash came which delivered both from a destructive rival. Luby was indicted for the crime of treason-felony—a crime newly created by Act of Parliament. According to the Act which creates it, treason-felony may consist of either or all of three offences—compassing or intending to depose the Queen from her royal authority as Queen of Great Britain and Ireland; intending to levy war against the Queen, in order to induce her to change her measures; and conspiring to invite foreigners to invade this realm. It was with these three offences that the prisoner was charged; the Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Lawson) prosecuting him, and Mr. Butt defending him. The trial seems to have been meant chiefly as an exposure of the nature of the conspiracy, and that the evidence certainly effected. A vast number of documents were put in—letters from American Fenians, letters from Irish Fenians to each other, proclamations, commissions, resolutions, and, above all, articles from Luby's newspaper; there was the evidence of detectives, and there was that which so few political trials are without—the evidence of informers. Among the documents, perhaps the most important was a letter or commission found in the prisoner's house at the time of his arrest, sealed with black wax, and addressed to "Miss Frazer." The police-sergeant who arrested Luby opened this, though he was told it was "a private matter between Mrs. Luby and a lady friend;" and he found it to be the following:—

"I hereby empower Thomas Clarke Luby, John O'Leary, and Charles J. Kickham, a committee of organisation, or executive, with the same supreme control over the home organisation—England, Ireland, and Scotland—that I have exercised myself. I further empower them to appoint a committee of appeal and judgment, the functions of which committee will be made known to every member. Trusting to the patriotism and abilities of the executive, I fully endorse their actions beforehand. I call on every man in our ranks to support and be guided by them in all that concerns the military brotherhood.

"J. Stephens."

Side by side with this document, which, while it incriminated Luby, threw further light upon the proceedings of the Fenians, came the evidence of the two informers, Pierce Nagle and Patrick Power. They were both Fenians; Power at least had taken the Fenian oath, and Nagle "acted as a member of the society, but did not take the oath." Nagle told of meetings of the society, mostly near Clonmel; of intriguing in America, in which he had had a part; of "swearing in" new brethren; and of Luby's complicity with all this. He described the way in which the enumeration of members was managed:—"Papers ruled in squares by means of perpendicular and horizontal lines; the squares did not extend to the top, but there was a blank space on which the name of the captain or B was entered; the squares then showed how the captain, the sergeant or C, and the rank and file or D, were armed, also the strength of the company. . . A 'V' signified a man armed with a rifle. If it was an inverted 'V,' it signified a man armed with a gun or pistol. A stroke signified that a man was armed with a pike. Where there was a circle, it signified a man—captain, sergeant, or private—not armed at all." Further on, Nagle describes the mode of enrolling:—"I myself enrolled ten or twelve into the society. The mode of enrolling a member was, in the first instance, to administer the oath, which in substance was, that the party should be a member of the Irish Republic, now virtually established, and should be ready to take up arms at a moment's notice." Again, "Cornelius Dwyer Keane reported to Stephens that there were nearly 500 new men in the neighbourhood of Clonakilty. Stephens said he did not know what he should do with the number of men he had, there were so many of them." Evidence also was given as to the manufacture of arms in Ireland, especially pikes. "Give bearer fifty rods," said a note of the Head Centre; and "rods" was the pleasant *alias* of the formidable "pikes." Lastly, one more document was read at Luby's trial from the packet addressed to "Miss Frazer." It contained three resolutions, and was signed by the great John O'Mahony himself; the first two being, a pledge on the part of the American Fenians to get the Irish Republic recognised by every free Government in the world; and a declaration, "that the national organisation at present existing on Irish soil is almost entirely owing to the devoted patriotism and indomitable perseverance of its Head Centre."

What was proved, then, in this trial (for we have given the principal points of the evidence) was the existence of a wide-spread conspiracy, having its roots in America, and having for its object the forcible extinction of English rule in Ireland. Luby, also, was proved to have been a prominent conspirator. Nothing more was laid to his charge—no instigation to assassination, for instance, and no overt act of rebellion. It was "conspiracy;" the first stage of

rebellion—the preparation for it. And yet neither in this case, nor in all (with very few exceptions) of the cases heard by the special commission, was the jury at all unwilling to convict. Luby was the first to be found guilty, and he was sentenced—as were some others after him, though many received less—to the tremendous punishment of twenty years' penal servitude.

Fenianism has not since broken out with so much violence, but we know very well it is not dead. The special commission of 1865 was far from crushing it in Ireland; the judicial sentences only drove it inwards upon the people, and told its adherents that their time was not yet. We have seen something like an attempt at insurrection in 1867; we have seen Fenian raids in Canada, the Fenian attack on the police-van in Manchester, and the Fenian outrage in Clerkenwell. In the case of these last two, we have seen the guilty parties, or some of them, suffer the extreme penalty of death. Force in all these cases has been met with force, to the discomfiture, of course, of the weaker side. Conciliation, too, has been tried on a great scale. We have had the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and an Irish Land Bill which has given as much to the tenants as a Parliament of English and Irish landlords could be expected to give. We have seen the question of the Higher Education in Ireland attempted, but without success. In a word, since 1865 Ireland has been present to the minds of every one; and since 1869 it has held the first place in English political debate. But is Ireland pacified? Not in the least. England has done something to clear her own reputation, but very little to satisfy Ireland. A nation that has been treated as a conquered nation for three centuries (if we leave the conquests before Elizabeth out of the account) is not cured by the statutable removal of one and the statutable lessening of another of its many grievances. And *how* Ireland has been treated like a conquered nation is known to every one who has the most rudimentary knowledge of Irish history. Queen Elizabeth destroyed the Catholic Church, and established in its stead a Protestant Church, endowed from Catholic revenues. She and her successors up to William III. met rebellion with wholesale confiscation. The poet Spenser, for instance, received a grant of 3,000 confiscated acres and Kilcolman Castle from the English authorities; and he was one example out of ten thousand.

In the century that succeeded the English Revolution of 1688, England's hatred of Catholicism, from which she had just been emancipated, found vent in "penal laws" against Catholics, which, though they have been long since repealed, still rankle in the minds and memories of Irishmen. By these laws, passed mostly under William III. and Anne, mixed marriages were forbidden between persons possessing any estates in Ireland; no Papist could be guardian to a child; a Protestant eldest son might claim a kind of entail-right over his Catholic father's land held in fee-simple, and so secure his own succession to the exclusion of his brothers and sisters; a Papist could *buy no land*, but only secure a lease for not longer than 31 years; a Papist must conform within six months after coming into a landed inheritance, or it passed away to the next Protestant heir; a Papist might not retain arms, and his house might be searched for them; priests were forbidden to leave their own parishes; non-registered priests, and all priests "who should come into the kingdom from foreign parts," were liable to transportation for the first offence, and to the penalties of high treason for the second. Informers were to be rewarded, and the rewards paid out of a tax levied on the Catholics generally. "To have exterminated the Catholics by the sword," says the temperate Hallam, from whom this account of some of the penal laws is borrowed, "or expelled them like the Moriscoes of Spain, would have been little more repugnant to justice and humanity, and incomparably more politic."

Again, Irish commerce was crushed by English enactment. We find the English House of Lords, in 1698, addressing King William as follows:—"The growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland doth invite your subjects of England to leave their habitations to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufactures in Ireland; we therefore beseech your Majesty that you will, in the most public and effectual way, declare to all your subjects that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture hath long and will ever be looked on with jealousy by all your subjects of this kingdom; and if not timely remedied, may occasion very strict laws totally to prohibit and suppress the same." To this, and to the corresponding and still more emphatic address of the Commons, William III. said, "I shall do all that is in me to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland." He did discourage it very effectually. He forbade the importation of wool and the exportation of cloth. The Irish woollen trade was extinguished, and in a similar way all Irish trades were extinguished, with the one exception of the linen trade, which was in the hands of the Protestants of Ulster. Lastly, to the history of England's treatment of Ireland's creed, her land, and her commerce, we have to add the history of her treatment of Ireland's political life. Conquest brought rebellion in its train, and rebellion suppression, and suppression the extinction, more or less thorough, of political rights. The English Parliament of George I. voted its own supremacy over Ireland. But England's time of danger came with the American War of Independence and the French War which accompanied it. George III.'s Parliament could no longer run the risk of Irish disaffection; it passed an Act which declared "that the right of the Irish people to be bound only by their own law, without appeal to Westminster, is established and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable." Everybody knows what followed. The right so given was tampered with; provocation produced rebellion; and the Rebellion of 1798, with a Parliament filled by place-holders, and its House of Lords recruited during eighteen years by 143 new peers, gave birth to the Union in 1800.*

This review of Irish history *before* the Union was required in order that the origin of Irish disaffection

* See Goldwin Smith, "Three English Statesmen," Second Lecture on Pitt; also some interesting letters on "Irish Disaffection," by Dr. J. H. Bridges, from which we have borrowed many of our facts.

KING LEOPOLD I.

since the Union might be well understood. It came suddenly, unexpectedly, "like a thunder-clap in a clear sky." Its appalling *reality* was what frightened us.

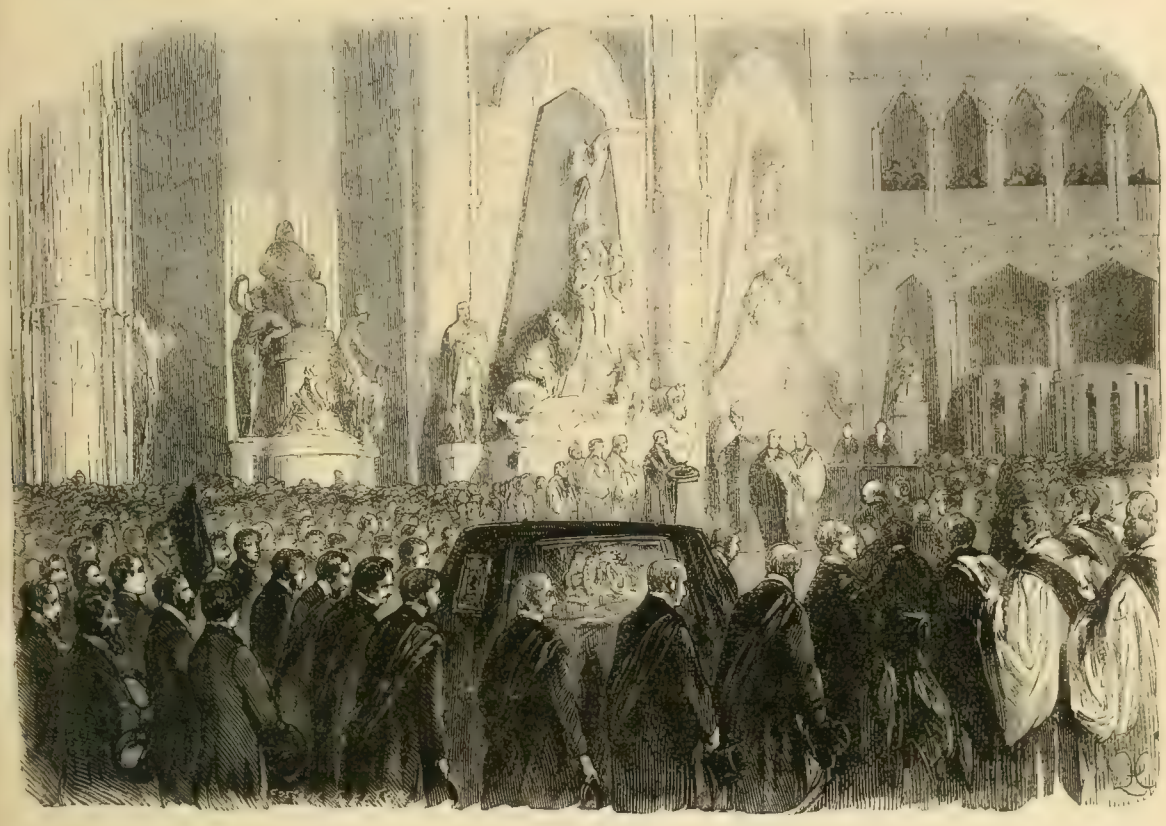
CHAPTER XIII.

Deaths during the Year 1865—Death of Leopold, King of the Belgians: His Life: His Connection with England—Death of Lord Palmerston: Account of his Career: His Early Life in Parliament: He is Tory till 1830: He then joins the Grey Ministry: Palmerston as Foreign Secretary: He becomes Premier: Summing up of his Character—Death of Cobden: Words of Mr. Bright on his Death: His Early Years: His share in the Repeal of the Corn Laws—Sir R. Peel's and Palmerston's Opinions—Cobden's General Views Success of his Free Trade Policy: Monster Subscription for him: Views on Peace and War: The French Commercial Treaty: Aims of his Life.

PERHAPS a greater number than usual of distinguished persons died in 1865. The names of President Lincoln, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Cobden, and Leopold I., King of the Belgians, will occur to every one. Of persons less widely famous, the English army lost one of its patriarchs in Viscount Combermere, and one of its most distinguished officers in General Sir George Brown; science lost Sir William Jackson Hooker; and popular scientific enterprise Sir Joseph Paxton and Sir John Richardson; the Roman Catholics of England lost their Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman; and literature lost its distinguished sons Charles Waterton and Isaac Taylor, and its still more distinguished daughter Mrs. Gaskell. Space does not allow us to give to all these the detailed notice which they deserve, but which perhaps many of them do not require. The names of many still survive in the memory of those whom they influenced during their life. The army is not likely to forget the venerable figure of the Constable of the Tower, the old man who as Sir Stapleton Cotton drove Marshal Soult from the heights of Orthes, and was thanked by Parliament for the capture of Bhurtpore. The successive International Exhibitions, and, above all, the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, are all modelled on the original Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851; and they keep alive, or ought to keep alive, the name of Paxton. All naturalists and all lovers of birds remember Waterton, the "Wanderer in South America," whose wise and amiable fancy it was to fill his park in Yorkshire with birds and animals of every kind, providing for each its proper home, and letting no gun or trap disturb their freedom.

Isaac Taylor's "Natural History of Enthusiasm" belongs, perhaps, to a generation that has gone by; but the book made its mark, and many of the writers of our own day owe much to this explorer of out-of-the-way fields of thought. Mrs. Gaskell was, on the other hand, of the present, if any writer ever was; in the best sense she may be said to have hit the mind of her time. Her "Sylvia's Lovers" and "Wives and Daughters," which she did not live to finish, remain in the minds of thousands, and rank among the best, most genial, and most honest novels of this age.

But more remains to be recorded of some of those who



FUNERAL OF LORD PALMERSTON IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

died in this year—of those, that is to say, whose names fill a prominent part of the public history of the time. Of Lincoln enough has been already said. A word or two may be written about Leopold I., King of the Belgians, who, throughout his long life, was connected with England by political ties; who, as the uncle both of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, stood always, so to speak, near to the English throne; and who, for a short bright space of eighteen months, lived here as the husband of the Princess Charlotte. He was of the Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld family; was closely mixed up with the conduct of German affairs in the time of Napoleon, and after the Peace of Tilsit showed the adaptable nature of his character by becoming an ornament of the Court of the Tuileries. When the war broke out again, he sided with his country, and in 1814 entered Paris with the allied Sovereigns. In 1816, the first year of the Peace, having taken the English title of Duke of Kendal, he was married to the popular Princess Charlotte, only daughter of George IV., and heiress to the throne of England. Every one knows the melancholy story of her death, eighteen months after her happy marriage. Prince Leopold had the sympathies of all England, for not only was his loss the loss of the nation, but he had made himself a personage in the country, and his fine presence and popular ways had gained him many hearts. He remained at Claremont till 1831, when, after declining the Greek crown, he accepted the flattering invitation of the people of Belgium, fresh from their September revolution, and was elected King of the Belgians in the June of that year. He had by no means an easy task to settle himself on the throne; but once settled, he had an untroubled reign. He was a good King, but his name will be remembered less as that of the King of his own country than as that of a kind of general European referee. The fact is, that he supplied a want that the Cabinets of Europe often feel—the want of a man to whom to refer a question before it has grown into a quarrel. He was royal; his character stood very high; he was closely connected both with the English royal family and with that of Louis Philippe; yet he was not powerful enough to be suspected of wishing to turn the troubles of his neighbours to his own account. A Frenchman happily called him "le juge

de paix de l'Europe;" and as such he played a far more important part than the King of the little country of Belgium could have been expected to play.

On the afternoon of the 18th of October in this year, the news arrived in London of the death of Lord Palmerston, which had taken place that morning at Brockett Hall, Hertfordshire. Had he lived two days longer, he would have been eighty-one years of age; but for some months the strength of the hale old man had been failing, and for a week it had been pretty well known that the end was near. Lord Palmerston had been for fifty years a personage of such importance in English and even European politics, that his death, however much expected, was deeply felt throughout all classes of English society. All alike regarded it as the end of a political period. What was to follow, some looked on with hope, others with dread, none with indifference.

It would be neither possible nor advisable to give in this history a very elaborate account of Lord Palmerston's life. It has been told in the history of English politics during the long half-century which followed the death of Pitt. During all these years he was in the front rank of English politicians; during many of them, the years of his tenure of the Foreign Office, to the nations of Europe England meant Palmerston. It will be enough, then, if, remembering his close connection with the general history of England for so long a time, we note briefly the outlines of his life and of his political character.

He was born in 1784, in Westminster, and was the eldest son of the second Viscount. His name was Henry Temple, and the titles to which he succeeded at his father's death, in 1802, were those of Viscount Palmerston of Palmerston, county Dublin, and Baron Temple of Mount Temple, county Sligo, in the peerage of Ireland. He died a member of the House of Commons, his Irish peerage not entitling him to a seat in the Upper House. He was educated at Harrow, where Byron was a schoolfellow of his; and then both at Edinburgh and Cambridge. He took his M.A. degree in 1806, from St. John's College; and immediately afterwards declared his bias for political life by contesting the University against the newly appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Henry Petty, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne. The success which smiled on him in the future was absent here; he was beaten, not this year only, but the next, in his candidature for the University, and had to enter Parliament as a plain borough member, taking his seat for the close borough of Bletchingley in 1807. His advance was rapid. The next year saw him a Junior Lord of the Admiralty; and the next, 1809, Secretary-at-War, in place of Castlereagh. It sounds strange that, in the thick of the Napoleonic wars, the War Office of England should have found itself directed by a young man of twenty-five, with no experience of camps, and but little experience of public life. Yet so it was; and none of the Tory Premiers, from Mr. Perceval to the Duke of Wellington, from 1809 to 1828, was able to dispense with his services in that department. He showed, indeed, his best qualities in it, and developed them: he worked incessantly; he set confusion straight; he organised military finance; his ready sympathy and good-nature led him to a careful regard of the comforts and welfare of the soldiers. He proved himself, in other words, a first-rate departmental head. More than this, he carried out in his measures of military organisation—no doubt under Wellington's influence—the same theory of England's proper position which afterwards, when embodied in foreign policy, had such an effect on the conduct of public affairs. Partly from a still unextinguished fear of France, partly from being so long accustomed to war, partly, beyond doubt, from an unworthy fear of the consequences of general distress at home, the Tory leaders of 1816 and the following years kept up the army almost to a war footing. The War Minister was the mouthpiece of their counsels. "Would it," said Lord Palmerston, in 1816—"would it be a wise or expedient course, under these circumstances, to abdicate the high rank we now maintain in Europe, to take our station amongst secondary powers, and confine ourselves entirely to our own island?" This view was the view he held, however much checked by colleagues and public opinion, till his death; and the view meant that diplomacy and military force were to continue to play into one another's hands. In this spirit the English War Office was conducted while Lord Palmerston held it; and though he seldom spoke on matters outside his department, on military questions he was always ready to speak and declare his views. He was not one of the extreme reactionists of those times, the Castlereaghs and the Sidmouths, who crushed the too real cries of distress by Peterloo massacres and tyrannical "Six Acts;" but we cannot clear him of the responsibility of acting with them as colleague. With them, too, he acted in the case where the Life Guards fired upon the people of London at the funeral of Queen Caroline. Throughout he acted, or allowed himself to act, as an agent of Castlereagh; abroad, dissenting in but a half-hearted way from the monstrous doctrines put forth by the European despots in the Congress of Laybach; and at home supporting a policy not only of military predominance, but of military repression. But on one question his instincts got the better of him; on the Catholic question he was Liberal, though there, too, in a characteristic way. Indeed, before the question came prominently forward, he had been, if not Liberalised, at least *Canningised*. Canning's biographer has described his party as "a middle party, with 'No Reform' inscribed on one side of its banner, and 'Free Trade and Catholic Emancipation' on the other." Palmerston went with Canning for many years; and when Canning died Palmerston continued to hold his views. He did not take office under the Duke of Wellington; for one year he was in modified opposition. Then, in 1830, the Grey Ministry came into power; the long Tory reign (for Canning was, after all, a Tory) was broken, and the day of Whig Ministries dawned. Palmerston had been speaking often in the preceding session on foreign questions, keeping the unwilling Tory ministers up to their pledges in opposing the claims of the Bourbon usurper Miguel in Portugal, and in supporting the rights of Greece to her own territory. When Lord Grey came into office, it was with Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary.

A Liberal in the modern sense of the term, a non-intervention or commercial Liberal, Lord Palmerston never was; and hence his reign at the Foreign Office was a very different thing from that of many of the Foreign Ministers who succeeded him. Lord Grey's term of office ended in 1834; then followed a year of Tory power, under Sir Robert Peel; and in 1835 Lord Melbourne began his six years' Whig administration, during the course of which came the death of William IV. and the accession of Queen Victoria. Lord Palmerston succeeded, as a matter of course, to his old office, that of Foreign Secretary, and he found plenty of work. The Greek question, the Portuguese and Spanish questions, the Polish question, the Circassian question, had occupied him in his previous term of office. His treatment of them had made him known throughout Europe; while at home he had to bear the unceasing attacks of Mr. Urquhart, "the Russophobist," who at one time was for impeaching Palmerston on the charge of receiving bribes from the Czar. Now he found himself face to face with the Czar, and his gigantic game of chess with Nicholas forms, one may say, the remaining history of his foreign policy. So far as the Eastern question is concerned, that policy was inaugurated by the treaty in which the five great Powers, in 1841, agreed to a protectorate over Turkey, and culminated in the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, after the Russian War. As incidents in this general policy come his Persian manœuvring in aid of Shah Muhammed, and his opposition to Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, in his designs upon the Turkish throne—pieces of policy successful and even brilliant at the time, but leading us in the one case to the disastrous Afghan War, with the Khyber Pass for its climax, and in the other to the war in the Crimea. Yet Palmerston did not oppose Nicholas when opposition might have helped the cause of progress and civilisation. He let the Czar extinguish Poland in 1830; and he spent tens of thousands of English lives and a hundred millions of money in preventing him giving the *coup de grâce* to the effete Ottoman Empire in 1854.

Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister for the second time in 1841, and Lord Palmerston went into opposition with his colleagues. As yet he was not, however, the leader of his party in the House of Commons; Lord John Russell—partly no doubt from the weight of his family name, and partly from his many illustrious services to the popular cause—still had, and till 1855 continued to have, precedence over him. But Lord John Russell, whose *forte* has never been criticism, left the House before the session ended, and gave over his functions for a time to Lord Palmerston. But few important performances marked the new part that Lord Palmerston played. In those days at least he preferred to keep to foreign policy; he was a born diplomatist; he liked to have his finger, or at least his eye, upon every political transaction from China to Peru. When he went back again, in '42, to the post of Opposition critic of the foreign policy of the Government, he found congenial occupation. The Foreign Minister was Lord Aberdeen, the best, but hardly the wisest, and certainly not the most successful, of men. It was the time of the "Ashburton Capitulation," the treaty with the United States which settled the boundary of Canada and the state of Maine. That treaty was neither the first nor the last treaty that has been signed between England and the United States; and its characteristics were those of almost all the treaties from the days of Lord Cornwallis to the days of the Marquis of Ripon. That is, it gave everything and took nothing. It achieved without arbitration what was achieved for the San Juan Boundary with arbitration; and Lord Palmerston was very angry. His speech in condemnation of the treaty will always be held to be one of his principal parliamentary utterances. But on the great Free Trade question he went cordially with Sir Robert Peel; and, indeed, these years of non-official life, from 1841 to 1846, are among those to which a biographer of Lord Palmerston looks back with the greatest pleasure. He did good work by his speeches and votes, and his exuberant activity—"mischievous activity," as Mr. Roebuck called it—was quieted for a time. He came in again and took his old place when Lord John Russell succeeded Peel; and thenceforward till his death, except during Lord Derby's two short reigns, and during a few months in 1851, he was in power. Cracow annexation, Spanish marriages, the general revolutionary disturbances of 1848—these were what occupied his official thoughts while he was at the Foreign Office. He was Home Secretary under Lord Aberdeen; and when that Ministry fell, the veteran Palmerston, seventy years of age, and a member of Parliament of forty-nine years' standing, became Prime Minister. His after-history is too well known to require much comment. His too ready recognition of the author of the *coup d'état* had cost him his seat in the Cabinet in 1851; in 1858, a bill, which some called truckling to the same man, cost him and his Ministry their offices. This was the "Conspiracy to Murder" Bill, aimed against persons like Orsini. It was lost by a majority of nineteen, and Palmerston resigned. He came in again, after the Derby Ministry had been beaten on the Reform Bill, in June, 1859; and from that time till his death he continued to be Prime Minister.

He was certainly a wonderful man, but he was as certainly not a great one. Physically, even, he was wonderful; for sixty years a member of the House of Commons, for nearly fifty a minister of the Crown, the mere amount of work that he got through was marvellous. This was especially so in the latter half of his Parliamentary life. "It was amazing," said the memoir in the *Times*, "to see how he could sit out the whole House of Commons in its longest sittings. At three o'clock in the morning, he was the freshest and liveliest man there, ready with his joke or a clever explanation to appease the irritability of a worn assembly. Besides the toil of debate and incessant watching in the House of Commons, his office work was enormous. . . . His minutes upon every conceivable subject of interest in the last fifty years would fill many volumes. We may add, in a parenthesis, that he generally wrote standing." And then the chronicler goes on to describe Lord Palmerston's sparing diet, his activity in the field, his love of society, his eager

delight in all the excitements of the day, from a public dinner to the coming Derby; in a word, his "prodigious vitality." It was this prodigious vitality which made him what he was, and made his policy what it was. His activity must find scope somewhere, and found it in the field of foreign policy, for "English interests," he said, "encircled the globe," and his energy must encircle the globe too. And yet if one asks what has been the result of all this energy, one is compelled to answer "very little." The truth, is that his view of life was essentially superficial, and his policy, home and foreign, was superficial too. His mission, he might have truly said, was to "keep things going." But he kept them going abroad by playing off Court against Court and Cabinet against Cabinet. He was nominally a Liberal, but he had very little insight into the real life of peoples. Hence, too, the radical emptiness of his home policy, which, after all, was rather an administration than policy properly so called. He had no profound belief; he had tact and good-nature, and thought that men might very well be governed by those two qualities. For ideas of all kinds he had a hearty contempt; he never, not even in the matter of Catholic Emancipation, gave a vote on the ground of abstract justice, but always on the ground of political advantage. It follows that he led the House of Commons as no one has led it in this century; that the aristocracy admired his cleverness, and called him "safe;" that the middle classes found him indispensable; but that the people never liked him, save for his good humour, and that he never kindled a spark of enthusiasm in any human breast. In foreign policy he was respected, because he always knew when to strike, and struck; he did not first threaten and then retreat; in home affairs, the wonder is that he kept things straight so long. Reform, Education, the Reorganisation of the Army, the great Irish questions—he kept them all at bay by his inimitable power of diverting the national mind from really important problems. He died, if one may say so, in the nick of time, "full of years and honours," and just in time to escape being an anachronism. England could not have borne much longer with a Liberal leader who distrusted Liberal policy, and contrived, with wonderful success, to postpone from year to year the discussion of burning questions. Lord Palmerston was buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey.

Just six months before his own death, Lord Palmerston rose in Parliament to call attention to "the great loss which the House and the country had sustained in the death of Mr. Cobden." There was something strange and a little jarring in the words of official praise in which the successful veteran spoke of the merits of the simple, unobtrusive, yet infinitely greater man that was gone. More true, more touching, were the few sentences in which his friend and brother-worker, Mr. Bright, told of his own sorrow in Cobden's death; and all who read the words the next morning felt a throb of sympathy. "Sir," he said, "I feel I cannot address the House on this occasion, though every expression of sympathy has been most grateful to my heart; but the time which has elapsed since I was present when the manliest and gentlest spirit that ever actuated or tenanted a human form took its flight is so short, that I dare not even attempt to give utterance to the feelings by which I am oppressed. I shall leave it to some calmer moment, when I may have an opportunity of stating to some portion of my countrymen the lesson which I think may be learned from the life and character of my friend. I have only to say now that, after twenty years of the most intimate and the most brotherly friendship with him, I little knew how much I loved him until I found that I had lost him."

Mr. Cobden was not yet sixty-one when he died. He was born near Midhurst, in Sussex, on June 3, 1804, and was the son of a yeoman-farmer. From school he went into business in London, in a Manchester warehouse, and at the age of twenty-six, joined some relatives in the cotton-printing business in Lancashire. Here his genius for business began to tell; the firm prospered greatly, and he, both by home study of the principles of trade, and by foreign travel in pursuit of trade, laid up the stores of knowledge on which in after years he based his political action. At about thirty years of age, he began to write on questions of commercial politics, and that soon led to politics in general. His first two pamphlets, "England, Ireland, and America," and "Russia," both signed "By a Manchester Manufacturer," attracted great attention; for it was just at the time when the Free Trade controversy was beginning to agitate at least the vanguards of the two armies. In 1838, the battle began in earnest; the Anti-Corn-Law League was formed. We need not tell in detail the history of the struggle; for three years, one may almost say, the history of the Corn Laws is the history of England. In another sense, and with almost equal truth, one may say that the history of the Corn Laws is the history of Mr. Cobden. Neither he nor Mr. Bright were original members of the League, but they were early recruits, and its importance dates from their admission. It was they, and notably Mr. Cobden, who presided over the division of England into districts; who chose agents to go through every village and along every highway and byway in England, taking notes of the cultivation of every field, asking every labourer what his weekly wages were, what his food was, what his home; who appointed lecturers to visit every important town, to stir up public opinion in England against the monstrous monopoly of the landlords. It was not till 1841 that Mr. Cobden entered Parliament; in that year, the year of Sir R. Peel's becoming Premier, he was returned for Stockport. From that time, or from an even earlier date, he gave himself up, body and soul, money and mind, to securing the repeal of the Corn Laws. His first speech struck the key-note of his life; it was a statement—simple, serious, uncompromising, in the midst of a House pledged to Protection—of the case of the Repealers. It was significant that the advocacy supported itself, if it did not base itself, on a great meeting of the ministers of religion—Churchmen, Catholics, and Protestant Dissenters—assembled at Manchester to petition against the Corn Laws. He said, speaking from the bottom of his heart, that this singular unanimity among ministers of hostile denominations seemed to stamp the cause as a sacred cause; "and where," he said, addressing the Protectionists,

"the sympathy and respect of the English people are enlisted on behalf of a sacred cause, you and yours will vanish like chaff before the whirlwind." In this spirit of profound conviction Mr. Cobden carried on his campaign, and at last the day of victory came. He had said in his first speech—the speech which the House would hardly listen to—that he was a man of no party; that he was a Free-trader, and would vote with Whig or Tory for Free Trade. Hence his readiness to support Sir Robert Peel when the Prime Minister's conversion to Repeal was assured; and hence the significance of the double tribute from Whig and Tory which was paid him at the moment of the victory of the cause. Sir Robert Peel's words are well known:—"The name which ought to be, and will be, associated with those measures is not that of the noble lord (Lord John Russell), the organ of the party of which he is the leader, nor is it mine. The name which ought to be, and will be, associated with those measures is that of one who, acting as I believe from pure and disinterested motives, has, with untiring energy, made appeals to our reason, and has enforced those appeals with an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned; the name which ought chiefly to be associated with those measures is the name of Richard Cobden." In like words, Lord Palmerston, in the same debate, paid the debt of the Whigs to the man who had taught them to be true to their principles. "When the House and the country look," he said, "to the highest point in the history of these events, they will see the name of Richard Cobden—a man distinguished by great zeal and enlightenment in advancing a great and important change in our commercial code, and a man, likewise, who presents in his own person a distinguished result of that Parliamentary Reform which has produced this among other great results."

It will be seen on a review of Mr. Cobden's life as a whole, that his advocacy of Free Trade was only a consequence of certain still more general views of the conditions necessary to human welfare; but it may here be remarked that it, in its turn, had consequences, though indirect ones, of great political importance. When it came home to the minds of the Free-traders that the existing Parliament would never pass their bill, they set themselves at once to prepare for the next general election, so as to secure a Free Trade majority in a new House of Commons. Of the boroughs they were sure enough; but not so in the counties. Here Mr. Cobden, solely as a means to his end, took the great and original step of defeating, by a device of his own, what was called the Chandos clause of the Reform Bill. That clause allowed persons holding a joint tenancy to have, under certain circumstances, separate votes; and hence the landlords, who invariably commanded the votes of their tenants, were always able to bring a vast number of votes to the poll by the simple expedient of dividing their tenancies into nominal partnerships. A landlord, for instance, let his farm really to A, but nominally to a partnership consisting of A, his father, his two uncles, his eldest son, and his nephew. Hence while A was for every purpose, except the political one, the real tenant, for the purpose of voting he was only one of six. To meet this, Mr. Cobden fell back upon the clause which gave votes to "forty-shilling freeholders"—that is, to persons owning freehold property of the value of forty shillings a year. He set on foot an immense subscription to raise a fund, from which money might be advanced to artisans for the purpose of providing them with such freehold houses as would give them the franchise. The plan succeeded; several counties were carried by it; and what is still more important, an example and an impulse were given to the operative class throughout the country. Whatever has been done—and it is much—in the manufacturing districts and elsewhere towards providing, on a great scale, the English artisans with freehold houses of their own, may be traced to this best and most honest of electioneering devices, the "Forty-shilling Freehold Fund" of Mr. Cobden.

When the great work of the League was done, when the Corn Laws had ceased to exist, and the principle of the protection of the interest of one class at the expense of others had been for ever abandoned, Mr. Cobden could rest from his labours. He had lost much besides his time; he had injured his health, and sacrificed at least £20,000 in money. But money was always ready at the call of the League. They raised a monster subscription for him, and presented him with £80,000, to make good his losses, and to enable him to devote his whole life to the political service of his fellows. The two purchases which were made with this money were characteristic. One was the Midhurst estate, the scene of his boyhood; the other was American railway stock—a share in one of the great industries of the Western Republic, which he admired so profoundly. The unfortunate decline of this stock some years after the investment caused him great anxiety and seriously injured his health.

For eleven years after the repeal of the Corn Laws he sat for the West Riding of Yorkshire, holding to the views which he had always maintained, and in the end offending those who could not see how one of those views depended on another. He was one of the strong, uncompromising opponents of the Russian War, the war into which we drifted, and which is now owned to have been so resultless. In 1857, following the same line of pacific thought, he carried a vote of censure on Lord Palmerston's Government for their policy in China, which he and the majority thought to be unjust to the Chinese. But Yorkshire, which had gone wild for Free Trade, went wild against the principle which is the justification of Free Trade, namely, the principle of the community of nations. Cobden's popularity was gone, and he did not again offer himself for election in Yorkshire. He had two years' rest, and then in 1859 was, in his absence, elected for Rochdale. Lord Palmerston, who just then came into office again, offered him the Presidency of the Board of Trade, but he declined it, because, as Lord Palmerston afterwards said, "his opinions were not on all points in unison with those of the Head of the Government." It was impossible, as he saw, that he could ever sit in Palmerston's Cabinet. He, to whom the love of peace between nations was a passion, to whom patriotism was but a rude and imperfect virtue, could never have consented to be an

agent of the policy of a "fighting minister," who piqued himself on his John Bullism. So Cobden remained a private member till he died. One piece of official business he did, however, perform. In 1859, there was at last a chance of a Commercial Treaty with France being effected, and Cobden was sent to Paris with full powers to negotiate it. The Emperor, as is well known, was favourable to Free Trade; for his throne reposed on the *bourgeoisie*, and it is the *bourgeoisie* who are especially profited by freedom of exchange. Hence Mr. Cobden had an easy task, and he performed it successfully. Still he would take no reward for his services, even though Lord Palmerston offered him a baronetcy and a place in the Privy Council. To be a simple representative of the people in the House of Commons was enough for him; as such, and no more, he died. He took no very great part in the debates during the last few years of his life; his health was weak and failing, broken down by long and hard labour in early and middle life. An attack of bronchitis carried him off on the 2nd of April, 1865.

Mr. Cobden's name is so well and affectionately remembered, not only among the members of the "Cobden Club," which, after his death, was established to embody and carry out his principles, but among English people of all classes and kinds, that we need not spend many words in describing his character. Earnest yet prudent, enthusiastic yet not fanatical, indefatigable yet patient, devoted yet wise—these he certainly was. And under all these qualities he had that which gave them half their force, and which was, in fact, at the root of them, the quality of disinterested simplicity. It was this, in fact, that lent him such a rare personal charm, and that made so many thousands feel a sense of personal loss in his death. He was an English Garibaldi, fighting with different weapons and for a less dazzling end, but scarcely in a less heroic struggle. Indeed, if allowance is made for their wholly different circumstances, different blood, different conditions, different temperaments, there is something very much alike in the Italian and the English soldier of freedom. The one, it is true, stirs a keener emotion and acts with the sword; the other acts by force of logic. But the one gives his life to fighting against narrow, cramping tyrants; and the other gave his to fighting against a narrow, cramping monopoly. More than all, the same great passion impelled both; Cobden was what Garibaldi is, an "international man." What Garibaldi fought for at Naples and Mentana was avowedly Italy, but in reality it was *freedom*, and that because freedom was to him the indispensable condition of human progress throughout the world. So with Cobden and the Corn Laws, and the Russian War, and the Commercial Treaty; what he fought and argued for there, was something real enough, but it was only a means to an end. That end has since been well described by one of the ablest of Cobden's disciples, and one of the very few men in England at the present day who has both knowledge and ideas on questions of European interest—Mr. Grant Duff. He is speaking of what he calls "the legacy of Mr. Cobden." "By that I mean that policy which was inaugurated by the repeal of the Corn Laws, the policy of Free Trade or free exchange, in its widest sense—the policy which takes for granted that the country has made up its mind to get rid, in home matters, of all trammels upon industry; and to get rid, in foreign matters, of the old evil ways of national jealousies, huge armaments, artificial arrangements for securing the balance of power, and, in short, of the whole course of conduct which was based on the idea that nations should act in the spirit of the old rhyme:—

> 'As I walked by myself, I said to myself,
> And the selfsame self said to me,
> "Look out for yourself, take care of yourself,
> For nobody cares for thee."'

The policy, in other words, which substitutes international co-operation for international hostility."

We know how far the world is yet from the ideal of Cobden and Garibaldi; we see a practical denial given to their aspirations in such fearful cataclysms as the American War and the War of 1870. But at least it is to be remembered that the wars of the present, if they are as fierce as the wars of old, are yet neither wars of aggression, for the most part, nor wars of dynasties; and that is one step towards the cessation of war altogether. In the next place, it must be remembered that now, for the first time in the world's history, is the international theory finding a voice. A hundred years ago, Adam Smith published his book which he called "The Wealth of Nations;" and he showed in it that the wealth of nations sprang from mutual intercourse, and not, as had been believed till then, from mutual exclusion. Seventy years afterwards, Cobden arose to carry out Adam Smith's idea into a wider field—into a field co-extensive with life itself. He believed, he demonstrated till others believed, that not only the wealth of nations, but their welfare, depends on their co-operation; "that it is a rational and practical proposition, that men may be brought no longer to look upon differences of race, creed, and climate, as a necessary obstacle to political unity." To this point has Adam Smith been brought in less than a century. In a century more, how much further will the idea, so glorious, so hopeful, so hard, have advanced towards its realisation?

CHAPTER XIV.

Foreign Affairs—Quietness of the Situation—Debate on Poland—The English Prisoners in Abyssinia: Debate in Parliament—French Politics—The Roman Question—The Pope's Encyclical Letter—Napoleon goes to Algeria: Proclamation to the Arabs and Pamphlet on their Condition—French Finance: Criticisms of M. Thiers—The French Fleet at Portsmouth—Prussia and Austria—The Convention of Gastein—Contests between the Prussian Government and the Chamber—Austrian Affairs—Italy, Spain, Greece—Approaching troubles in Mexico.

IN European history, the year 1865 will always be looked upon as an interregnum, a breathing time, between the two eventful years that preceded and followed it. It was the interval between two wars; and its history is the history of passions that smouldered, and of intrigues that worked in secret. The underground records of

diplomacy have much to tell of it; but as for events, there are none. Nor, so far as England is concerned, is there very much to record under the head of foreign policy. The dulness of such foreign debates as Parliament saw in this year contrasts sharply with the keen excitement of the debates of 1864, when Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone flung in each other's faces their opposing views of what constitutes the honour of England. Schleswig and Holstein were irrevocably gone now; rightly or wrongly we had stood by and seen them taken; and it was of no use to protest after the event, or to debate about our duty. On the other hand, the quarrel about the division of the spoil had not yet broken out; so we have few despatches from Lord Russell, and few scoldings by the *Times*. The only debate on European affairs that need be chronicled was one on a motion brought forward by Mr. Pope Hennessy, on the treatment of Poland by Russia. The terms of the motion referred to Russia's palpable violation of the Treaty of 1815, and entered a protest against it. But Lord Palmerston, and the good sense of the House with him, refused to entertain the resolution; for such a resolution means less than nothing unless it means war if its request is not complied with. Neither Mr. Pope Hennessy nor any one else thought seriously of a war with Russia; and Russia, like Prussia, is a state that possesses a policy, clear-cut, unscrupulous, and backed by force, and from that policy only war can make her swerve. In this matter of Poland, in this year at least, we escaped the blunder which we had committed so often and so lucrously in 1864; as we did not mean to enforce our opinion, we kept it to ourselves.

It was in this year that the public began to hear stirring accounts of the English prisoners in Abyssinia, who were, a short time afterwards, to be raised to a position of such national importance. The full story of their captivity is perhaps better deferred till the time comes for treating of the Abyssinian War, set on foot to rescue them; but the points at issue may be shortly recorded here, as they were told by Lord Chelmsford in the House of Lords during this session. In July, 1862, Captain Cameron had been sent to Abyssinia as consul, with flattering messages and presents to King Theodore, a half-savage chieftain, professing a kind of spurious Christianity. He was well received by the King, and treated with honour; especially when, on the breaking out of a war between Egypt and Abyssinia, he attempted to mediate in favour of King Theodore. But this mediation was ill received by the Egyptian authorities, and Consul Cameron was induced to desist. This made the King very angry; especially as he had received no answer to an autograph letter which he had written to Queen Victoria on Captain Cameron's arrival in July. With the fickleness of a savage, he turned round upon the consul and began to treat him with great

Kerans. Rassam. Stern. Prideaux. Mr. and Mrs. Rosenthal, and Child. Blanc. Pietro. Cameron.

CAPTAIN CAMERON AND THE OTHER ABYSSINIAN CAPTIVES.

indignity; and matters were complicated by the action of certain missionaries, Mr. Stern and some others, whom the King and his grandees considered to have been acting against the interests of Abyssinia. One of Mr. Stern's interpreters was beaten to death; he himself was also beaten very severely: and then first he and the other missionaries and afterwards Consul Cameron himself were imprisoned and loaded with chains. So they continued for a long time: the English Foreign Office found itself in the difficult position of having either to leave British subjects to take their chance, or to run the risk of rousing to fury an African chieftain renowned for his fierce temper, and of arming him against the lives of the unhappy captives. Matters had been in this position about eighteen months, when Lord Chelmsford, in the House of Lords, and Sir Hugh Cairns, in the Commons—both great Opposition lawyers—questioned the Government very severely about the whole circumstances of the case. Lord Russell and Mr. Layard both made the same defence of the Foreign Office—that it could literally do nothing without sending the captives to certain death. It is well known that the event proved the Foreign Office wrong. But it remains for a future chapter to give the account of the war of release undertaken by Mr. Disraeli's Government; and to that chapter we must defer the rest of the romantic story.

There was little tangible connection between English and French affairs during this year; but France is so near a neighbour, and so closely bound to us by ties of trade and finance, leaving out of sight her political importance, that a short sketch of her contemporary history will not be out of place. 1865 was with her quiet and prosperous; political passions slumbered, hidden out of sight by the bustle of imperial bureaucracy and the lavishness of imperial expenditure. Beneath this outer crust of wealth and order crouched forces ready to spring when occasion offered. The legacy of hatred to the Empire bequeathed by the *coup d'état* was in no degree abated, but as yet the administrative system of the Empire stood firm, strong enough to repress all outward signs of dissatisfaction, but not strong enough to indoctrinate the thinking population of France, especially of the great towns, with any real respect and confidence. There was considerable excitement abroad at the opening of this year, especially among the clergy, concerning the Pope and the Roman question. It will be remembered that in September, 1864, there had been a Convention between France and Italy, under which Italy guaranteed the undisturbed possession of the Pontifical Dominions to the Pope, while France on the other hand engaged to withdraw her troops from Rome. M. Thiers spoke out boldly on the subject of this convention; he saw in it the beginning of the end, and professed little faith in the guarantees of Italy. "The Pope," he said, "is a poor priest; he has moral force, no doubt, at his back, but he cannot muster 300,000 men. He is therefore requested to yield, but has hitherto refused. What will happen next?" The object of the French Government was, he maintained, to appear to Italy willing to help her to the possession of Rome, while persuading all the rest of the world to the contrary. The Ultramontanes therefore were distrustful and alarmed, and when the Encyclical Letter arrived in France, and a circular was issued by the Minister of Justice, forbidding the clergy to distribute the letter among their flocks, or to read in public the first half of it, on the plea that it contained "propositions contrary to the principles on which is founded the Constitution of the Empire," several of the more prominent Anti-Gallican bishops broke out into warm remonstrance. "This restrictive measure," said the Archbishop of Cambrai, referring to the circular of the Minister of Justice, "astonishes and saddens me, all the more that the diffusion of the most Anti-Christian doctrines meets in our time with little or no opposition from the State. In our day everybody is at liberty, as much and as often as he pleases, to deny the existence of God Himself, and to propagate atheism in writings to which he may give all the publicity he desires. Is it too much to ask that the same latitude should be extended to Catholic teaching?" The Bishops of Moulins and Besançon set the circular at defiance, and read the Letter publicly from their pulpits; only, however, with the result of provoking an imperial decree ordering the Minister of State to see that the prohibition of the Minister of Justice was enforced. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, boldly published a pamphlet addressed to the Papal Nuncio, denouncing the upholders of a National Gallican Church—that pet theory of the Empire,—professing an unbounded devotion to Papal authority, and sharply criticising the restrictive policy of the Government. Dupanloup was then thought to be a moderate man, so that this act of his was the more distasteful to the Government, who thought it worth while to complain at Rome, when the Bishop's pamphlet drew forth an approving answer from the Nuncio. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, writing to the French Minister at Rome, assumed a tone calculated to make the Pope and his advisers feel the danger of irritating their only protector against a United Italy. "In writing to French Bishops to express an opinion on their conduct, and to direct their course with respect to the Imperial Government, his Excellency (the Nuncio) has exceeded his functions, which, according to French public law, can only be those of an ambassador. But an ambassador fails in his most essential duty when he encourages, by his approbation, resistance to the laws of the country in which he resides and criticism of the acts of the Government to which he is accredited. . . . It is hoped, consequently, that the Court of Rome in its wisdom will not permit a recurrence of such irregularities, which, besides, the French Government is determined not to tolerate."

The fame of the Encyclical Letter reached England and created some stir among the Ultra-Protestant party. Mr. Newdegate, speaking in the House of Commons on the Roman Catholic Oaths Bill, said, that in his opinion, that was a singularly inopportune moment to propose any change in the test imposed upon Roman Catholic members, seeing that the French Government were just then occupied in grave discussions on the best means of dealing with the latest Papal aggression, in the shape of the Pope's Encyclical Letter, which, in the interests of order and peace, could not be allowed to pass unnoticed. How the Encyclical Letter could affect the question

of the Roman Catholic Oaths Bill, Mr. Newdegate's hearers failed to see,—it was one of that gentleman's many cries of "Wolf" in Roman Catholic matters. The Convention between France and Italy had no doubt disappointed the Papacy, and the Letter may be looked upon as more or less an expression of that disappointment; but the French Government knew very well that Rome lay too much in the power of France for any serious affront to be offered, and after a little more diplomatic skirmishing they let the matter drop.

Later on in the year the Emperor paid a visit to Algeria, where an insurrection had broken out in 1864, which was still smouldering when the Emperor reached the country. Napoleon III. made a characteristic use of his visit, by publishing some clever theatrical proclamations, strewn with passages from the Koran, which probably astonished the Arabs more than they conciliated them. Speaking of the insurrection, one of these proclamations said: "Far be it from me to call it a crime; on the contrary, I honour the feeling of warlike dignity which led you, before submitting, to invoke by arms the judgment of God. But God has pronounced; acknowledge therefore the decrees of Providence, which, in its mysterious designs, often guides to a good end by disappointing our hopes and deluding our efforts. Twenty centuries ago our ancestors, like yourselves, courageously resisted a foreign invasion, but from their defeat dates their regeneration. The vanquished Gauls became assimilated to the victorious Romans; and from the forced union of the contrasted virtues of the two opposed civilisations there arose in the course of time that French nationality which in its turn has propagated its ideas throughout the world. Who knows if the day may not come when the Arab race, regenerated and blended with the French, shall not regain a powerful individuality similar to that which for ages made it mistress of the southern shores of the Mediterranean.—Accept these facts. Your prophet declares 'God gives power to whomsoever He wills' (The Koran, chap. ii. verse 248). The power I hold from Him, I wish to exercise for your advantage. You know my intentions; I have honoured your chief and respected your religion; I intend to foster your well-being and to make you participate more and more in the blessings of civilisation; but it is on the condition that you on your part will respect those who represent my authority. Two millions of Arabs cannot resist forty millions of Frenchmen; a struggle of one against twenty is madness. You have, besides, sworn allegiance to me, and your conscience, like your sacred book, obliges you religiously to keep your engagements (The Koran, chap. viii. verse 11). Have confidence then in your destinies as they are united to those of France, and acknowledge with the Koran that he whom God leads is well led."

On his return to France, leaving Algeria once more comparatively quiet, the Emperor published a pamphlet proposing various reforms in the French management of Algeria, such as:—

"To declare that the Arabs are French citizens, since Algeria is French territory, but that they continue to be governed by their civil statutes, conformable to the Mussulman law; that nevertheless such Arabs as may desire to be admitted to the benefits of the French civil law shall, on their demand, be invested with the rights of French citizens.

"To proclaim the eligibility of the Arabs to all the military offices of the Empire, and to all the civil offices in Algeria.

"To restrict the action of the forest laws, and to revise them, so that the Arabs may not be deprived of the only means they have of procuring pasture for their flocks.

"To recommend to all the administrative authorities to lay aside the abrupt and often contemptuous manner with which they receive the natives whose affairs oblige them to present themselves to the Bureaux," &c.

The whole affair throws a strong side-light upon the character of the Emperor, upon his fatalism, his facile cleverness, his love of attitudinising, his mastery of detail, and fondness for ingenious shifts of administration. His proclamations belong to that side of his mind which made him in early youth train an eagle to perch upon his head, in allusion to the Napoleonic eagles, and to the Napoleonic tradition of which he thought himself the destined heir and upholder; while his schemes of Algerian reform recall in some measure that power of seeing all round a question, and that wide range of administrative ability which belonged to his uncle.

The state of French finance, according to imperial year-books, was unusually satisfactory throughout 1865. M. Thiers, however, in his great Budget speech in June, in the Corps Législatif, from which we may quote a few figures, put some awkward facts before the Chamber, highly significant when read by the light of subsequent events. He pointed out that in the last few years the expenditure of France had risen from £60,000,000 to £92,000,000. The question was how to account for this vast and alarming increase. M. Thiers boldly ascribed it to the various means employed by the Imperial Government to occupy the attention of the country, and distract it from home affairs. "These means, sometimes dangerous, always odious, have been wars abroad and enormous expenditure and great speculations at home. After great wars came small ones—small, if we consider the number of men engaged; but large, if we consider their distance and the serious complications they may cause. The war in Mexico has already cost us more than the Italian War, to say nothing of the complications (with America) it may entail. The war expenditure has, of course, been met by loans, and the public debt has consequently been considerably increased."

With regard to the reckless expenditure on public works, M. Thiers maintained that "all reasonable limits had been exceeded." If the passion for building and restoration could be confined to Paris and Baron Haussmann, perhaps the end the Government had in view of amusing and distracting the capital might justify such a large application of public money to the erection of new Boulevards, and to the rebuilding of the Tuileries. But the fashion once set would inevitably spread to the provinces. "The glory of the Prefect of the Seine has troubled the repose of all the prefects; he has rebuilt

the Tuileries; and now the Prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhone wants to have his Tuileries, for it appears from the debates of the Council-General, that he has applied for at least 12,000,000f. to defray the expenses of a new Prefecture! All the other prefects and sub-prefects will be eager to follow his example. Where will all this lead to?"

Here, indeed, were the two great sores of the Empire laid open by one who was himself to blame for having smoothed the way to the system which developed them, and who was now gauging with alarm the hollowness of French political life, and seeing in the results of the imperial system, even as they appeared then, signs of the danger to come. There was no such thing as liberty in France, but the Government knew that its safety lay in hiding the fact from the nation as much as possible. Hence perpetual schemes of conquest and glorification abroad, and at home expenditure in all kinds of showy undertakings, which might take the attention of the nation from its masters. "You are upon the brink of financial ruin," said M. Thiers to the Ministry and to the Chamber, "if you persist in this course." The course was persisted in, and already something worse than financial ruin was preparing. This year the Convention of Gastein took place between Prussia and Austria, upon the subject of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies, a question which was to be decided in the following year by the Austro-Prussian War, and the Prussian victory of Sadowa, which, leading to the consolidation of Germany, and to a sudden vast increase of Prussian power, roused the jealousy of France, and brought on the inevitable collision. That collision will be described in due course, meanwhile let us bear in mind beforehand the general direction of French politics under the Empire, and we shall be the better able to understand its causes and its results.

Towards the end of August in this year, there was a pleasant interchange of courtesies between the French and English fleets at Portsmouth. An English squadron of six ships, five of which were iron-clads, received the French fleet at Spithead. Eleven fine screw steamships and screw frigates, headed by the Emperor's yacht, the *Reine Hortense*, hove in sight on the morning of the 28th, and were greeted by our iron-clads with a gay display of flags, manned riggings, and a succession of deafening salutes. The Admiralty yacht, *Osborne*, having on board the Duke of Somerset and the other Lords of the Admiralty, went out to meet the *Reine Hortense*, and accompanied her into the harbour of Portsmouth, the *Victory*, that gallant old relic of a bygone day, saluting the yachts with nineteen guns as they passed. No sooner were they anchored, than the naval grandees on board the *Osborne* passed over to the *Reine Hortense*, to pay their respects to the French Minister of Marine, M. Chasseloup-Laubat, and the French admirals accompanying him. The usual compliments were paid, the usual invitations given, after which the Minister of Marine, accompanied by his staff, Chief Almoner, Monseigneur Coquereau, and a splendid show of English vice and rear admirals, entered a state barge, and was landed at the King's Stairs in the dockyard. The day was spent by the French visitors in paying visits to the different officers of the garrison, and in inspecting some new barracks and forts close to Portsmouth; while in the evening the First Lord of the Admiralty entertained them at dinner on board the *Duke of Wellington*. The landsmen, not to be outdone by the sailors, illuminated Portsmouth, and gave a banquet to the French officers. On the following day, the 30th, the same round of visits and festivities was gone through. At a great dinner given at the Royal Naval College in the evening, the Duke of Somerset, after expressing the pleasure which he and his colleagues felt in being able to return the hospitalities showered by France upon the English fleet a month previously at Brest and Cherbourg, proposed the health of the Emperor and Empress, to which M. Chasseloup-Laubat responded, by proposing that of the Queen in a speech marked by that French grace and ease which makes a French public dinner so much less formidable than an English one. "Without any after-thought," said the French Minister, "we have shown each other the progress made in various directions by our navies,—we have concealed nothing which might lead to still further progress. Together we have studied those wonderful ships cased in iron shields, which a few years ago the boldest fancy would hardly have imagined; together we have seen those formidable engines of war, before which the mind pauses in horror until it is reassured by the thought that the more powerful the means at the disposal of force become, the less mankind will have to fear from force; since the more terrible they are, the more rarely will they be employed, and the more appalling will be felt to be the responsibility of resorting to them." The French Minister had hardly sat down, and the cheers were still ringing in answer to the toast of "Queen Victoria," when there was a discharge of guns and rockets from the *Victory*, and immediately the calm summer sea beyond the harbour was alive with thousands of twinkling lights; every ship in the allied squadron stood outlined from top to toe in many-coloured fires, and hundreds of rockets, sent up from every deck, fell in showers through the clear air of an August evening. Again and again, just as the distant hulls were growing dark, the fairy-like spectacle was renewed. Nor was the town behind-hand; illuminations ran along the shore, and land and sea vied with one another. This magical scene lasted for about half an hour, then one by one the ships faded from sight, the sparkle on the water died out, and, peer as it might into the darkness gathering round Spithead, the eye could distinguish nothing but a distant group of black forms on a grey sea. The dinner was then resumed, and a few more toasts and speeches followed; but the event of the evening was over, and at an early hour the French guests returned to their ships. For three days more festivities were kept up, and balls, concerts, and *déjeûners* followed each other in quick succession. The French squadron left Portsmouth on the 2nd of September, after a visit full of pleasure and amusement to all who took part in it.

With regard to the history of Prussia during this year little need be said. The Convention of Gastein, mentioned above, is so intimately bound up with the history of the Austro-Prussian War, which broke out in 1866, that to describe it here would be to dislocate the whole narrative of that great struggle. 1865 was spent by Prussia in strengthening her power over the minor German states, and in preparations which the rest of Europe rightly felt to be ominous of coming war. Denmark had been dismembered, and the three duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg were—nominally, at least—in the joint possession of Austria and Prussia. Prussia, however, as Herr von Bismarck frankly avowed in the German Parliament at the opening of the session of 1865, had only employed Austria as an ally in the Danish War to keep the Federal Diet in check, and had no intention of finally dividing the spoils with her. The Prussian Government had set their hearts—nominally, at least—especially upon gaining undivided possession of the harbour of Kiel, by which means she would obtain a naval station on the North Sea, and thus materially strengthen her northern frontier and her position in Europe generally. Their demands were far from being limited to the acquisition of Kiel, but it became for some time the watchword of their proceedings, and it was with the ultimate disposal of Kiel that the Convention of Gastein was principally concerned. It was not difficult by this time—it was, alas! only too easy—to understand the whole course of Prussian politics since the opening of the Danish War. That war had been undertaken in the face of justice and European opinion, with a view to make Prussia supreme over the minor German states, which, represented by the Federal Diet, had hitherto proved the chief check upon Prussian ambition. That end had been amply gained; none of the smaller states dared to oppose any real resistance to Prussian policy; and Count Bismarck, in a circular addressed to the Federal Governments at the conclusion of the war, assumed a tone of mastery against which only one or two of the larger states, such as Bavaria, ventured to protest. The first step had been made, and made successfully; Prussia had gauged her own power and knew her strength. The mind of Count Bismarck was busy with dazzling projects of still further aggrandisement, and Bismarck was the life and soul of Prussian foreign policy. He saw clearly that the path to the undisputed supremacy of Prussia in Germany lay through a triumphant struggle with Austria. Austria had prestige and tradition on her side, and Prussia still nominally stood to her in the relation of a vassal. So long as her hold upon Germany enabled the lesser German states, trusting to her support, to exercise any check upon Prussia, so long a united Germany, with the King of Prussia transformed into an Emperor at its head, remained a dream and nothing more. Kismet! Prussia must be great; and to make her great, Austria must be chased out of Germany. This was Bismarck's attitude, and every public utterance of his during 1865 shows how the plot was thickening, and how carefully the sentiment of and enthusiasm for the Fatherland was being cherished and fed by the Government, in preparation for the coming attack. The details of Prussian policy at this time, the proposals with regard to Kiel, the Convention of Gastein, &c., belong, as we said before, to the general history of the approaching war; but it seemed right to note, in passing, the position of Bismarck during 1865, and through him of military Prussia. Civil and social Prussia was at this juncture feeling other matters more keenly than the prospect of war with Austria. The increasing power of the Monarchy, advised by Bismarck, and supported by a triumphant army, was alarming all liberal and constitutional Prussians, and an influential party in the country were very loth to entrust any further means of absolute power to a Government which showed every day fresh signs of absolutist tendencies. Hence it was that Bismarck and the war party, while sovereign abroad, found themselves perpetually harassed at home by repeated refusals on the part of the Chamber of Deputies to vote any supplies for any military purpose, unless certain constitutional privileges, such as the right of voting the budget and others, which had been usurped by the Government, were restored to them. The session closed after a series of stormy collisions between the Ministry and the Chamber, sharply noticed by Bismarck in his concluding address to Parliament. The Chamber gained little by their refractoriness, however, for they were hardly adjourned before the King passed the rejected bills himself by royal decree—a mode of procedure which sounds strangely to an English ear! In spite of party conflicts and party opposition, Bismarck went on his way unmoved, rightly persuaded that his indomitable will would in the long run smooth away all obstacles to the cause he had at heart.

In Austria there were few or no symptoms of the approaching storm. And yet her statesmen could not but see whither Prussian politics were drifting, and must have watched their every alternation with dread and anxiety. Something was done towards securing the sincere support of Hungary and the eastern provinces of the empire in case of a struggle. The Hungarian Diet was opened by the Emperor in person, and his conciliatory speech did much to revive Hungarian loyalty. He gave up once for all the dangerous doctrine held by preceding Austrian statesmen, viz., that Hungary had forfeited all her ancient constitutional rights by the Insurrection of 1848—9. He recognised the right of Hungary to self-government, as far as the unity of the empire and the necessary supremacy of Austria allowed; and he held out a hope of re-establishing the ancient Hungarian kingdom, by reuniting to it Transylvania and Croatia. Hungary thus reconstructed, his own coronation as King of Hungary would take place. The Diet received his speech with applause, acknowledging that the acts of Francis Joseph's Government and the personal attitude of the Emperor towards Hungary had done much to heal the breach so long existing between Eastern and Western Austria. The effects of this wise policy on the part of Austria appeared in the following year, when Hungary, instead of harassing Austria at home, followed it loyally to battle against Prussia.

With regard to Italy, Spain, and Greece there is little to chronicle. There was a general election in Italy, turning to some extent upon the bill for the suppression of religious bodies and the organisation of ecclesiastical property proposed by the Ministry. Spain at length made her tardy recognition of the kingdom of Italy, protesting querulously that her opinion on the Roman question was as uncompromising as before, and her resentment of the Pope's misfortunes as bitter; but that the force of circumstances being too strong for her to combat, she could only injure herself, without benefiting the Holy Father, by refusing any longer to enter into political relations with Italy. This step may have inflicted a moment's unreasonable annoyance upon the ultra-clericals, but the rest of Europe read the announcement of it with a smile. What else indeed could Spain do? The only other noticeable event in Spanish history, during 1865, was the declaration of war against the Republic of Chili, in consequence of its behaviour with regard to a dispute between Spain and Peru which had been in 1864. But Europe had little attention to spare for the fluctuating politics of South America,—for the position of the unfortunate Maximilian in Mexico was rapidly attracting all eyes. Sent there by Napoleon III., and supported by him as soon as America showed symptoms of interfering with his Mexican plans, and France began to grumble at the cost of an experiment which had been undertaken for the luckless Emperor, too weak to hold his own, too honourable to retreat, saw himself face to face with lawless and enraged political parties, without the power of either escaping or subduing them. Every thinking spectator knew that matters were becoming desperate with him, but none could as yet foresee the tragical revenge which Juarez and barbarism were about to take upon a dynastic experiment entered upon in the name of civilisation.

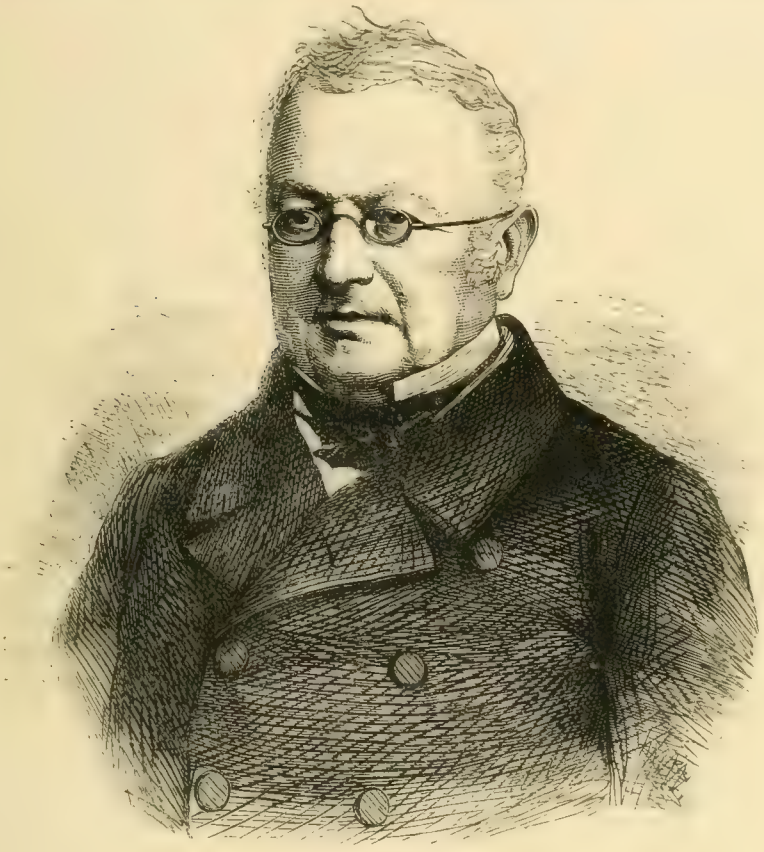
POPE PIUS THE NINTH.

CHAPTER XV.

American War in 1865: Approaching end of the Struggle: Sherman continues his March; Enters South Carolina: Systematic devastation of the Country: Abandonment of Columbia; The City nearly destroyed by fire: Evacuation of Charleston: Federal Flag again raised on Fort Sumter: Affair of Bentonville: Sherman reaches Goldsboro', in North Carolina: Various attempts to close Wilmington Harbour; Failure of General Butler; The Fort reduced by General Terry: Schofield brought up from Tenessee; He occupies Wilmington, and advances to Goldsboro': Subjugation of Alabama: Sheridan defeats Early, and joins Grant before Petersburg: Lee attacks Fort Steadman; Is repulsed: Evacuation of Richmond; Terrible Scenes: The Federals enter the City: Lee retreats towards Lynchburg; Part of his Army, under Ewell, compelled to surrender: Lee beats off his Pursuers; Crosses the Appomattox River; Grant writes to him, urging him to surrender; Correspondence: Lee's line of Retreat barred by Sheridan; He agrees to surrender his Army; Meeting at Appomattox Court-house; Terms of Capitulation: Lee's Farewell to his Army: Hostilities cease Everywhere: Capture of President Davis: Assassination of Mr. Lincoln; Attempt on the Life of Mr. Seward. Exasperation of the North; Probable motives of the Assassins. Immense exertions of the North during the War.

THE long agony of the Southern Confederation was now

rapidly approaching its termination. The leaders still used bold and haughty language, and professed their determination to die rather than yield; but there are limits to human endurance; and for the adult male population of the South that limit had nearly been reached. Of what use was it to them to win a battle, or a dozen battles, if the end of the war was brought no nearer? Sooner or later the soldiers now under arms would go



M. THIERS.

the way of their brave comrades who had watered the soil of Virginia and Pennsylvania with their blood, and yet the sacrifice would have been in vain! Cut off from the sea, and the supplies of men and material which else might come to them across the waves, enveloped by a girdle of fire, seeing their fairest and most fertile provinces devastated by a ruthless enemy, whenever he could break his way through their defences, unable to push back, however they might retard, the steadily-rising tide of Federal encroachment, the Confederate soldiers could not but recognise by this time that they were playing a hopeless game. To this feeling of despair must it have been owing that in this last campaign of 1865 Lee's soldiers, even when not seriously defeated, allowed themselves to be taken prisoners in great numbers; captivity must have seemed preferable in their eyes to a longer useless struggle against fate. On the other hand, the Federal soldiers, finding themselves at least two to one in most encounters, encouraged by the continual inflow of reinforcements, and by the liberality with which all their wants were supplied, and conscious that their movements were directed by determined and able leaders, displayed in the attack an *élan* and an elasticity of spirit similar to that which their adversaries had exhibited in the earlier years of the war.

Sherman's great march had brought him and his army of 60,000 men to Savannah, the capital of Georgia; but it did not end there. His movements were delayed by heavy rains; but, on the 1st January, 1865, he set forth, moving his army directly northward, as if Augusta were the point of attack. Suddenly turning to his right, and crossing the river Savannah, he entered the swampy fertile plains of South Carolina. Beauregard was in his front, but the force under his command was too small to bar the way against Sherman's well-appointed army, and the Federal commander in the course of a fortnight had pushed his way through that hostile country, and was before Columbia—the state capital. Devastation marked the track of his columns. South Carolina was peculiarly obnoxious to the men of the North, as the state which had first seceded, and first fired on the Stars and Stripes; and her people were now to drink the bitter cup which a foe, not sensitive to the motives of chivalry and generosity, is wont to raise to the lips of the vanquished. Sherman,

upon entering South Carolina, issued an order commencing, "The army will forage liberally on the country during its march." The wholesale and systematic foraging, it went on say, was to be done by regular foraging parties, organised for the purpose by the different brigade commanders; but all soldiers were to be permitted, during the halt or at camp, "to gather turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables, *and drive in stock in front of their camps*." To army corps commanders was entrusted "the power to destroy mills, houses, cotton-gins, &c.;" but this power was not to be exercised "unless the inhabitants of the country through which the army was passing annoyed it by bush-whacking or other guerrilla operations, or unless they should burn bridges, obstruct roads, or *otherwise manifest local hostility*." The practical latitude which such an order gives to soldiers inclined to rapacity, or commanders inclined to severity, is evidently unbounded. The order proceeds to say that, as for horses, mules, wagons, &c., belonging to the inhabitants, "the cavalry and artillery may appropriate freely and without limit; discriminating, however, between the rich, who are usually hostile, and the poor or industrious, usually neutral or friendly." The Federal historian maintains that "the mere necessity of subsisting such an army off the country, while passing rapidly through it, necessarily involved its devastation." But no such necessity existed; the harbour of Savannah was open to the Federals, so that any amount of supplies might have been accumulated by Sherman before he set out on his march; and if he could bring his guns safely through the swamps of South Carolina, he could also have brought trains of provision carts. Even if we grant that this would have been a difficult operation, and one involving delay, the alternative remained of *paying* for the supplies required, as the Duke of Wellington did in the south of France, and as the Germans usually did in the last war. There was no scarcity of "green-backs" (as the Federal paper-money was then called), and the inhabitants of the invaded districts would have indubitably preferred to be forced to part with their property at low fixed rates, rather than be despoiled of it without compensation or redress. What actually took place under General Sherman's plundering order is thus described by Mr. Greeley: "The business of foraging had been gradually assumed as a specialty by the least scrupulous of the soldiers, who, having mounted themselves somehow on beasts of burden, scoured the whole region in advance of our marching columns—often many miles in advance—gathering provisions for the army, and anything inviting and portable for themselves—dismounting and fighting in the line of battle when charged or impeded by cavalry or militia in moderate numbers; but fonder, on the whole, of rifling a house than of fighting its owner, and constantly intent on the main chance. No other state or section has in modern times been so thoroughly devastated in a single campaign, signalised by little fighting, as was South Carolina by that march through its utmost length, and over an average breadth of forty miles, by Sherman's army."

Beauregard had not a force under his orders sufficient for the defence of Columbia, and he therefore directed General Wade Hampton, who was in command there, to evacuate the city. That general did so, having first caused to be brought out into the streets and set on fire all the large stores of cotton which the place contained, lest it should fall into Federal hands. A portion only of Sherman's army entered the town, in the middle of the day on the 17th of February, but before night it was in flames. Federals and Confederates mutually taxed each other with having caused the conflagration. General Sherman, in a letter subsequently published, declared that the act of General Wade Hampton, in setting fire to the cotton in the streets, had been the cause of the disaster; the high wind blowing had, he said, communicated the fire from the cotton-bales to the houses. This may well have been so; yet there is an ambiguous expression in Sherman's letter which, if it does not suggest, certainly does not exclude, a different explanation. "Before one single public building had been fired by order," says General Sherman, "the smouldering fires set by Hampton's order were rekindled by the wind and communicated to the buildings around." The introduction of the words "by order" is remarkable, for it shows that the writer does not exclude from his mind the possibility of some of the public buildings having been fired *without orders*, and that previously to any mischief having been done by the burning cotton. If this was so, the burning of the city, which left 4,000 of the inhabitants houseless and homeless, is at once accounted for. Pollard, the Confederate historian, gives no explanation of the origin of the fire, though he says that drunken Federal soldiers did their best to increase it; but he thus describes the scenes which followed the entry of the Federal troops:—"No sooner had the enemy entered Columbia than a wild and savage scene of pillage commenced. Stragglers, pontoon-men, and the riff-raff of the army were to be met in every street and in almost every house. If they wanted a pair of boots, they took them from one's feet. Watches were in constant demand, in several instances being snatched from the persons of ladies. Ear and finger rings were taken by force; and, in isolated cases, the dresses of ladies were torn from their bodies by villains who expected to find jewels or plate concealed. Search for silver and provisions was made in every conceivable place. Ramrods were used as probes to indicate where boxes were buried; and gardens, out-houses, cellars, garrets, chimneys and nooks never thought of by any one but a thief in search of plunder, were turned, so to speak, inside out. The Rev. Mr. Shand, the Episcopalian clergyman, while conveying a trunk containing the communion-service of silver from the church to the South Carolina College, was accosted by a Yankee and a negro, who compelled him, under threat of death, to give it up."

The loss of Columbia involved the fall of Charleston, including Fort Sumter and the other defences; for since the sea was closed against them from behind by the blockading fleet, no hope of ultimate escape remained for the defenders, if they waited till they were hemmed in by a superior force on the land side. General Hardee,

commanding at Charleston, evacuated the place after burning every warehouse or shed containing cotton, and the Federals entered unopposed (February 18) the proud little city which had so long kept them at bay. They found little but tottering walls and smoking ruins. The fenced city had literally been turned into a ruinous heap. A great explosion of gunpowder had caused the death of 200 persons, destroyed the depôt where the accident occurred, and set fire to the adjoining buildings; so that, independently of the intentional arson, a large part of the city was thus burnt down. The Federal flag was again raised over the recovered Fort Sumter, of which, since the heavy bombardment which it had undergone, nothing remained to the exterior view but crumbling walls. Two months later, on the anniversary of the surrender of the fort to the Confederates by Major Anderson (April 14), a large number of civilians from the North, desirous of celebrating at the same time their own triumph, the subjugation of their Southern countrymen, and the downfall of slavery, took down to Charleston the identical flag which had been flying on Fort Sumter at the time of the surrender, and re-hoisted it with appropriate rejoicings. While the Federals were entering the city, General Hardee, with 12,000 men, was marching along the coast in the direction of North Carolina, in order to join Beauregard and Cheetham. The last-named officer had been appointed to the command of what was left of the army lately defeated under Hood in Tennessee. But discouragement, arising from ill-success and incessant hardships, had now spread to such an extent among the Confederate soldiers, that no concentration of forces could bring together a respectable army. They gave themselves up to the enemy in great numbers; and Grant was reported to have declared, a few weeks later, that within a period of six months 17,000 deserters had come into his lines. From Columbia Sherman advanced on the 23rd February, but instead of marching to the attack of Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, he struck off to the right, crossed the Great Pedee river, and passing the state boundary at Sneedsboro', again concentrated his army at Fayetteville (March 11). General Johnston, who ought never to have been superseded, was now re-appointed to the command of the Confederate army opposed to Sherman. As the Federal left, under Slocum, was advancing from Fayetteville towards Goldsboro', Johnston vigorously attacked at Bentonville (March 20), hoping to envelop and crush it before it could be supported; but the success of the attempt did not correspond to his expectations. Sherman's victorious march terminated at Goldsboro', for to that point a strong Federal force had fought its way up from the coast just before his arrival, under circumstances which must now be explained.

After the closing of the port of Mobile, as narrated in Chapter IX., the only harbour in the Confederacy, east of Texas, which remained in any sense open was that of Wilmington in North Carolina. The Cape Fear river here joins the sea at a sharp angle, forming a long straight estuary, divided from the sea on the east by a narrow sandy peninsula, at the point of which stood Fort Fisher. Twenty miles from the mouth of the river is the important town of Wilmington. Two or three islands on the opposite or western side of the estuary, at its mouth, provided the harbour with several entrances, each of which was guarded by a powerful fort. Under these circumstances it was impossible for the blockading squadron wholly to baffle the operations of swift blockade-runners, a larger percentage of which got safely in and out of Wilmington than was the case at any other Confederate port. After Farragut's success at Mobile, the conviction seems to have forced itself on the Federal authorities that only by means of a combined military and naval attack, similar to that before which Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan fell, could the river highway to Wilmington be closed. Preparations were gradually made in the autumn of 1864. General Butler was now in command on this part of the coast, a man not less confident in his own strategic resources than if, instead of being brought up in a lawyer's office, he had had the training of a Moltke or a Todleben. Having read in an English paper an account of the havoc caused by an explosion of gunpowder at Erith, Butler conceived the bright idea of blowing up Fort Fisher by laying a vessel containing 250 tons of gunpowder alongside of its sea-face, and then exploding the powder by a train. The experiment was made (December 23, 1864), but utterly failed; not the smallest injury was done to the fort, and the garrison merely supposed that one of the big guns on board some vessel in the blockading fleet had burst! Grant then insisted that the plan of a combined attack should be tried—Butler taking a force of 6,000 men, and landing it on the peninsula above Fort Fisher, with a view to constructing batteries there, and cannonading the fort in concert with the fleet. But Admiral Porter, who then commanded off Wilmington, appears to have disliked Butler, and would do nothing in concert with him. Stationing his iron-clads as near to Fort Fisher as the depth of water would allow, he opened (Dec. 26) a terrific bombardment on the place, speedily silencing its fire, and blowing up two of its magazines. Butler believed that now was the time for him to land his troops and send them on to the assault; but the report of his immediate subordinate, General Weitzel, who carefully examined the work, and convinced himself that its defences were still in the main intact, caused him to hesitate; a personal examination induced him to form the same opinion, and to renounce the project of an assault as impracticable. Instead, however, of landing his men on the peninsula, according to Grant's orders, and opening trenches, Butler returned with the expedition to the James river. Grant was much annoyed, and immediately sent General Terry, at the head of a somewhat larger force, to execute the work which Butler had failed to perform. Terry landed a force of 8,000 men, provided with intrenching tools and everything necessary for a siege, on the peninsula to the north of the fort about the 12th January, 1865. His first care was to throw a strong defensive line across the peninsula on the land side of his encampment, to guard against any attack from Wilmington. This done, he turned his attention to Fort Fisher, which, after a careful reconnaissance and consultation with Porter, he resolved

to attempt to carry by assault. Two storming columns were organised—one consisting of 2,000 sailors and marines, who were to attack the sea-face of the work; the other of the bulk of his little army, who were to endeavour to possess themselves of the complicated defences on the side facing the peninsula. The assault was delivered on the 15th January. Again the fire of the fort was silenced by the deluge of projectiles hurled into it by the fleet; but when the column of sailors rushed forward to the attack, they were, after a desperate struggle, beaten back with heavy loss. But, under cover of the diversion caused by the sailors' charge, Terry's storming column succeeded, first in carrying two or three outer lines of palisades, next in effecting a lodgment on the parapet, then in carrying one by one, though with severe loss, the traverses in rear of the parapet, and finally in driving the garrison right out of the fort. The retreating Confederates made for a strong battery planted at the extremity of the peninsula, but this could now afford them no effectual protection against the guns of the fleet, and they were compelled, to the number of 2,000, to surrender. The commanders in charge of the other forts, seeing the inutility of further resistance, also surrendered, and every approach to Wilmington by sea passed into the hands of the Federals. And now General Grant executed a master-stroke of tactics. The force at the disposal of General Terry was not large enough for the attack on Wilmington, nor was it deemed safe to detach any troops to his assistance from the army before Richmond and Petersburg; but there was an army corps far away to the west, in the now pacified state of Tennessee, which had no immediate work on its hands, and which might be utilised for the reduction of Wilmington. General Grant therefore sent the necessary orders to General Schofield, commanding the 23rd Corps at Clifton in Tennessee; that officer, on receiving them, embarked some 12,000 men in steamers on the Tennessee river, down which they were conveyed into the Ohio, up that stream to Cincinnati, thence by rail to Alexandria on the Potomac, where they were again embarked in steamers as soon as the ice would permit, and transported to the mouth of the Cape Fear river. When the troops under his command had been safely landed on the peninsula, and had joined the force under Terry, General Schofield found himself at the head of an army of 20,000 men, and strong enough for an immediate advance on Wilmington, which was only defended by a slender Confederate brigade under General Hoke. Hoke made the best defence he could, but was soon compelled to retire, evacuating Wilmington on the 22nd February. General Schofield, who had obtained this great success with very trifling loss, advanced, on the 6th March, from Wilmington into the interior of North Carolina, taking the direction of Goldsboro'. A part of his forces, to the number of 700 men, was surprised and captured by Hoke; but the contest was too unequal to last long, and Schofield entered Goldsboro' from the south a few days before Sherman with his army arrived from the south-west.

About the same time the Federal Generals Wilson and Canby, advancing into the state of Alabama, the one from the river Tennessee, near its northern border, the other from New Orleans, drove the inferior forces of Roddy and Forrest easily before them, stormed the works at Selina, compelled the evacuation of Mobile, and the surrender of Montgomery, the state capital, and in a very short time had trampled out armed resistance in the field throughout the greater part of the state.

The last act of the great drama was now to open. The campaign in Virginia was commenced by Sheridan, who, at the head of a well-equipped and most formidable force of 10,000 cavalry, moved from Winchester in the Shenandoah valley (March 2) with the intention of striking Lynchburg, the town among the ranges of the Alleghanies whence Richmond now drew its principal supplies. Early met him at Waynesboro', and was utterly routed; but the intelligence that he received from his scouts led Sheridan to believe that Lynchburg was too well defended to fall to a mere cavalry force; he changed his plan, therefore, and led his troopers round the left and rear of Lee's army, intending to join Grant in his encampment before Petersburg. The Confederate arrays of cavalry, which two years before had been the terror of Pennsylvania and Washington, were now so attenuated by death and hardships that no effectual resistance could be offered to Sheridan, who, carrying blight and destruction in his train, burning bridges and stores, tearing up railways and destroying canals, moved across the enemy's country to White House on the Pamunkey river, whence he marched to the James, and reported to Grant in front of Petersburg on the 27th March.

Seeing that the force in his front was continually being augmented, Lee appears to have concluded that the only course left for him was to deal a heavy and unexpected blow at the least guarded point about the centre of Grant's lines, which, if successful, would cut his army in two, enforce new arrangements for concentration, and perhaps leave time for the detachment of a portion of Lee's army to the assistance of Johnston, sufficient, with the troops under that General's command, to meet and defeat Sherman. The point which he selected was Fort Steadman, nearly due east of Petersburg. Here General Gordon, with two divisions, bore down at daybreak on the 25th March on the Federal lines, and captured at the first onset Fort Steadman and three adjoining batteries, turning their guns against the retreating defenders. But an overwhelming force was soon brought up by General Meade, which not only drove the Confederates out of the works they had occupied, taking 2,000 prisoners, but, pursuing the advantage, pushed back the whole of that part of the Confederate line, thus rendering Lee's contemplated movement into North Carolina more than ever hazardous. A still more decisive success was gained on the 1st April, when Sheridan, attacking Lee's right wing, under Pickett, at Five Forks, with a force two or three times as numerous, turned its left at the same time that he attacked in front, and, being successful in both operations, utterly broke and routed the Confederates, 5,000 of whom were taken prisoners. On the next day (Sunday, April 2), Grant ordered a general advance against the defences of Petersburg. The attack was made at daybreak, and although the exhausted Con-

federates stood bravely to their arms, so great was the preponderance of numbers that they could not prevent the Federals from wresting several redoubts from their hands, so that Petersburg itself stood in danger of falling before the next vigorous assault. Such was the position of affairs at 11 o'clock, when Lee, who had just seen A. P. Hill, one of the most trusted of his lieutenants, shot dead while directing a charge to regain a portion of the works, and who fully recognised the imminent peril to which Richmond was exposed through the inability of the gallant army which had so long defended it to hold its ground any longer against the overwhelming masses of the enemy, felt it his duty to send a message of warning to the Confederate President. The message was in nearly these words:—"My lines are broken in three places. Richmond must be evacuated this evening." The fatal missive was brought to Mr. Davis while in church, and on reading it he went quietly out, never more to return as President of the Confederacy. The nature of the terrible tidings was soon rumoured about, and an indescribable excitement and confusion reigned in the streets of Richmond. "Men, women, and children rushed from the churches, passing from lip to lip news of the impending fall of the city. And yet it was difficult to believe it. To look up to the calm beautiful sky of that spring day, unassailed by one single noise of battle; to watch the streets, unvexed by artillery or troops, stretching away into the quiet hazy atmosphere, and believe that the capital of the Confederacy, so peaceful, so apparently secure, was in a few hours to be the prey of the enemy, and to be wrapped in the infernal horrors of a conflagration." Every kind of vehicle was immediately put in request and loaded with every description of baggage and valuable property. "Night came, and with it confusion worse confounded. There was no sleep for human eyes in Richmond that night." The City Council had resolved to destroy all the liquor in the city, lest the madness of drunken debauch should intensify the horror of the scene. This resolve was partly carried out, but "as the work progressed, some straggling soldiers, retreating through the city, managed to get hold of a quantity of the liquor. From that moment law and order ceased to exist. Many of the stores were pillaged, and the sidewalks were encumbered with broken glass, where the thieves had smashed the windows in their reckless haste to lay hands on the plunder within. The air was filled with wild cries of distress, or the yells of roving pillagers." General Ewell had given orders, in spite of the remonstrances of the municipality, that the four principal tobacco warehouses of the city should be fired. The execution of this order added a new element of danger and despair. The rams lying in the river, and all the vessels at the wharves, except one flag-of-truce steamer, were blown up or fired. The torch was applied to the three bridges leading out of the city, and they were soon wrapped in flames. "Morning broke upon a scene such as those who witnessed it can never forget. The roar of an immense conflagration sounded in their ears; tongues of flame leaped from street to street; and in this baleful glare were to be seen, as of demons, the figures of busy plunderers, moving, pushing, rioting, through the black smoke and into the open street, bearing away every conceivable sort of plunder." * President Davis left the city at 10 P.M. on that Sunday evening, taking the railroad to Danville, a town situated to the south-west of Richmond, close to the North Carolina frontier. The garrison, under General Ewell, 5,000 sick and wounded men being left behind in the hospitals, also marched out in the direction of Lee's camp.

A complete and very strong triple line of earthworks, engineered with great skill and constructed with incredible labour, protected the northern side of Richmond. Before these lay General Weitzel, with a considerable force. The dull sound of distant explosions on that memorable Sunday night, and a red glare on the southern heavens, convinced the besiegers that something extraordinary was taking place in Richmond. Negroes and deserters brought intelligence in the early morn that the formidable works in their front had been entirely evacuated by the Confederates, and that no hostile force remained between them and the beleagured city. Moving cautiously over the ground in the vicinity of the Confederate works (for the approaches were beset with torpedoes, the little red flags over which had fortunately been left standing by the enemy), General Weitzel, about 6 A.M., entered the suburbs of the burning city. Thousands of negroes yelled an enthusiastic welcome as the Federal soldiers marched in, and the flag of the United States was soon seen floating over the imposing Capitol of Virginia. Richmond was, of course, placed under military rule, and immediate steps were taken to extinguish the flames, now raging without restraint. When the fire was got under, it was found that it had burned out the very heart of Richmond, including its great warehouses, the post-office, the treasury, the principal banks, newspaper offices, &c. A full third of the city was destroyed. A thousand unwounded prisoners were captured, besides the 5,000 sick and wounded in the hospitals; numerous heavy guns, and about 5,000 small arms, fell into the hands of the victors. Petersburg was evacuated simultaneously with Richmond.

While these events were taking place, Lee had concentrated his army, now reduced to about 35,000 men, at Chesterfield Court-house, mid-way between Richmond and Petersburg, whence he fell back to Amelia Court-house, where he expected to find supplies for his army; but the train which was to have brought them from Danville had been ordered up to Richmond by some Confederate official to assist in the evacuation; and to all other elements of dejection were now added, for the Confederate soldiers, the pangs of actual hunger. Lee remained at Amelia Court-house on the 4th and 5th April, hunting up food in every direction for his famished men. Meantime Sheridan, with his cavalry, moved rapidly to Jetersville, a station on the Danville and Richmond railroad, between the former place and Lee's camp, so as to intercept his communications with Danville and bar his retreat in that direction. His position at Jeters-

* Pollard, the Confederate historian, quoted by Greeley.

ville barred also the railway from Lynchburg, the only other place of importance remaining to the Confederacy in Virginia. We may conceive how fiercely Stewart would have fallen on Sheridan in the old days, how quickly his troopers would have been scattered to the four winds of heaven, and the lines of communication re-opened. But now, whatever may have been the cause, Lee seems to have had at his disposal no cavalry at all. He had no choice, therefore, but to retire on Farmville, there cross the Appomattox, and endeavour to reach Lynchburg by the country roads. At nightfall on the 5th, he commenced his march; but the eager Federals

MEETING OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH IRON-CLADS.

were soon aware of the movement, and pursued. Crook, commanding the left of Sheridan's force, attacked the Confederate army on the march and cut it in two; the resistance was feeble; Lee with the greater portion of the army escaped, and continued his march; but Ewell, with 5,000 or 6,000 men, was surrounded and compelled to surrender. This was on the 6th April. General Ord, on the same day, overtook and attacked, near Farmville, the divisions that were under Lee's immediate command; but he was repulsed with loss, and Lee brought what was left of his army safely over the Appomattox river, and continued his march all night, in order, if possible, to rid himself of his pursuers. But his men were fainting and falling by the way with hunger and weariness; and some of the chief officers of the army, meeting round a bivouac fire that night to discuss their desperate situation, came to the conclusion that a capitulation was inevitable, and communicated to Lee, through General Pendleton, the result of their deliberations. Grant had so skilfully and persistently pushed forward his left, that the hope of effecting a junction with Johnston could no longer be entertained; and if they could outstrip their pursuers at all, it could only be by sacrificing their remaining guns and munitions, while the army would still be in a state of utter inefficiency from famine. Already, in the weakness of sheer exhaustion, more than half the soldiers who still followed the standards had thrown away their arms. In this desperate strait the gallant veteran was spared the pain of making the first overture leading to a capitulation; Grant, on the morning of the 7th, while directing the pursuit from Farmville, having sent a note to the Confederate head-quarters couched in the following terms:—

"General,—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so; and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States' army known as the Army of Northern Virginia."

This note reached Lee on the evening of the same day, after he had repulsed, with severe loss, an attack made by General Humphreys on a position which he had tem-

porarily entrenched a few miles north of Farmville, and beaten off a charge of Crook's division of cavalry. But these gleams of success did not essentially alter the position; and Lee immediately sent a reply to Grant's note, in which, while not admitting the hopelessness of further resistance, he inquired what terms the Federal commander was prepared to offer on condition of the surrender of his army. Grant received this note the next morning (April 8), and at once returned for answer that, his object being peace, there was but one condition on which he would insist, namely, that the men and officers surrendered should be disqualified for taking up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged; he ended by proposing a conference. Lee answered the same day, declining to surrender, but expressing a desire for a personal interview between the picket-lines of the two armies. When Lee wrote thus, he had moved from Farmville to the neighbourhood of Appomattox Court-house, and knew that Sheridan had seized the station of the same name, about five miles to the south, and had even intercepted his line of retreat on Lynchburg; but he believed that the way was only barred by cavalry, and that, if necessary, he could cut his way through them. Sheridan, however, a man of indefatigable energy, had accomplished more than Lee gave him credit for. He had surrounded and captured at Appomattox station four trains full of supplies for Lee's army, which had just arrived from Lynchburg; and, besides pushing on with his cavalry to the road by which Lee was retreating, had sent word to several corps commanders that, if great exertions were made, the surrender or destruction of Lee's entire force was now inevitable. On the receipt of this message, Generals Griffin and Ord, leading two corps and one division of a third, made a

GENERAL LEE.

forced night-march to Appomattox station, and took up positions in line with Sheridan early on the morning of April 9. When, therefore, the Confederates, pursuing their march towards Lynchburg, advanced upon Sheridan's troopers under the impression that they would easily brush them from their path, these last, wheeling to the right, displayed the glittering ranks of an overwhelming mass of Federal infantry, arrayed like a solid wall against the further advance of their dispirited adversaries. Every man in the Confederate army recognised the uselessness of further resistance; a white flag was waved; and Sheridan, riding forward to meet the Confederate General Gordon, was informed by him that negotiations were then pending between Lee and Grant for a capitulation. Grant had replied to Lee's last note, declining the meeting proposed, and still firmly, but kindly, urging a surrender. On receipt of this note, Lee gave way, and agreed to a meeting on the basis proposed. The two commanders met at a house near the Court-house, and soon settled the terms of capitulation. Not a line in this short convention breathed the crafty or rancorous spirit of the politician; the terms were such as it became brave and honourable men to offer, and such as their brave but vanquished foes might without dishonour accept. The officers were to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander was to sign a like parole for the men of his command. The arms, artillery, and public property were to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the Federal officer appointed to receive them; but this was not to embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses nor baggage. This done, each officer and man was at liberty to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observed their paroles and the laws in force where they might reside. It hardly seems to be a Utopian conjecture that if the pacification of the South had been left to the soldiers—that is, if the country had been militarily occupied for a term of years, and all civil and political rights restored to the population as before the war—a real reconciliation between North and South might in time have been effected. But the baneful influence of the politicians prevailed; and they have so managed matters as to create everywhere throughout the South a burning sense of wrong, which must perpetuate the spirit of disaffection and revolt to unborn generations.

Twenty-seven thousand men were included in the capitulation, but only 10,000 of these retained their arms. It was an affecting scene when Lee bade farewell to his dejected followers,

Reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli,

the sad remains of the magnificent army which he had so often led to victory. These wasted ranks, these haggard, gaunt, and ragged figures, were all that was left of the army that had triumphed at Bull Run, broken and discomfited the hosts under M'Lellan, defended the blood-stained hills of Fredericksburg, and driven Hooker from the field of Chancellorsville in inglorious flight across the Rappahannock; these were all the survivors of the charging lines which at Gettysburg had well-nigh achieved the impossible, and driven Meade from his commanding ridge and its bristling defences. His men crowded round him as he passed along the ranks for the last time, grasping their outstretched hands; and the only words he could utter were, "Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best that I could for you. My heart is too full to say more." Lee had done the best he could for them, and it was now palpably evident that no more could be done. "The resources of the Confederacy were utterly exhausted. Of the 150,000 men whose names were borne on its muster-rolls a few weeks ago, at least one-third were already disabled or prisoners, and the residue could neither be clad nor fed—not to dream of their being fitly armed or paid; while the resources of the loyal states were scarcely touched, their ranks nearly or quite as full as ever, and their supplies of ordnance, small arms, munitions, &c., more ample than in any previous April. Of the million or so borne on our muster-rolls, probably not less than half were then in active service, with half as many more able to take the field at short notice."

The capitulation of the Army of Virginia was a signal for the close of hostilities everywhere. Sherman, on hearing of the fall of Richmond and Petersburg, advanced from Goldsboro' against Johnston, who soon proposed to surrender upon terms. Sherman was induced to sign a provisional convention (April 18), the effect of which would have been to continue and confirm to the existing State Governments in the Confederate States the enjoyment of legislative and executive powers. Of course, this convention was instantly disallowed at Washington, and in signing it, even provisionally, it is clear that Sherman exceeded his powers. Johnston then surrendered his army (April 26) on precisely the same terms as those which had been granted to Lee. Early in May, General Dick Taylor surrendered what was left of the Confederate forces in Alabama to General Canby on the same terms. The sense of the still unbroken strength and great resources of the Confederate power in Texas and Western Louisiana seems to have been the inducement with General Kirby Smith to publish a spirited proclamation (April 21) to the soldiers of the trans-Mississippian army, urging them to continue the struggle. But his soldiers had too much common sense to take his advice, and abandoned their colours *en masse*. President Davis, on reaching Danville after the fall of Richmond, issued thence (April 5) a proclamation breathing interminable hostility. But he soon was obliged to depart, and wandered about for some time in an aimless manner, being gradually deserted by the guards and officials who had accompanied him from Richmond, until he was surprised and captured at a place in Northern Georgia by a party of Federal troopers. The last occasion on which blood was spilt in this civil war was an affair in Texas (May 13), when the Confederate General Slaughter defeated and drove back with loss to Brazos Santiago a Federal force under Colonel Barrett. A general order, addressed by

Grant on the 2nd June to the "Soldiers of the Armies of the United States," in thanking them for their patriotic exertions, formally announced the termination of hostilities. The armies were everywhere disbanded as soon as possible, the men returning to the pursuits of industry; by the 15th October upwards of 785,000 men had been mustered out of the service.

A terrible crime cast a gloom over the rejoicings with which the people of the Northern States were celebrating the conclusion of the war. Since the commencement of hostilities in the spring of 1865, Mr. Lincoln had remained chiefly at City Point on the James river, receiving news from the front and telegraphing it to the North. On the day after General Weitzel had occupied Richmond, the President visited it, and walked as a conqueror among the smouldering ruins of the fallen city, receiving an enthusiastic greeting from the negro population. On the 9th April, he came up to Washington, and three days afterwards addressed to a vast crowd assembled in front of the Executive Mansion a speech on Reconstruction, in which, while reserving all important questions for the decision of Congress, he spoke of the South with that kindliness and absence of bitterness which had characterised all his words and deeds throughout the struggle, and expressed a wish that the Confederate States should be restored to all the functions of self-government and equal power in the Union at the earliest day consistent with the national integrity, safety, and tranquillity. On the 14th inst., after a personal interview with Grant, and after he had listened to the story of Lee's surrender told by his son, Captain Robert Lincoln, who, being on Grant's staff, had been an eye-witness of the scene, the President was induced to seek relaxation from his many and weighty cares by visiting the performance that night at Ford's Theatre. Both he and Grant had been publicly announced as probable visitors to the theatre, but the latter was compelled by the pressure of business to disappoint the expectations that had been raised. In the middle of the performance, while all were intent on the play, a man, whose profession as an actor gave him the freedom of the house, entered the front door of the theatre, presented his card to the President's messenger, followed him to the vestibule of the private box where the President was sitting with Mrs. Lincoln, quietly entered the vestibule, securing the door behind him; then stepping into the private box just behind his victim, armed with a pistol in one hand and a dagger in the other, he fired the pistol at the President, who was leaning forward with his eyes fixed on the stage. The ball pierced the skull behind the left ear, and lodged, after traversing the brain, just behind the right eye. Mr. Lincoln's head fell slightly forward, and his eyes closed; but no word or cry came from his lips; and though life was not extinct for nine hours, there was no sign of consciousness for a single instant between the firing of the shot and his death. The whole occurrence was so sudden, that the first thing that startled the audience and the President's companions in the box was the sound of the pistol. Major Rathbone, who was sitting beside the President, turned round and collared the assassin; but the man, dropping the pistol, stabbed the officer with his dagger, inflicting a serious wound in the arm; then, breaking from his hold, he sprang to the front of the box; cried out, as he brandished his dagger, "*Sic semper tyrannis;*" and leaped down upon the stage. Then, turning to the audience, he shouted, "*The South is avenged,*" and, running to the back of the stage, escaped into the street, where a horse was being held for him, mounted, and rode out of Washington, seeking refuge in the neighbouring state of Maryland. But in leaping on the stage, the man had caught his foot and fallen, spraining his ankle severely, and the officers of justice were able by means of this indication to track him to his hiding-place. When they came upon him, he made a desperate resistance, and was mortally wounded before he could be taken. It was found that his name was John Wilkes Booth; he was a native of Baltimore in Maryland, and the son of a well-known English actor.

About the same time that this crime was being committed in the theatre, a man, whose name was afterwards found to be Payne Powell (he was the son of a clergyman in Florida), obtained admission into the house of Secretary Seward, then confined to his bed in consequence of severe injuries received when he had been recently thrown from his carriage, and making his way to the sick man's room rushed upon him and endeavoured to despatch him with a bowie-knife. Members of Mr. Seward's family had before confronted the ruffian, and been wounded in the attempt to obstruct his passage; the sick man was therefore warned, and was able so far to protect himself with his right arm against the murderous blows of the assassin, that the wounds inflicted, though severe, were not mortal. An invalid soldier who was in the room, named Robinson, grasped the man before he could accomplish his purpose, and, though wounded, would not relinquish his hold; the cry of "murder" was raised from the windows; and the assassin, seeing that his only hope was in flight, broke from the soldier, wounded with his bowie-knife those who attempted to prevent his escape, and, mounting the horse which he had left in the street, rode off. He was afterwards arrested, tried and convicted by a military court, and executed.

The grief and indignation which filled the hearts of all the friends of the Union upon hearing of these foul crimes, took a form in which, natural and excusable as it was, there was something to deplore. As the Gunpowder Plot involved the whole Roman Catholic body in England in penal consequences through the crime of half a dozen persons, so the assassination of Mr. Lincoln by one Southern sympathiser, and the blood-thirsty assault on Mr. Seward by another, disposed the people of the North to a policy of severity towards the whole Southern population. The appearance of a proclamation signed by the new President, Andrew Johnson (who, having been Vice-President, succeeded on the death of Mr. Lincoln), in which the crime of Booth and his associates was roundly stated to have been "incited, concerted, and procured by and between Jefferson Davis, late of Richmond, Va., and Jacob Thompson" and other "rebels and traitors against the Government of the United States harboured in Canada," and large rewards were offered for the apprehension of the persons

named, intensified the feelings of animosity and detestation with which the North was now disposed to regard the people of the South, and especially their leaders in the late struggle. This accusation was shown upon investigation to be wholly groundless. Indeed, could we suppose that President Davis was wicked enough, he certainly was not foolish enough, to plan the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. Though inflexible in his resolve to force the Confederates back into the Union, Mr. Lincoln was never hurried on by the fierce passions of many of those with whom he acted, nor goaded by failure, nor inflamed by success, to indulge in feelings of personal resentment towards his opponents. He was an eminently just, large-hearted, and tolerant man; only two days before his death he had, as we have seen, displayed a kind and conciliatory feeling towards the South; and if the process of reconstruction had been superintended by him, it would, we may be certain, have been carried out with the utmost measure of leniency and forbearance that public opinion at the North would allow. As it was, that duty fell into the hands of men who made a religion of Unionism, just as Mr. Lincoln did, but had not that tenderness for the *persons* of misbelievers by which he was animated. The in-coming President, on the contrary, in a reply to a delegation made a short time after his accession to office, said, if Mr. Lincoln's murderer ought to suffer the severest penalty known to the law, "what punishment should be inflicted upon the assassins who have raised their daggers against the life of a nation—against the life and happiness of 30,000,000 of people?" "Treason," he continued, "is a crime, and must be punished as a crime. It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion. It must not be excused as an unsuccessful rebellion, to be overlooked and forgiven. *It is a crime before which all other crimes sink into insignificance*; and in saying this, it must not be considered that I am influenced by angry or revengeful feelings." Possibly not; but men who speak of "treason" in this way —and Mr. Johnson represented pretty faithfully at the moment the sentiments and resolves of the great Republican party—are not taking the most likely method of conciliating the traitors. But on this question of the reconstruction of the Union, than which none can be more important, more crucial for the future of America, we shall have to speak at a later period.

What were the precise motives which impelled Booth and his accomplices to the perpetration of these enormous crimes, it is difficult to decide. That morbid vanity, the desire of making a great sensation, and being the hero of a great theatrical display,—that an imagination fed on stage plays, and firing itself with the mental reproduction of tragic situations had something to do with the crime of Booth, may reasonably be supposed. But these motives will not account for it altogether; still less will they explain the conduct of Powell. Mr. Greeley considers that it was in his character as the destroyer of slavery that Mr. Lincoln incurred the furious hatred of these men and the class to which they belonged;—that they dealt their blows as slave-holders at the man who had struck off the negro's fetters. This is a seductive theory, but Mr. Greeley adduces no evidence whatever to support it. On the whole, it seems more likely that the assassination of Mr. Lincoln was due to the violent momentary recoil of the will and passion of the Confederate people, which, after a period of triumph, and another period of struggle, had been at length coerced and crushed into powerlessness by the overwhelming numbers and overwhelming resources which Mr. Lincoln had brought into the field. That coercion was accompanied by all circumstances calculated to irritate undisciplined minds to frenzy;—such as the unmerited and intense sufferings of women and children, the merciless ravaging of many a fruitful and prosperous region, the sacrifice of precious lives, and the ruin of private fortunes. Driven wild by the near view of all this misery, and unable to appreciate the motives of those who deliberately caused it that they might secure what to them appeared a higher ultimate good, the conspirators may have seen in Lincoln the impersonation of the "fire, famine, and slaughter" which were desolating their native fields, and have imagined themselves to be exercising a righteous retribution when they struck him down. With such a theory Booth's exclamations—"*Sic semper tyrannis*," and "The South is avenged"—seem most readily to tally.

In the great war which was now happily over, recruits to the number of 2,688,523 men had been from time to time enlisted into the armies of the Union. Of these, it is estimated that about 1,500,000 were effective soldiers. On the Union side, 275,000 men were either killed outright or died of their wounds, or perished by disease; and on the Confederate side, the loss of life must have been little if at all less. Most of those who fought for the Union were volunteers; and of these, few, we are told, were enlisted "without having received a bounty varying from 100 to 1,200 dollars, but usually between 300 and 800, from his stay-at-home neighbours." The families of these volunteers were almost always assisted, if they stood in need of assistance, from local or state funds. If to all these generous contributions the plunder of the rich South be added, it will be evident that in no former war have the calls of patriotism been so effectually reconciled—for the survivors at least—with those of self-interest. Two great voluntary organisations—the Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission —extended through all the Federal States, spent immense sums, and devoted incessant personal labour to the task of giving aid and comfort to the soldiers in the field. At the North and at the South alike, the busy hands of women had been indefatigable all through the war in providing for the soldiers all that the inventiveness of loving hearts could extract for their comfort and encouragement out of the resources at their disposal.

CHAPTER XVI.

Prosperous state of the Colonies and Dependencies—Extraordinary Prosperity of India—Sir C. Wood's Indian Budget—Canada: Anxiety of the English Government with regard to the American designs upon it: Money voted for the Defences of Quebec—New Zealand: The Maori War still continues: Mr. Cardwell's Policy—Insurrection of Negroes in Jamaica: Description of the Island; Its unsatisfactory condition: Account of the Riot: Excitement in the Island: Proceedings of Governor Eyre: Proclamation

of Martial Law: The Suppression; Its ruthless character: Anderson's Evidence: Colonel Hobbs and the Maroons: Colonel Elkington's Letter: Provost-Marshal Ramsay: Cases of Grant, M'Intosh, and Clarke: Case of G. W. Gordon; He is taken from Kingston to Morant Bay; His Trial; Circumstances of his Execution: Appointment of a Royal Commission: Indictment of Governor Eyre, General Nelson, and Lieutenant Brand: Charge of the Lord Chief Justice of England—Condition of Jamaica under Sir J. P. Grant.

"HER Majesty rejoices at the continued tranquillity and increasing prosperity of her Indian dominions; and she trusts that the large supply which those territories will afford of the raw material of manufacturing industry, together with the termination of the Civil War in the United States of North America, will prevent the recurrence of the distress which long prevailed among the manufacturing population of some of the northern counties."

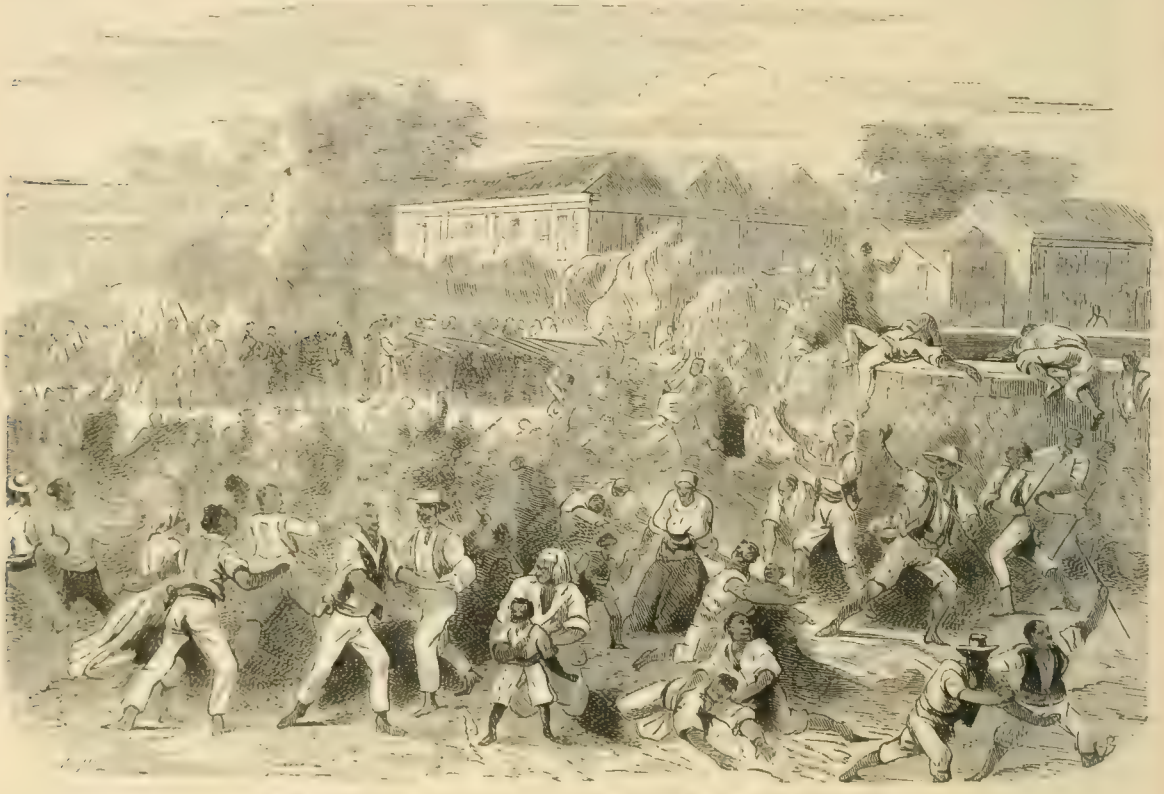
These words, from the Queen's speech which closed the session of 1865, give a true insight into the state of the most important of the dependencies of England. India was, in 1865, very tranquil and exceptionally prosperous. As the events of the next year showed, it was even too prosperous; the successful attempt to introduce the cultivation of cotton, and, partially at least, to make India take the place of America as a source of cotton-supply, had led to over-speculation and a reckless spirit of investment. It is the fault of all speculators in exceptional times, to fancy that the exceptional times will last for ever. The Bombay merchants, for instance, as we shall show when we come to tell in detail the history of the financial collapse of 1866, presumed upon the long continuance of the American War; they imagined an eternal blockade of Charleston, and thought that the mills of Manchester would look for ever to the cotton-fields of Guzerat. Hence this year of which we are speaking was a year of extraordinary prosperity in India. The prosperity, too, affected the revenue; and Sir Charles Wood was able to present a satisfactory Indian Budget when he made his financial statement before the House of Commons. As usual, the statement was deferred till the end of the session, for Parliament has little patience for the concerns of its vast Eastern empire; but the figures showed a surplus, and a surplus is always welcome. The most notable point was Sir Charles Wood's statement of the money which had been spent in public works during the six previous years. This amounted to no less than seventy-three millions sterling; £34,500,000 on irrigation, roads, buildings, &c., and £38,500,000 on railways. This last figure speaks volumes; some notion of the extension of the internal commerce of India may be derived from it.

It was natural that the termination, or the approach of the termination, of the American War should cause some anxiety as to the views of the United States with regard to Canada. This anxiety was not lessened by a notification that was received early in this year from the Washington Government, to the effect that the United States intended to withdraw from an agreement entered into with England in 1817, by which both Powers had agreed not to equip naval armaments on the Canadian lakes. This intention of the United States Government was the result of certain "raids" made by Confederate guerrillas from a base of operations in Canada, without encouragement of course, but unfortunately without successful hindrance, from the Canadian authorities. The two Houses of Parliament took prompt notice of the action of the United States; and the matter was linked on to the question of a grant for the defences of Quebec, moved in the Commons by Lord Hartington, Secretary at War. A good deal of vigorous language was used, not too friendly to America, not too complimentary to the Government; for many persons felt that there was a possibility of serious complications, even of war, between the two countries, on the ground of supposed breaches of neutrality on the part of England during the American struggle. Events, however, have proved Mr. Bright to have been right when he said that if there came a war, it would be one, not arising out of national necessities, but out of Cabinet manœuvring; "and that," he said, "I consider a most improbable event." The matter ended by a vote of £50,000, part of a larger instalment, being carried for the defences of Quebec; it being understood that the Canadian Government were to fortify Montreal out of their own revenues. But a few days after, Mr. Cardwell eased the apprehension of the House, by announcing the receipt of intelligence that the Washington Government intended to withdraw its notice for the abrogation of the agreement of 1817. A short time afterwards, the American War ended, as has been previously described, and the relations between England and the United States entered upon a new phase.

With the exception of the events in Jamaica which are about to be described, nothing of great importance seems to have taken place in the remaining colonies of Great Britain during the present year. The Maori War, however, in New Zealand still dragged on, and formed the subject of a debate in the House of Commons, which called forth from Mr. Cardwell the views of the Government as to the proper policy to be pursued by England. This is not the place to describe the origin of the war, nor to discuss the questions to which it gave rise. It is enough to record Mr. Cardwell's statement, that "the former arrangement, by which the colony could command the services of a large force of the Queen's troops on paying a merely nominal contribution to the expenses incurred for that force, was at an end." It was decided, in other words—and this with the willing acquiescence of the Governor, Sir G. Grey—that the best policy for the interests of the colony was to leave it pretty much to take care of itself. English opinion declared strongly against a war of extermination, in the outset of which the natives had, by the confession of the English Governor, been in the right; and it was thought that, by teaching the colonists that they could not always look to England to fight their battles for them, a more pacific mode of dealing with the natives would be entered upon, to the benefit both of the colonists and the Maories.

It was towards the end of October in this year that the alarming news arrived of an insurrection of the negroes in Jamaica, which was at once seen to be the most serious event that had happened in any British colony or depend-

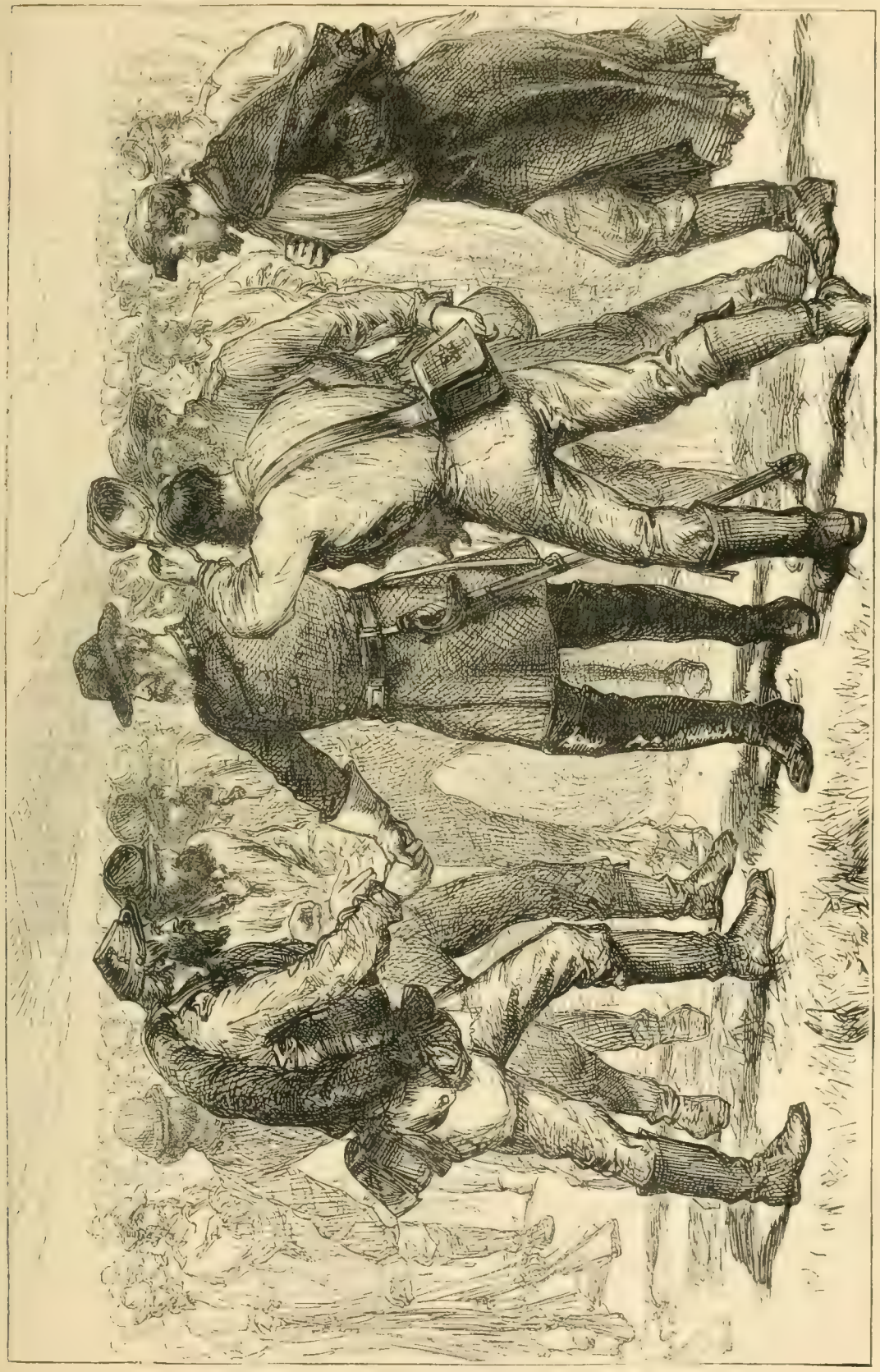
ency since the Indian Mutiny. Few, however, suspected that the importance of the event itself would be lost in the still greater importance of the secondary issues which it raised—the questions of the duties of Colonial Governors, of the legality of martial law, and so forth. These, as will appear in the sequel, were the questions to which the Jamaica insurrection, or riot, gave rise. They were argued in the newspapers, in Parliament, and in courts of law, with passionate earnestness on both sides; for both those who approved of the acts done in the suppression, and those who disapproved of them, felt that a crisis of great magnitude had arrived, and that a proper



THE JAMAICA INSURRECTION: VOLUNTEERS FIRING ON THE MOB.

settlement of the points at issue was essential to the welfare of the colonies, and, through them, to the welfare of England. It will be necessary in this History to treat the matter at some length.

Jamaica, as everybody knows, is the largest of the English colonies in the West Indies, and has been in English possession since the time of Cromwell. It is [illegible] to the south of Cuba, and to the southwest of Hayti, its extreme length is 170 miles, its extreme breadth 50 miles, and its area about 6,250 square miles, or rather more than 4,000,000 acres. The population is about [illegible], of which about [illegible] are whites, and the rest are black or "coloured" that is, of mixed race. In physical appearance the island is subject to the laws that prevail almost throughout the tropics; its soil is fertile in the extreme, bearing everything from the coffee-plant to the majestic palmetto-tree, 140 feet in height; the rain comes down in torrents at its season, and hurricanes sweep furiously across the sugar-fields. Still the heat is bearable, and white men can work if they choose. Yet the white workers are few, and, indeed, only a small part of the island—not more than an eighth—is under cultivation at all. The rest is mountain and virgin forest. The government of the island is vested in a Governor appointed by the Crown, a Council, and a House of Assembly, the former chosen by the Crown, that is, with the exception of the *ex officio* members, by the Governor; the latter elected by the freeholders. There is usually a military force amounting to about two English regiments, some of the soldiers being white and some natives; and male whites are subject to compulsory service in the militia. There is a bishop, and a considerable number of parish clergy (the Church Establishment ceased to exist in 1867, by an Act of the Jamaica Legislature); but these clergy have little influence over the black population, who prefer the more emotional services of the rival Nonconformist bodies of the Baptists and Wesleyans. Commercially and socially, the island has never recovered (although it is now recovering) the collapse which followed the abolition of slavery in 1834. It was said above that an eighth of the acreage is all that has been brought into cultivation; the number of inhabitants has steadily decreased since the Jamaica planters lost their monopoly of the sugar trade; and the debt of the island, till the



GENERAL LEE TAKING FAREWELL OF HIS SOLDIERS.

appointment to the Governorship of Sir J. P. Grant, as steadily increased, the deficit of an average year under the old *régime* being about £40,000. But a glance at the revenue tables themselves gives the best indication of the material decay of Jamaica. Thus, while in 1830 the amount of sugar exported was 100,000 hogsheads, in 1850 it had fallen to 40,000; while in 1809 the coffee exports were 52,500,000 lbs., in 1850 they were 5,120,000, or not quite one-tenth. This state of things, distressing to every one, and especially to those who regard the emancipation of the slaves as a right act, is clearly shown by a comparison of the accounts with those of all the other West India Islands (whose revenues have all this time been improving) to have been the result of some cause not operating in them. That cause was bad government. Distress was very prevalent in 1865, especially in the eastern part of the island; wages were extremely low; capital was withdrawn from the country; everything pointed to such legislation and such administration of the law as should conciliate, and even relieve, the great and growing poverty of the labouring class. Instead of this, new "Trespass Laws" were made, creating offences out of what the negroes had always regarded as their right—gathering yams, picking occasional sugar-canes in passing by a field, and so on; and also converting into a "trespass" the occupation of certain lands, to which the occupiers thought they had a right rent free. Popular opinion, naturally warm enough on points like these, was roused to great heat by agitation, especially by a letter directed, in 1865, to Mr. Cardwell, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, by Dr. Underhill, a Baptist missionary. This letter was taken up by the local Radical party, led by Mr. G. W. Gordon; meetings were held in many places, and, as is natural from the character of the negro, the language used was often not over-wise. Still there were real grievances; and it is an undoubted fact that these grievances were met in a scandalous manner by the Government of the island. Mr. Gordon was treated by Governor Eyre, not as the representative of a suffering class, but as a firebrand whom it was right to extinguish. The magisterial benches—badly constituted, as the Royal Commission afterwards declared—were filled up by unpopular men; the complaints of the blacks were hardly noticed; memorials sent up to the Colonial Office through the Governor were tampered with in transit; obnoxious laws remained unrepealed; the "piccaninny gangs," or gangs of children for field labour, were not discouraged;—in a word, nothing was done to remedy a very serious condition of affairs; they were left to break out in a violent explosion.

Whatever doubts may exist as to the antecedent events, and the state of the island before the outbreak, the facts of the outbreak itself, and of the measures taken in suppression or retaliation, are clear beyond all question, and may be told on the authority of official documents, and of the statements of witnesses before the Royal Commissioners. The early stages of the riots have been recorded by one of the victims of the 11th of October. On the 10th, Baron von Kettelholt, custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East, wrote as follows to Governor Eyre:—"A number of over 150 men, armed with sticks, and preceded by a band of music, came on Saturday, the 7th of October, with the openly expressed intention to rescue a man who was that day to be tried for some offence, if found guilty. Leaving the band of music outside the town, they proceeded to the square in front of the court-house. A man having been ordered into custody on account of the noise he was making in the court-house, a rush was made by the body of men referred to, and the man rescued from the hands of the police, one of whom was left with his finger broken, and several others beaten and ill-treated. In consequence of this outrage, warrants were issued yesterday against twenty-eight individuals who had been identified, and the warrants placed to-day in the hands of six policemen and three rural constables for execution. On, however, an attempt being made by this force to arrest one Paul Bogle, I am informed by the policemen, who have only just returned, that on a signal being given, a body of over 150 men, armed with cutlasses, bayonets, and pikes, appeared, and made prisoners of three of the policemen, on two of whom they placed handcuffs, and only suffered them to leave after having obtained an oath that they (the police) would join them. The oath was administered by Paul Bogle on a Bible he had at hand. The statement of all the policemen is to the effect that the people openly declared that they would come to Morant Bay to-morrow." The letter then went on to represent that, in case of a collision, the police and volunteers would form an insufficient force to "uphold the law;" and the Governor was requested to send a reinforcement of troops. This letter was dated the 10th of October, and was received by Governor Eyre on the morning of the 11th, and he immediately ordered Major-General O'Connor, the senior military officer, to send off 100 men in a man-of-war to the scene of the disturbances. Meanwhile, however, the attack which the custos had dreaded had been made. The magistrates and others were in the court-house, at about three o'clock in the afternoon; the volunteers, thirty or so in number (according to the evidence of Mr. Rutty, who was one of them), had been drawn up for two hours or more, when a bugle was heard, and a large mob was seen approaching. They were armed with "cutlasses and bayonets fixed on long sticks, muskets and pistols, and various kinds of weapons." They advanced irregularly; once they halted; a bandsman went forward extending his arms as if to make peace, the custos from the court-house shouted "peace," and then, when they were within a few yards of the volunteers, there came a shower of bricks and stones. The order was given to the volunteers, whether from their captain or the custos is uncertain, to fire, and a volley was poured in. The mob was roused to frenzy; the volunteers retreated into the rooms under the court-house, and into other shelter, and the people fired in upon them, and upon those assembled in the court-house, through the windows. Presently the school-house was set on fire, and soon the burning spread to the court-house, in which the whites were assembled. Mr. Georges, who was one of them, tells us how he leaped out of a back window, and got into the committee-room underneath, and that while

there he saw Mr. Walton leap out after him and run for his life, but to no purpose. Baron Alfred von Kettelholt, son-in-law of the custos, just escaped; but his father-in-law was killed. Mr. Georges, with three gun-shot wounds in his thigh, lay hidden in some shrubs till midnight, and so escaped. Dr. Gerrard was allowed his life, "because he was the doctor;" but the negroes kept him among them by the expedient of taking his boots off. Mr. Rutty, a volunteer, tried to pass for his assistant, but was beaten almost to death, stripped to his shirt, and left to die or recover as he might. Mr. Price, a negro, was with the custos and the magistrates, so he was pronounced "a black man with a white heart," and was killed. Lieutenant Hall, Captain Hitchings, Mr. Herschell, a clergyman, and many more of the whites assembled, were killed.

Many charges of revolting barbarity have been made against the rioters; but it is only just to say that nothing more atrocious than murder has been proved against them. For instance, in Governor Eyre's first despatch to Mr. Cardwell, he mentioned numberless rumours of horrible deeds—how Lieutenant Hall had been pushed into a building which was set on fire, till he was "literally roasted alive;" how the fingers of the custos were cut off, "and kept as trophies by the rebels." It was proved, however, by Mr. Rutty, who was present, that Lieutenant Hall was shot dead in the heat of the struggle, and the hand of the custos was mutilated, but not, apparently, with any specially barbarous intent. He, and many of the rest, were put to death with "cutlasses," that is, the knives or bill-hooks used in dressing the sugar-cane; and cutlasses in the hands of a mob are likely to be wildly used. These facts it is important to bear in mind; for half the criminality of the proceedings of the soldiers afterwards springs from the fact that they were done upon hearsay evidence, upon rumours of barbarities which, dreadful as the original murders had been, were enormously exaggerated. Neither during the attack on the court-house, nor in the plunder of Amity Hall, nor elsewhere, were any women or children injured, though, in many cases, the rioters had them in their power. This fact, at least, happily distinguishes the deplorable Jamaica outbreak from such carnivals of savagery as the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

During the next day or two there was undoubtedly great excitement among the negro population throughout all the east end of Jamaica, and the white residents were in danger. The Morant Bay rioters broke up into parties, and dispersed in two or three directions—up Blue Mountain valley, towards Manchioneal, towards Golden Grove, and elsewhere. In some parts they were joined by the negroes of the neighbourhood; many excesses, almost entirely in the way of plunder, were committed. A mob attacked Hordley estate, and wrecked the furniture and set fire, but without effect, to one of the "trash-houses" (a house used in the sugar-making); but something may be learned of the absence of the worst kind of ferocity from the fact that the ladies of the house were in the other trash-house, and were never looked for or discovered. The great cry was "colour for colour," but more energy was spent in shouting the cry than in seeking out whites to wreak vengeance on.

These events were, of course, enough to move the white population of the island to a high pitch of excitement, and to call for prompt action from the Government.

Governor Eyre's proceedings may be told nearly in his own words, as given in his report to Mr. Cardwell, and in his evidence afterwards before the Royal Commission. His official residence was Spanish Town, an inland town, fourteen miles from Kingston. His private residence was at Flamstead, fourteen miles from Kingston and twenty-three from Spanish Town, where, according to the Opposition newspapers in the colony, he spent a good deal of time rearing chickens. How Mr. Eyre wrote to General O'Connor, requesting 100 men to be sent to Morant Bay, has been already told. After that order had been sent, Mr. Eyre returned to his residence at Flamstead, "to be present at a dinner-party which was to meet there the next day." This was Thursday, the 12th, the day after the riot; and the news came just in time to spoil the Governor's dinner-party. At half-past five, a letter came from a magistrate with the news, and the Governor at once rode off to Kingston, to concert fresh measures. It is enough to say that 200 men were immediately sent off to Morant Bay; a detachment of white troops was ordered to march from Newcastle to intercept the march of the "rebels" into Blue Mountain valley; and the Governor himself took measures for proceeding to the scene of action. Just before he started, that is, between eight and ten on the morning of the 13th, he presided at a council of war, and with the advice of the Attorney-General of the island, drew up the proclamation of martial law. As this famous document, which embodies Governor Eyre's most important and central act, became afterwards the subject of great legal arguments, it had better be transcribed literally.

"Proclamation of Martial Law.

"Jamaica, *ss.*

"Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, and of Jamaica Supreme Lady, Defender of the Faith.

"To all our loving subjects:

Whereas we are certified of the committal of grievous trespasses and felonies within the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, of this our island of Jamaica, and have reason for expecting that the same may be extended to the neighbouring parishes of the County of Surrey of our said island; we do hereby, by the authority to us committed by the laws of this our island, declare and announce to all whom it may concern, that martial law shall prevail throughout the said County of Surrey, except in the city and parish of Kingston; and that our military forces shall have all power of exercising the rights of belligerents against such of the inhabitants of the said County, except as aforesaid, as our said military forces may consider opposed to our government and the well-being of our loving subjects.

"Given at Head-quarters House, Kingston, on the

13th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1865, and in the 29th year of our reign.

"Witness—His Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esquire, Captain-General and Governor-in-chief in and over our said island of Jamaica, and other the territories thereon depending in America, Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Colony of British Honduras, Chancellor of our said island of Jamaica, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

(Signed) "E. EYRE.

"By his Excellency's command,

(Signed "EDWARD JORDAN,

"Governor's Secretary."

The events which followed, and which had their support and authority in this proclamation, are commonly called "the suppression." From the time when Captain de Horsey, of the sloop *Wolverine*, wrote to Governor Eyre that he had landed a company of soldiers at Morant Bay, and was preparing to detach 114 of his own sailors to co-operate with them, to the time when "Martial Law" expired, not only was all law suspended throughout the east of the island, but all the guarantees of evidence were dispensed with, and the life of every negro man and negro woman hung upon the will of an angry soldiery and an excited Provost-Marshal. To the white planter and the white soldier, a negro is still, in spite of emancipation, a beast of burden, with a tendency to rebel. Hence the Morant Bay disturbance, which, grave and shocking as it was, has been proved beyond question to have been a local riot, and not the first outbreak of a rebellion, was seized upon without question and at once as a rebellion, and to be punished as such. The soldiers, sailors, and marines acted in three or four directions at once; from Morant Bay, from Port Antonio on the north-east side, and from Newcastle towards the mountainous region in the centre of the county. The towns were all occupied, and their inhabitants, who were as much frightened as Governor Eyre had been, were not much injured by the soldiery; but the whole of the country districts were scoured with troops; negroes, unarmed as well as armed, were shot down as they ran from soldiers, or captured, tried by summary courts-martial, convicted on the evidence of informers, or on no evidence at all, and hung or flogged, or flogged first and hung afterwards. It was enough that a man should have been unpopular with the authorities of his district, or that he should have a bad character, or that a witness should inform against him, or that he should have been "seen with Bogle," and he was forthwith hanged or flogged as a rebel. This last charge, in fact, touches the root of the whole matter. Undoubtedly Paul Bogle, the leader of the attack on the court-house, was a dangerous man and a rebel. Undoubtedly he was guilty of high treason, and his life was forfeit. But by all the evidence given before the Commission, and notably that given by William Anderson, the informer,* it appears that the only real "rebels," that is, the only persons who intentionally and of their own free will took up arms against the Government of the Queen, were Paul Bogle, M'Laren, and perhaps half a dozen more. The rest were on the first day a riotous mob, who thought that, by making a demonstration before the court-house, they would obtain the repeal of a burdensome law, and the removal of an unpopular custos; and afterwards they were a mob afraid of their lives, herding together for defence against the "white men," and still acting, without power of resistance, as Paul Bogle bid them. "The white people send a proclamation to the Governor to make war against us, which we all must put our shoulder to the wheels, and pull together"—those words, from a letter signed by Bogle and three others, express what he designed, and what he forced others to help him to do. Bogle was the spring of the whole movement; he was a fanatic, an organiser, a disciplinarian; he forced numbers to take the oath of allegiance to his cause, by flogging two refractory young men in their presence, and threatening death to those who would not join him. "He said if they would not go, he would take away their lives; and to save their lives many go along with him."* The part played by this William Anderson, from whose evidence that statement comes, is typical of the nature of the "suppression." He was one of those who went with Bogle, on Bogle "calling for five tamarind switches to make a rod, and for guns." He ran away on the first opportunity; he was taken up by a constable, tried by court-martial, and was offered his life on condition that he would be a guide to the soldiers. It was Colonel Hobbs, commanding the 6th Royals, who undertook the grateful task of acting upon the evidence of this Anderson, who, of course, was careful to ensure his own safety, by handing over a sufficient number of his countrymen to the colonel's justice. "The first day of his capture he gave me a list of about fifty rebels," wrote Colonel Hobbs; a statement which prepares the reader of the minutes for those immediately following, viz., that "a gang of twenty-seven were found guilty at Chigoe Fort Market;" that all out of a batch of fifty, "except ten or a dozen" were shot; that nine were "left hanging on a beam in the chapel which was called M'Laren's chapel," at Font Hill, and were not buried; that "fifteen or twenty were shot at extraordinary long distances," and so on. Nor were the soldiers of Colonel Hobbs alone or exceptional in their method of vengeance. The "black soldiers," that is the Maroons, descendants of the old Spanish slaves, and the enemies of the African negro population, shot *one hundred and sixty* on the road to Manchioneal. One thousand houses of the natives were burnt down by the soldiers. And how these acts were regarded by the superior officers at Kingston, cannot be better shown than in the words of the afterwards celebrated letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Elkington, Deputy Adjutant-General, to Colonel Hobbs. "I send you an order," he wrote on the 18th October, "to push on at once to Stony Gut, but I trust you are there already. Hole is doing splendid service with his men all about Manchioneal, *and shooting every black man who cannot account*

* "Royal Commission Minutes," p. 161.

* "Royal Commission Minutes," p. 161, Anderson's Evidence.

for himself (sixty on line of march). Nelson, *at* Port Antonio, *hanging like fun* by court-martial." Nor was it the officers alone who had life and death in their hands—it was the soldiers individually; above all, it was the Inspector of Police, Gordon Ramsay. For instance, some soldiers, accompanied by the same Dr. Morris who fired two shots with his revolver into the body of the negro Donaldson as he was hanging,* dragged out of his cabin one Ned Bryan, tied him to a tree, and forthwith shot him. Bryan and his brother had been at Kingston all through the riots, and only landed at Manchioneal on the 15th October! That is one instance, literally taken at random from a mass of evidence. To illustrate Ramsay's proceedings is easier still, but it is a loathsome task which we would willingly pass by. He owned to the hanging of 184, six of them females; to the flogging of 237, *eight of them females*—but in this last respect he was perhaps outdone by Captain Hole, who owned before the Commission that he had flogged sixteen women, and among them one woman *twice!* Here we may end the catalogue of executions and floggings, only referring those who care to read of Ramsay's brutality, and of the nature of the "cat" frequently used—whipcord mixed with *knotted wire*—to the evidence of R. Clarke, of P. Bruce, and of Ramsay himself. The pen almost refuses to write the horrible details.

But the story would only be half instructive were we to omit the record of some of the quasi-judicial proceedings by which some of the barbarities were guaranteed. Three memorable reports of trials are printed at the end of the Commissioners' blue-book, and to them, as showing what a court-martial may be, what a foregone conclusion, what a mockery of justice, we may refer any curious readers. The cases are those of William Grant, George M'Intosh, and Samuel Clarke—all of whom were sentenced to death by court-martial. The case of M'Intosh is, perhaps, the most instructive of the three. He was sentenced by Colonel Lewis, and General Nelson approved the sentence, literally for no crime at all, except for having spoken at a public meeting in the house of Mr. George William Gordon, whose friend he was. The evidence which hung the others was about equally valuable.

But the case which was the most outrageous, and which rapidly became the most famous of all, was that of Mr. G. W. Gordon himself. On his trial and execution were based the greater part of the attempt to obtain legal redress in the English courts of law; around his body, so to speak, was fought the question of the legality of martial law, of the responsibility of officers and colonial governors, and of the rights of colonists. The story need not be told at any great length. It is sufficient to say that Mr. Gordon was a negro gentleman, a member of the Jamaica Assembly, a prominent Baptist and leader of Opposition, the friend of the poorer classes of negroes, and in high disfavour with Governor Eyre. This gentleman, who was about as much responsible for the riot at Morant Bay as M. Gambetta was for the excesses of the Commune, was residing peacefully at Kingston at the time of the outbreak. Governor Eyre's own words shall show how little he, the representative of law, cared for legality. "Throughout my tour in the *Wolverine* and *Onyx*," writes the Governor to Mr. Cardwell, "I found everywhere the most unmistakable evidence that Mr. George William Gordon, a coloured member of the House of Assembly, had not only been mixed up in the matter, but was himself, through his own misrepresentation and seditious language addressed to the black people, the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion. Mr. Gordon was now in Kingston, and it became necessary to decide what action should be taken with regard to him. Having obtained a deposition on oath that certain seditious printed notices had been sent through the Post-office, directed, in his handwriting, to the parties who have been leaders in the rebellion, I at once called upon the custos to issue a warrant and capture him. For some little time he managed to evade capture; but finding that, sooner or later, it was inevitable, he proceeded to the house of General O'Connor, and there gave himself up. *I at once had him placed on board the 'Wolverine' for safe custody and conveyance to Morant Bay.*"

Now, even supposing the proclamation of martial law to have been legal, which we believe it not to have been, it expressly excluded Kingston from the operation of martial law. What Governor Eyre did, therefore, was to seize a political opponent, to carry him off in a ship of war from a district under civil jurisdiction to a district under military jurisdiction, and then to hand him over to the tender mercies of a court-martial. There is an account in Thucydides of what was done by the Lacedæmonians to the defenders of Platæa when the town fell into their hand, which forms an instructive parallel. The defenders were promised a trial. They were taken one by one before a Spartan court-martial; they were asked one question, and one only—"whether, during the war, they had done any good to the Spartan cause?" As they failed to answer *yes*, they were taken quietly and put to death without further question. So with Mr. Gordon. He was brought before a court-martial, composed of two naval lieutenants and an ensign lately gazetted; one of the lieutenants being the same Lieutenant Brand who, with a couple of "dingy boys" from his ship had "had the pleasure" (his own words) of hanging the first "rebel," and shooting him with his own revolver as he hung; who had openly said that "nothing would give him greater pleasure than hanging this —— Gordon;" who, some time later, when a newspaper-writer who had offended him was ill, went into his bedroom, revolver in hand, and threatened him; and who afterwards awoke the laughter of all England by sending a letter, richly garnished with oaths, to Mr. Charles Buxton (a prominent member of the Jamaica Committee), challenging him to fight a duel. To such temperate-minded men was Mr. Gordon delivered. He was an old man; he had been barbarously treated; he was wretchedly ill. Before his trial he was called out by Ramsay, the Provost-Marshal, to witness the execution of Grant, who

* "Royal Commission Minutes," p. 715, Captain Hole's Evidence.

had been a political friend of his. "Look there," said Ramsay; "that is your friend Grant, and you will be hanged like him." A Mr. Joseph G. Smith, a volunteer, thus tells, in his evidence before the Commission, how witnesses were collected against Mr. Gordon:—

"Afterwards I went into the guard-room, and he [Ramsay] was then swearing five of the prisoners, with their hands fastened and a rope round their necks, and he was swearing them in these words, 'You shall well and truly state what G. W. Gordon has to do with the rebellion;' and between each part of this a sailor came down with the whip over their shoulders."

On evidence of this kind, the evidence of men who had had the promise of their lives if they would accuse him, Mr. Gordon was tried. As to the taking of the evidence, we have the words of the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Alexander Cockburn, in his famous charge to the grand jury in the case of Nelson and Brand: "He could not be tried on that evidence. No competent judge acquainted with his duties could have received that evidence. Three-fourths—I had almost said nine-tenths—of the evidence upon which that man was convicted and sentenced to death, was evidence which, according to no known rules—*not only of ordinary, but of military law*—according to no known rules of right or justice, could possibly have been admitted." But even supposing it had been admitted, all that was proved was that Mr. Gordon had written letters to, and been on friendly terms with, some of the rioters; but none of the letters were produced except one, where he said that "the people of Jamaica were very wretched." He was proved to have called the Governor "a bad man." He was proved to have had an action-at-law against the late Custos von Kettelholt. Above all, he was proved to have spoken at public meetings, and to have dwelt on the misery of the negroes and the way in which their case was misrepresented to the Colonial Office. For these offences—literally for none other—he was sentenced to death. Lieutenant Brand signed his sentence, and Brigadier Nelson approved it. "He asked to see the Reverend Mr. Panther, Wesleyan minister," wrote Brigadier Nelson; "*I considered it inexpedient.*" Without the consolations of religion, condemned on less than no evidence by an unauthorised and incompetent tribunal, Mr. Gordon was hanged on the 23rd October, 1865. He had been in life the representative of the negroes of Jamaica in their cry for equal government; in death he is their representative in their cry for justice.

GREAT HOUSE, ST. THOMAS-IN-THE-EAST, JAMAICA.

"The total number of deaths caused by those engaged in the suppression amounted to 439, and the total number of dwellings burned was 1,000. . . . The whole number subjected to the degrading punishment [of flogging], during the continuance of martial law, we think could not be less than 600." These are the words of the Report of the Royal Commission, consisting of General Sir Henry Storks, Governor of Malta, Mr. Russell Gurney, Recorder of London, and Mr. Maule, Recorder of Leeds, who were sent out to Jamaica in the beginning of 1866, and who sat for fifty-one days examining witnesses. Long before the Commission went out, however—in fact, as soon as the news of the "suppression" arrived in England—public opinion had been roused. Public meetings took place, and a committee was formed, under the name of the Jamaica Committee, to see that full investigations were made, and that legal remedies should be sought against those who had been guilty of illegal excess. The battle of opinions, the fierce disputes in the newspapers and in Parliament, which followed are, perhaps, more properly to be treated under the history of 1866; but one point may be dwelt on here, that the responsibility of the Governor and his officers may be seen to be fully established. The Jamaica Committee announced that "having been advised that the facts disclosed in the Report of the Royal Commissioners afford a proper ground for an indictment for murder to be preferred against Mr. Eyre and the other persons concerned in the trial and execution of Mr. Gordon, and that no other mode of vindicating the law in reference to those facts is open to them, they have instructed their solicitors to proceed forthwith with an indictment against Mr. Eyre." They did proceed with an indictment against Mr. Eyre, Brigadier Nelson, and Lieutenant Brand. Mr. Eyre was domiciled in the country—he had been recalled from Jamaica and superseded—and the question of committing him for trial was argued before a Shropshire bench of magistrates. The Shropshire bench of magistrates declined to commit him. The London stipendiary magistrate, being a trained lawyer, understood his duty differently in the case of Nelson and Brand; he committed them for trial at the Central Criminal Court. The prosecution failed in the end; but not before it had elicited from the Lord Chief Justice a charge to the grand jury so elaborate, so learned, so telling, and so clear, that it may be said to have once for all defined the scope of "martial law," and to have once for all settled the rights and duties of local authorities in dealing with riot or insurrection. That charge, which during the six hours of its delivery chained the attention of all who heard it, contained a complete review of all the statutory limitations of martial law in England, of all the notable opinions of great lawyers as to its nature and

MANCHIONEAL BAY, JAMAICA.

extent, and of all the important instances of its exercise. Two points stand out clear from the Chief Justice's charge: first, that martial law, exercised in Great Britain or in any of her dependencies, means the law administered by courts-martial—the law, that is to say, which is laid down for the trial of military offenders by military courts; secondly, that, by the Petition of Right and all the statutes and examples which have confirmed it, civilians are in no case amenable to this law. The statement of the Duke of Wellington, "that martial law is neither more nor less than the will of the general who commands the army," though it may be sound as to what may be done in an enemy's country in time of war, is repudiated by the Chief Justice as to England and her dependencies. Nothing so arbitrary or unfixed has any validity or any legal existence. Martial law means military law—that is, the law administered under the Articles of War and the Mutiny Act, with recognised procedure, recognised principles, and recognised limits. Moreover, *no civilian can ever be tried under this law;* it simply applies to soldiers; and even a phrase in an old law of the island of Jamaica, that "the martial law shall prevail," must be taken (says the Chief Justice) to mean that the militia are to be called out, and that those who compose it are, while it is called out, to be subject to military discipline and military jurisdiction. It was with high approval, and with a just pride in the supremacy of the civil courts, that the Chief Justice quoted the celebrated case of Wolfe Tone, a notorious Irish rebel in 1799, which may be told in the shorter words of another authority.*

"The rebellion was in full activity, and the state of martial law in force, when the famous leader of the Irish insurrection was taken on board an enemy's ship-of-war in an enemy's uniform. He was tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death. But the Court of King's Bench instantly granted a writ; and by a noble exertion of the judicial authority, tore a notorious criminal from the illegal fangs of a military tribunal. It established that the most flagrant traitor was amenable to the law, and not to the sword; that martial law exists only in reference to operations in the field; that civil justice will confront and arrest the red weapon of the soldier on service, in defence of the meanest of those who are committed to its keeping."

What, then, the Governor and the military authorities in Jamaica had the right to do, was to use all diligence in suppressing what, for a moment—though probably wrongly—appeared to be a formidable insurrection; and to do this by military force. They had undoubtedly the right to put to death or flog any rebel captured with arms in his hands; their justification in this was, that highest law—necessity and the right of self-preservation. They had also the right to seize any dangerous persons, *and hand them over to the civil courts.* But they had no right to assume a jurisdiction over the whole actions of civilians, to hang and flog and burn on mere charges of "complicity" or of past guilt. The trial of Mr. Gordon—all the trials that took place in the county of Surrey in that dreadful time—were no trials at all; they were military cruelty and race-tyranny aping the forms of law.

The grand jury threw out the bill, but made a formal presentment, "strongly recommending that martial law should be more clearly defined by legislative enactment." Mr. Eyre and his subordinates escaped; but their actions afford, let us earnestly hope, the last example in the history of England of insurrection being met by giving free leave to a furious soldiery to hang, burn, and torture as they please.

It is a consolation that the changes which followed upon her ordeal of fire have been fruitful to Jamaica. After Sir Henry Storks returned from his temporary government of the island, a new Governor was found in a distinguished and very able Indian official, Sir John Peter Grant. Under his rule, Jamaica has flourished in every way; security was established first, and has brought prosperity in its train. No better conclusion to this long and sad history of Jamaica's time of trial could be given than the accompanying figures from the returns of revenue, &c., during the years that succeeded Governor Grant's appointment:—

REVENUE.

1867	... ...	£425,780	1870	... ...	£448,759
1869	... ...	475,897	1871	... ...	464,564

PUBLIC ISLAND DEBT.

1866	... ...	£682,466	1869	... ...	£686,830
1867	... ...	718,952	1870	... ...	609,505
1868	... ...	706,964	1871	... ...	591,656

VALUE OF IMPORTS.

1866	... ...	£1,030,796	1869	... ...	£1,214,061
1867	... ...	859,186	1870	... ...	1,300,212
1868	... ...	1,012,279	1871	... ...	1,331,185

These figures are eloquent, and their story is one of unmixed encouragement.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Reform Question: Its History since 1832: It becomes a Government Question—Statistics Collected—The Compound Householder—Meeting of Parliament—The Government Reform Bill: Great Speech of Mr. Lowe: Formation of the "Cave"—The Easter Recess—Mr. Gladstone at Liverpool—The Debate on the Second Reading: Mr. Gladstone's Speech: Lord Grosvenor's Amendment; Mr. Lowe's support of it: The Division—The Redistribution Bill: Concessions of the Government: Continued Contest and frequent Divisions: Small Majorities for Government: Mr. Lowe on Redistribution: Tactics of the Opposition—The Question of Rateable Value: Mr. Ward Hunt's Motion is Defeated: Lord Dunkellin's Motion: Speech of Mr. Gladstone—Defeat of the Government—Resignation of the Ministry: Mr. Gladstone's Statement.

DURING the whole of the year 1866, two great subjects occupied everybody's mind—the subject of the war in Germany, its antecedents and its consequences; and the subject of Parliamentary Reform at home. The history of the former will be told in a future chapter; but we may proceed at once to tell the story of the unsuccessful attempt of Lord Russell's Government to carry the Reform Bill, and of the serious popular agitation which

* Mr. Frederic Harrison "Six Letters on Martial Law, to the Editor of the *Daily News*." 1867.

followed upon their defeat. And first we may briefly recapitulate the history of the Reform question since the original Reform Bill of 1832.*

That Reform Bill aimed at redressing the disorder and confusion into which, through the irregular restriction of the suffrage to certain corporate bodies, and through similar causes, the franchise had fallen. Originally, the right of electing representatives had belonged to all freemen of the town or shire; but gradually the very term "freeman" had become limited in the sense in which we still talk of "the freedom of the city;" that is, had become applicable—so far, at least, as it implied a right to the franchise—to the "freemen," or members of a close corporation. In a similar way, other limitations had crept in; so that, at the time of the Reform Bill, the "representation of the people" really meant the representation of a number of "deserted villages," owned by territorial grandees, while many great and growing towns were left without a voice in Parliament. Power was wholly in the hands of what Mr. Disraeli, in 1867, called "a heartless oligarchy." To remedy this (if we may still quote Mr. Disraeli), "the Whig party seized the occasion that was before them, and threw the Government of the country into the hands of the middle class." A property qualification was introduced, and the old rights of privileged corporations were either destroyed or greatly lessened. The occupation of a house worth £10 annually became the qualification for the borough franchise. The result of this was twofold: a vast number of voters of the upper and middle classes were enfranchised; and, on the other hand, a considerable number of the working class, who, under the old system, had rights as "scot and lot voters," &c., were positively disfranchised. As time passed on, and as the working classes became at once more numerous and better educated, the imperfections of the Act which excluded them from the franchise began to be felt. Statesmen on both sides of the House came to admit that, great as had been the results of the Act of 1832, it needed amendment. Lord John Russell, with whose name that of the Act of 1832 will be always associated, brought in a bill, in 1852, to reduce the borough franchise to £5, and the county franchise to tenants of lands rated at £20 annually. Again, when that bill had been dropped through the change of Ministry which happened in 1852, he brought in another similar one two years later, proposing to fix the standard at £6. That bill also fell through, on account of the Russian War, which came to absorb the attention of Parliament and the country. The question was not re-opened till 1859, when Mr. Disraeli introduced a bill into the House of Commons, proposing what was afterwards known as "lateral," instead of "vertical" extension. That is, he gave a lodger franchise to persons who paid a high rent for their lodgings, a "savings-bank franchise" to persons who had a certain sum in deposits, and a "degree franchise" to persons who had taken an University degree. But he did not by this extend the right of voting *downwards*. He did not attempt to enfranchise the artisans. The Whig party saw this, and contrived to throw out his bill; and after the dissolution which followed they carried a vote of want of confidence. Lord Palmerston's Government, which then came into office, brought in a bill not very much unlike that of which we are about to speak: it proposed a £6 franchise in boroughs, and a £10 franchise in counties; it also contemplated a limited redistribution of seats. The bill was in the end defeated on a collateral issue, and Lord John Russell withdrew it.

The cause of the defeat of the Bill of 1860 was undoubtedly the indifferent attitude of Lord Palmerston. In 1865, as has been told in a former chapter, Mr. Baines brought in a bill, which was defeated. Soon after, Lord Palmerston died, and the principal barrier to a successful bill was removed. Even before his death, in the months that were spent in canvassing for the general election, "both among Liberal and Tory candidates," said Mr. Bright, "the question of Reform was mentioned in some way or other, either in their written or spoken addresses to their constituents." But when, after the news arrived that the veteran Prime Minister had died, Lord Russell succeeded to his place, and Mr. Gladstone took the position of unfettered leader of the House of Commons, it was at once known that Reform was to be immediately approached as a Government question.

The whole of the autumn and winter of 1865 was spent by the Government in collecting statistics and an enormous mass of general information, on the subject of borough and county constituencies, for future use. The machinery of the various Poor Law Unions throughout England was set in motion, and statistics poured in. The task of arranging them was given to Mr. Lambert, well known for his special knowledge of electoral questions, and to him was owing the blue-book of electoral statistics which appeared in the following year. Considerable light was thrown by it upon the question of the "compound householder," that unfortunate being, the product of the "Small Tenements Act," over whom the battle was to rage so fiercely in 1867. The "compound householders" are "the tenants in towns whose rates under various local and general Acts are paid, not by themselves, but by their landlords." And, as the Reform Act of 1832 had made burgess suffrage depend upon the payment of rates, large numbers of such tenants, persons occupying £10 houses and otherwise qualified to vote, were excluded from the franchise at every election, on the ground of the non-payment of rates. "The overseers," said Mr. Bright, in 1860, "refuse in the majority of cases to put anybody's name on the register who does not pay his own rates. They put the landlord on who pays the rates of a street, but the tenant's name is not entered. Therefore, when they come to make out the list of voters from their rate books, they find the names of the landlords, of course, but do not find the names of the tenants; and the tenants under these circumstances are left off the list, and actually disfranchised." The Parliament of 1860, however, refused to do anything for the "compound householder," and he remained a bone of

*In this we have been much helped by Mr. Homersham Cox's valuable "History of the Reform Bills of 1866 and 1867."

contention up to the very last stages of the Reform controversy. The fact was, that, as has been truly said, "the subject was one of which a large section of the House of Commons was profoundly ignorant," even in 1866; and it required all the information supplied by Mr. Lambert's book, and all the debates in which he figured so prominently, to make the "compound householder" and his grievances really known to the public and to the Parliament which was to legislate for him. But, as Mr. Gladstone very well knew, without a repeal of the rate-paying clause of the Act of 1832, any further lowering of the property qualification for the franchise would be practically ineffectual, since it was the tenants occupying houses below the annual value of £10, the limit fixed in 1832, who came principally under the head of compound householders; that is to say, whose rates were compounded for by their landlord, and paid by him to the parish, instead of by themselves. The object of this arrangement between the parish and the landlords was to secure a more safe and regular payment of rates than it would have been otherwise possible to obtain; indeed, the parish was willing to accept a reduced rate from the landlord in consideration of this greater security of payment and convenience of collection. The case then stood thus: Under the Small Tenements Act, landlords were allowed, if the parish wished it, to compound for their tenants' rates, paying the rates to the parish, and reimbursing themselves by a corresponding increase of rent from the tenant; in consequence of this arrangement it happened that such tenants did not appear upon the rate books, which only register personal and actual ratepayers; the Reform Bill of 1832 refused the franchise to all who were not ratepayers, and the electoral officers, in most cases, considered nobody a ratepayer whose name was not upon the rate books; consequently, hundreds of persons were disfranchised by no fault or disqualification of theirs, but simply by "the conflict between the ratepaying clause (of the first Reform Act) and the local practice of rate collectors." It would have been well if the House of Commons had laid these facts accurately to heart before entering upon the Reform debates of 1866 and 1867; much blundering and misconception would have been prevented had they done so. With regard to the proportion of artisans on the register, the statistics given in Mr. Lambert's book gave rise to much debate. According to them, the proportion of artisans to the rest of the electors was 26 per cent.; or, in other words, 128,603 out of 488,920 persons on the borough register of England and Wales came under the definition of mechanics and artisans. It was, however, maintained that in many towns the number of artisans, properly so called, had been much overrated—a mistake which seems very possible when one considers the difficulty of giving an accurate statistical account of the occupations of the poorer classes in large towns.

Parliament opened amid general interest and excitement with regard to Reform; and in March Mr. Gladstone brought in his "Bill to extend the Right of Voting at Elections of Members of Parliament in England and Wales." This important bill, upon which was based so much of the Reform Bill of 1867, was at first sight extremely moderate. In the first place, it advanced the property qualification for the borough franchise which Lord Russell's bill had fixed at £6 to £7—a step which Mr. Gladstone explained as follows: "A £6 rental, calculated upon the most careful investigation, and after making every allowance and deduction that ought to be made, would give 242,000 new voters, whom I should take as all belonging to the working class. I should then arrive at a gross total of 428,000 persons" (that is, by adding together old and new electors), "which would, in fact, probably place the working classes in a clear majority upon the constituency. Well, that has never been the intention of any bill proposed in this House. I do not think it is a proposal that Parliament would ever adopt. . . . I do not think that we are called upon by any overruling or sufficient consideration, under the circumstances, to give over the majority of the town constituencies into the hands of the working class. We therefore propose to take the figure next above that which I have named—namely, a clear annual value of £7." Under the £7 qualification, it was calculated that 144,000 voters of the working class would be admitted to the borough franchise—enough to give the artisan class its due weight and share in elections, without swamping the other elements of the constituency. Mr. Gladstone also proposed—by means of the abolition of the ratepaying clauses of the Reform Act of 1832, by registration of compound householders, and by a lodger franchise applicable to persons occupying rooms of the annual value of £10—to further increase the number of borough voters by 60,000, giving a general increase of 204,000. To this increase must be added the proposed number of new county voters, "fourteen-pound tenants," 172,000 in number; and the depositors in savings-banks, &c., 24,000 more. In all, the number of new voters to be added by the bill was estimated at 400,000, equally divided, according to the belief of the framers of the bill, between the middle class and the artisans.

Mr. Gladstone introduced his bill on March 12, 1866, in a speech worthy of the occasion, though the beginning was marked by even more than his usual humility. At the outset he read the passage in the Queen's Speech which bore upon the question:—"When that information (relative to the existing rights of voting) is complete, the attention of Parliament will be called to the result thus obtained, with a view to such improvement in the laws which regulate the rights of voting in the election of members of the House of Commons as may strengthen our free institutions and conduce to the public welfare." Words like this gave Mr. Gladstone a good starting-point. He appealed to them and to the numerous occasions on which the same recommendation had been given from the throne. "By no less than five administrations, in no less than six speeches of the Queen anterior to that of the present year," had the need of Reform been suggested to the House. Such an accumulation of authority, he went on to say, seemed to excuse him from the necessity of arguing the abstract question of the advisability of Reform. He took that for granted. Again, Mr. Lam-

bert's work had been so well and quickly done that the Government found itself ready to offer the bill at once, without waiting a year. But—here was the important point—partly with a view to break up the opposition to the Government proposals, partly to prevent the bill becoming unwieldy and its progress too slow, it was to consist really of two bills. The first, with which Mr. Gladstone proposed now to deal exclusively, was a Bill for the Extension of the Franchise; the second, to be considered after the settlement of the first, was to be concerned with that much more dangerous, much more personal matter, the Redistribution of Seats. Into Mr. Gladstone's details—as clear and as copious in this speech as they always were with him—we need not follow him, for we have already sketched the main provisions of his bill. He commended it to the House, hoping that "if, unhappily, issue was to be taken adversely upon the bill, it would be, above all, a plain and direct issue"—that is, whether or not there ought to be enfranchisement downwards. In other words, Mr. Gladstone, though he had nearly ignored the general question of the need of Parliamentary Reform, courted discussion of that general question. He brought in his bill, *not* like a Trojan horse (he said) "approaching the walls of the sacred city, and filled with armed men, bent upon ruin, plunder, and conflagration," but rather as bringing recruits to the Parliamentary army—children to the Parliamentary family. "Give to these persons," ran his peroration, "new interests in the Constitution; new interests which, by the beneficent processes of the law of nature and Providence, shall beget in them new attachment; for the attachment of the people to the Throne, the institutions, and the laws under which they live is, after all, more than gold and silver, and more than fleets and armies; at once the strength, the glory, and the safety of the land."

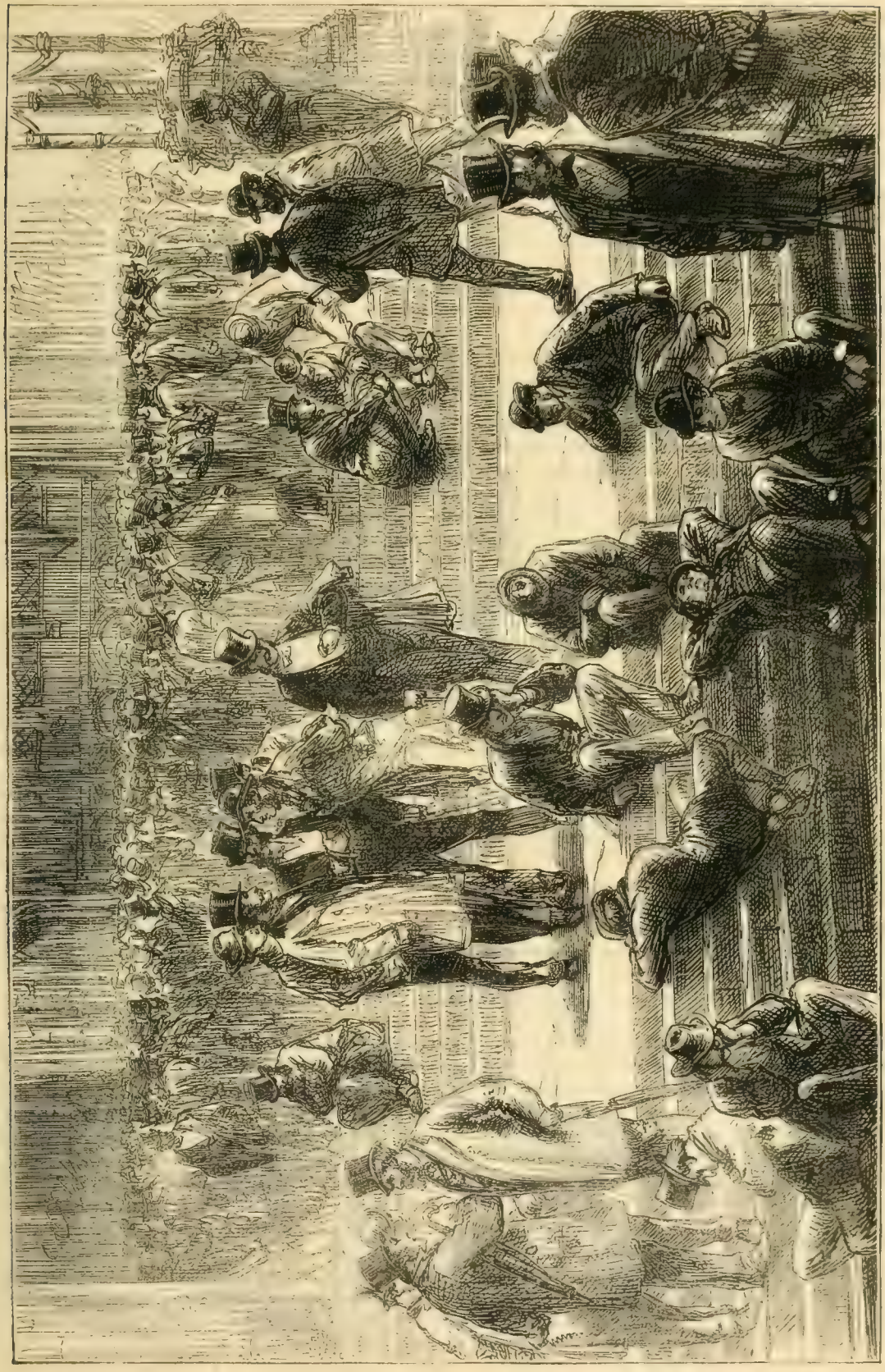
The night following the introduction of the bill was marked by the second of Mr. Lowe's famous Reform speeches, and the first of those fierce attacks upon the Russell Ministry which more than anything else contributed to bring in the Conservatives in the following year. Mr. Lowe was then member for Calne. He had held office under Lord Palmerston as Vice-President of the Council from 1859 to 1864, and had long been known in the House as an accomplished man and ready debater; but probably few, in 1866, had any idea of the real greatness of his oratorical gift, and of the splendid displays he was to make of it before the close of the session. In his address to his constituents, in June, 1865, Mr. Lowe had given sufficient warning of the course he meant to take with regard to Reform. So long as tranquillity and content existed unbroken in England, he said, "I see no reason for great organic changes in institutions which, though partaking largely of the imperfection incident to all things human, and susceptible, doubtless, of great improvements as our experience widens and ripens, have combined order and liberty, stability and progress, in a greater degree than the institutions of any other nation." And throughout the Reform debates Mr. Lowe amply redeemed the pledge of action thus given. At the very outset of his speech on March 13, he denied the necessity of Reform altogether. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, he said, given a clear and elaborate account of the various provisions of the proposed bill; but "although he ably entered into these matters, and with a detail which reminds me more of a speech on the Budget than on Reform, he did not find—he was so pinched for time—a moment to say why the Constitution under which we have lived so long might not be left to us a little longer." Mr. Gladstone had taken up the position that Reform was inevitable, and had long been proved inevitable; he had declined to go into the merits of the question, upon the ground of "accumulated authority" on the side of Reform; granted the necessity of Reform, he had such and such propositions to make. Mr. Lowe, on the other hand, argued the question of Reform in the abstract; was it necessary? were the existing institutions of the country really in need of such violent remedies? If it was pleaded that Reform was needed for the working classes, the best of whom, it had been said by Lord Russell in the preceding year, were excluded from the franchise, Mr. Lowe contended that Mr. Lambert's statistics proved the working man was already adequately represented. And even if they were not, there was a natural progress going on among the lower orders, which provided far safer means of enfranchisement than any legislative tinkering. Were not wages rising, and was not wealth spreading farther every year? Every day labour was becoming more and more in demand, and the proportion of men earning high wages was every day becoming greater. The vast extension of trade and commerce, emigration, the discovery of gold in California and Australia, all were so many levers, which would in time lift the working man to the place in the constituency properly belonging to him. The process was a natural one, and would not bear being interfered with. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not been able to make up his mind to the £6 franchise because it would give the working classes a majority in the constituencies. But that majority would soon be theirs, whether Mr. Gladstone granted it now or not. "Is it not certain that causes are at work which will have a tendency to multiply the franchise—that the £6 houses will become the £7 ones, and the £9 houses will expand to £10? . . . Sooner or later we shall see the working classes in a majority in the constituencies." And then came the famous passage which has made Mr. Lowe the bugbear of the working classes ever since, but which he has always strenuously, and sometimes angrily, defended. "Look at what such a majority implies. I shall speak very frankly on this subject, for—having lost my character by saying that the working man could get the franchise for himself, which has been proved to be true, and for saying which, he and his friends will not hate me one bit the less—I shall say exactly what I think. Let any consider—I have had such unhappy experiences, and many of us have—let any gentleman consider the constituencies he has had the honour to be concerned with. If you want venality, if you want ignorance, if you want drunkenness and facility for being intimidated; or if, on the other hand, you want impulsive, unreflecting, and violent people, where do you

look for them in the constituencies? Do you go to the top or to the bottom?"

It has been said, he went on, that the sins of the constituencies are to be laid at the door of the small shopkeepers and beer-house keepers. They, it is granted, "are an indifferent class of people; but get to the artisans, only with power, but with a sense of power. "They will say, "We can do better for ourselves. Don't let us any longer be cajoled at elections. Let us set up shop for ourselves. We have our objects to serve as well as our neighbours, and let us unite to carry out those objects. We have machinery; we have our trades unions; we

SIR ALEXANDER COCKBURN, LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

and there you will see the difference." Mr. Lowe had nothing but ridicule for this view of things. It was, he said, like the ancients' idea of getting to the back of the north wind. If, they argued, it was so cold in front of the north wind, how warm it would be if you could get to the back of it! Then, descending to questions of practical detail, Mr. Lowe went on to oppose the bill, because it would increase the expenses of candidates, "for," he said, "experience shows that corruption varies inversely as the franchise;" and, with still greater energy, because it would invest the working men not have our leaders all ready.'" This, in fact, was the main ground of Mr. Lowe's opposition, as it was the main ground of the opposition which the Conservatives brought to bear, and which in the end, as we shall show, unseated the Government. It was the aristocratic, or at least the anti-democratic argument, that Reform would lessen the power of the few in proportion as it emancipated the many. The argument, however, was applied in many forms by Mr. Lowe: he urged that the course on which the Government was entering would make the constituencies in the end so large and so expensive that none but millionaires



WESTMINSTER HALL: WAITING FOR THE DIVISION ON THE REFORM BILL.

or demagogues would find a seat, and that the Executive Government would be lowered even below the pitch of "painful weakness" at which, according to Mr. Lowe, it had already arrived. Lastly, Who asked for the bill? Not the people, not the House of Commons, but the Radical leaders, as a salve for a theoretical and not a practical grievance! "All I can say," concluded Mr. Lowe, "is, that if my right honourable friend does succeed in carrying this measure through Parliament, when the passions and interests of the day are gone by, I do not envy him his retrospect. I covet not a single leaf of the laurels that may encircle his brow. I do not envy him his triumph. His be the glory of carrying it; mine of having, to the utmost of my poor ability, resisted it."

The cheers that greeted this speech—and not only the Opposition, but for a moment the Ministerialists, were carried away by its eloquence and wit—were a kind of omen of the difficulties that the Government were to meet with during the progress of the measure. But they were not to fall yet—not till a whole session had been spent in desperate fighting, and till a score of new reputations had been made, and old ones more than maintained in the incessant debates. In this debate on the first reading, Mr. Horsman, the Liberal member for Stroud, took up the same position of hostility to the measure as Mr. Lowe; and it was in answer to him that Mr. Bright threw out his famous nickname for the new party. "He has retired into what may be called his political cave of Adullam, and he has called about him every one that was in distress, and every one that was discontented." The name of *Adullamites* was ever afterwards given to the group of seceding Liberals, and their position was called the *Cave*.

The bill was brought in, and read a first time, and the House adjourned for the Easter Holidays to think over the situation. It was evident that a storm was coming, and questions perhaps graver than that of the fate of a Cabinet or of a measure were dependent on the issue. A great meeting was held at Liverpool, at which Mr. Gladstone made a speech in defence of the bill. Mr. Lowe's Liberal constituents at Calne wrote him a strong protest against his conduct, and clearly indicated that he must not ask for a continuance of their confidence. His answer to them was, in fact, an answer to a perfect chorus of invective with which he was greeted by every Liberal newspaper, and in every meeting of Liberals throughout the country. He maintained that he had but fulfilled the announcement which he had made to them at the time of his election in 1865, when the words of his address had been, "I attach too much importance to the blessings we already enjoy, to risk them in pursuit of ideal perfection, or even of theoretical improvement." And, while with perfect frankness he affirmed his belief that "ignorant, drunken, venal, violent" people were to be found at the bottom of the constituencies, he denied that he had meant the words to apply to a whole class of his countrymen. But this disclaimer availed little; the words had been spoken, and they stuck. The popular excitement which they caused, and which continued after the failure of the bill, and through the winter of 1866, to be directed mainly against the "renegade Liberals" and their leaders, shows that nothing is so effective in firing a train of explosive feeling as an epithet. Mr. Gladstone's Liverpool speech was of the most uncompromising kind. "We do not desire," he said, "we should be the first to resist, sudden and violent sweeping changes; but the progressive enlargement of the popular franchise—with due regard to the state and circumstances of the country—we do not consider liable to the application of any of these epithets. Having produced this measure, framed in a spirit of moderation, we hope to support it with decision. . . . We stake ourselves, we stake our existence as a Government, and we also stake our political character, on the adoption of the bill in its main provisions. You have a right to expect from us that we should tell you what we mean, and that the trumpet which it is our business to blow shall give forth no uncertain sound. Its sound has not been, and I trust will not be, uncertain. *We have passed the Rubicon, we have broken the bridge and burned the boats behind us.* . . . The defeat of the bill, what would it procure? an interval, but not an interval of repose—an interval of fever, an interval of expectation, an interval for the working of those influences which might extend even to the formidable dimensions of political danger."

The great debate on the second reading began on the 12th of April; and never within living memory had a greater display of eloquence, argument, and energy been witnessed within the walls of the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone had seen enough of the spirit of opposition that had been awakened to make it necessary for him to make an elaborate speech on moving the second reading, directed mainly against the amendment of which notice had been given by Lord Grosvenor, the eldest son of the Marquis of Westminster. This amendment, which was to be seconded by Lord Stanley, was to the effect "that it was inexpedient to consider this bill until the House had before it the whole scheme of representation;" that is to say, that it was inexpedient to break up the Reform legislation into two parts, to separate the question of the franchise from the question of redistribution. It is not necessary to go through the points that Mr. Gladstone raised; for to do so would be to anticipate the course of the debate, so exhaustive and voluminous was his eloquence. The former part of the speech was of a more general kind than that which had introduced the bill originally; it was a sort of answer to Mr. Lowe and to those who had denied the necessity and the demand for Reform, and it dwelt with immense force upon the pledges given in past years by Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Horsman, and others, now strenuous opposers of Reform in any shape. Mr. Disraeli, in 1859, had pronounced that he and his colleagues in Lord Derby's Cabinet "were perfectly prepared to deal with the question of the borough franchise and of the introduction of the working classes by lowering the franchise in boroughs, and by acting in that direction with sincerity." Mr. Horsman, in 1851, had been one of the very persons who had pressed on the Government a measure of "piecemeal

Reform"—he who was now among the "implacable objectors" to it. Then, after treating the history of the question in this spirit, and showing that the idea of a downward extension of the franchise was no novelty, Mr. Gladstone went on to show why, from the altered circumstances of the time, from the improved character and condition of the working class since 1832, Reform was not only justifiable but necessary. The time had positively come, he said. Such an amendment as the present one, whose only result could be the defeat of the bill, was mere trifling. "It is not enough to say," he concluded, "as we shall soon, it appears from a notice given, be asked to say, by way of answer to an expecting country, 'We are ready to entertain the question of Reform with a view to its settlement.' Enough, and more than enough, there have been already of barren, idle, mocking words. Deeds are what are wanted. I beseech you to be wise, and to be wise in time."

Mr. Gladstone had previously denounced as a "deplorable arrangement," "a gross blunder springing from that kind of cleverness which so often outwits itself," the design of the opponents of the bill to place themselves under the guidance of "the representatives of two of our noblest and most ancient houses." Indeed, it looked very much like a combination of aristocracy against democracy, when from the Liberal side of the House rose Lord Grosvenor to move an amendment, and from the Conservative side rose Lord Stanley to second it. Lord Grosvenor's speech was not specially effective, except from the family weight of the speaker. It mainly turned upon the affront put upon the Whig families by the Government, in not having sufficiently taken them into their counsels. Lord Stanley was more telling. Alluding to the coming general election, he protested against the chance of allowing the extension of the suffrage to be dealt with by one Parliament, and the redistribution of seats by another. The Franchise Bill, if carried, would confer a great increase of power upon the Radical element in the constituencies—an increase of power which would lead to the return of a much more Radical Parliament than the present, pledged by the very circumstances of its existence to extreme measures. Was it safe to leave to its tender mercies a question involving so many complicated interests as that of the re-distribution of seats? Mr. John Stuart Mill, in the able speech which followed Lord Stanley's, had no difficulty in showing this to be the real grievance and bugbear of the great families who have still so much influence over English politics, though Lord Stanley had hardly ventured to put it into such a definite form; but were there any real grounds for this fear of the working classes?—for it was at bottom nothing else. The blue book of Mr. Lambert, said Mr. Mill, after an eloquent vindication of the rights of the workmen as a class, had revealed the fact that twenty-six per cent. of the electors were of the working classes, "to the astonishment of everybody." "They kept the secret so well—it required so much research to detect their presence on the register—their votes were so devoid of traceable consequences—they had all the power of shaking our institutions, and so obstinately persisted in not doing it—these honourable gentlemen are quite alarmed, and recoil in terror from the abyss into which they have not fallen. . . . A class may have a great many votes in every constituency of the kingdom and not obtain a single representative in the House. Their right of voting may be only the right of being everywhere outvoted. . . . Twenty-six per cent. concentrated would be a very considerable representation, but twenty-six diffused may be almost the same as none at all."

Mr. Mill's speech may be said to have established his parliamentary reputation, and many of the subsequent speakers took great pains to answer his arguments. Indeed, it was necessary to do so, if the opposition to the bill was to be justified, for Mr. Mill's speech had been a vigorous attempt to show that on many important questions legislation would be wiser and better if the working classes were more represented. Education, sanitary reform, the diminution of pauperism, the diminution of crime—in a word, the social side of politics—would, he maintained, be better handled by a reformed than by an unreformed Parliament; and, if so, an approach to democracy should rather be welcomed than feared. These were the points chiefly dwelt upon by the Opposition speakers—by the orthodox Conservatives like Sir Hugh Cairns, by Mr. Disraeli, by the "Cave," represented by Mr. Laing, Mr. Horsman, Lord Elcho, and notably Mr. Lowe. The member for Calne, indeed, was like a man transformed throughout this period of Reform agitation. Instead of the clever administrative reformer of the year gone by, instead of the crotchety, experimentalising Chancellor of the Exchequer of the years to follow, he stood up a wit and an orator, with an answer to every Liberal argument, with a fresh thrust for every Ministerial parry; his speeches—so perfect that Mr. Gladstone said schoolmasters would take them in after ages and set them to their pupils as models to be translated into Greek—dropped from him with all the readiness of extempore efforts; his perorations seemed inspired with the feeling that the contest was the death-struggle of England's prosperity. No one, whether or not he agrees with Mr. Lowe's conclusions, can deny him the palm of debate. Neither Mr. Gladstone's copious enthusiasm, nor Mr. Bright's straightforward, honest conviction, nor Mr. Disraeli's Delphic solemnity, could compare in effectiveness with the vigour, the brilliancy, the eloquent incredulousness of Mr. Lowe.

Mr. Disraeli's summing up of the case of the Opposition was clever, but not very telling; it was, except at the end, too vague. The end, however, gave Mr. Gladstone what he wanted. Quoting from the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and addressing himself to Mr. Gladstone's famous assertion, that the working classes were "the same flesh and blood" as the upper classes, Mr. Disraeli said:—

"Sir George Lewis would not have built up the constituent body on the rights of man He would not have entrusted the destiny of the country to the judgment of a numerical majority. He would not have counselled the Whig party to reconstruct their famous institutions on the American model, and to profit in time by the wisdom

of the children of their loins. Sir, it is because I wish to avert from this country such calamities and disasters that I shall vote for the amendment of the noble lord."

When the leader of the Tory party sat down, Mr. Gladstone rose and took for his starting-point the last words of Mr. Disraeli. "At last, sir," he said, "we have obtained a clear declaration from an authoritative source; and we now know that a bill which, in a country with five millions of adult males, proposes to add to the present limited constituency 200,000 of the middle class and 200,000 of the working class is, in the judgment of the leader of the Tory party, a bill to reconstruct the Constitution on American principles." The speech which followed was, for sheer eloquence, one of the very greatest of Mr. Gladstone's parliamentary efforts; it began at one o'clock in the morning, and, after reviewing the whole course of the debate, it ended at three. "You may drive us from our seats," he ended, "you may slay, you may bury the measure that we have introduced. But we will write upon its gravestone for an epitaph this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

'Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor!'

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onwards in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of these debates does not for a moment impede or disturb, those great social forces are against you; they work with us; they are marshalled in our support. And the banner which we now carry in the fight, though perhaps at some moment of the struggle it may droop over our sinking heads, yet will float again in the eye of heaven, and will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the Three Kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and not distant victory."

It was three o'clock in the morning when Mr. Gladstone finished his speech, but the crowded and excited House showed no signs of fatigue. When the Speaker put the question, the roar of "ayes" and "noes" which answered him was heard far beyond the walls of the House by the waiting crowds outside. Amid great excitement the two camps parted into their respective lobbies, and shortly afterwards the result of the division was announced as follows:—For the second reading, 318; against it, 313. Majority for Government, 5. Both sides of the House cheered the announcement of these critical numbers—the Liberals for the fact of a majority, the Conservatives for the smallness of it. When the uproar had somewhat abated, Mr. Gladstone stated that he would declare what course the Government proposed to take on the Monday following, the 30th of April. In the few days which intervened, there were many rumours abroad as to the probable resignation of the Cabinet. However, when the House re-assembled on the 30th, Mr. Gladstone announced that the Government did not consider the division on Lord Grosvenor's motion any sufficient reason for resigning, and that they were prepared to proceed with the bill in the manner which the House seemed to prefer. They would now lose no time in producing the Redistribution Scheme as well as the Scotch and Irish bills, and they promised that the House should have ample time to consider the Redistribution Scheme, before going on with the Franchise Bill. In answer to some reproaches of inconsistency from the Opposition benches, Mr. Gladstone replied that the Government had indeed pledged themselves to stand or fall by the bill, but as yet the bill had not fallen—the alteration now effected in it was, after all, a question of arrangement only, and did not affect any vital principle of it.

On the 7th of May, the Redistribution of Seats Bill was introduced. The bill provided, first, for the redistribution of seats, properly so called; and secondly, for a more accurate settlement of borough boundaries than had been accomplished by the Reform Bill of 1832. With regard to the first question, Mr. Gladstone announced that the Government had no intention of trying to get rid of bribery by a wholesale extinction of small boroughs. In the first place, to get rid of bribery was not the object of the bill; and secondly, corruption, that "leprosy of English politics," was not confined to small boroughs, and no hard and fast line of electoral purity could be drawn between boroughs above or beneath the ten thousand line of population. Moreover, the question of small boroughs had since the Reform Act assumed a very different aspect. In 1832, the extreme measure of extinction—"capital punishment," as Mr. Lowe called it—had to be employed wholesale, since in many places throughout England the exercise of the franchise had become a mere "mockery of the representative system." Now, however, every member did in some way or other represent the views, as well as the interests, of a real local community; and the representation of the small boroughs was in a so much better state generally that no such summary measures as those adopted in 1832 ought now to be taken with regard to it. No borough, then, was to be absolutely extinguished, but "the fair demands of justice and growing population," in other words, the electoral deficiencies of the great manufacturing towns, were to be met by the milder expedient of arranging small boroughs in groups—a principle which had been already successfully adopted in Scotland and Wales. These groups were to be arranged according to geographical convenience; in some cases they were to consist of two boroughs, in others of three, and in one case of four. "When the population amounts to less than fifteen thousand we propose to assign one representative, and when it exceeds that number we propose to give it two."

Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to run through the names of the various groups proposed. There were eight pairs of boroughs, in seven instances the group was composed of three, and in one, as we have said, of four. That is to say, that where two or more small towns had been accustomed to return each of them a representative, they were, in future, to constitute a group returning one jointly. Devizes and Marlborough, for instance, which had hitherto possessed a member apiece, were, in future, to be content with one between them. Cirencester, Tewkesbury, and Evesham, were to elect one instead of three. Andover and Lymington were to vote together, Ludlow and Leominster, and so on. Mr. Gladstone cal-

culated that by these arrangements forty-nine seats would be set free for redistribution, and having now sketched the disenfranchisement side of the scheme, he proceeded to consider the still more important question of enfranchisement. The franchise was to be given for the first time to the six boroughs of Burnley, Stalybridge, Gravesend, Hartlepool, Middlesborough, and Dewsbury. The Government proposed to apportion the remaining forty-three seats as follows:—Twenty-six additional members were to be given to the English counties, a third member to Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, one member to the University of London, four additional members to the metropolitan constituencies of Chelsea and the Tower Hamlets, and one to the borough of Salford. The seven seats still remaining were to be handed over to Scotland. Ireland and Wales, the Government considered, were already adequately represented, and they were, therefore, left out of account in this division of the spoils of redistribution. With regard to the question of borough boundaries, a vexed and difficult one, the bill proposed little in the way of actual legislation. It provided that "wherever the municipal boundary includes any area that is not now within the parliamentary boundary, the parliamentary boundary is to be so far enlarged as to include that area." The Commissioners of Inclosures were to decide the boundaries of the newly-enfranchised towns, of the newly-separated halves of the Tower Hamlets, and, in cases of municipal extension—such as occurred when any outlying suburb of a town became large enough and united enough to claim municipal privileges—the parliamentary line was to follow whatever local line might be adopted.

In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone stated that the Government was prepared to treat the two bills—the Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill—exactly as the House thought best. They were willing, if the House desired it, to make one bill out of them, but under no circumstances would ministers advise a prorogation of Parliament till both questions had been disposed of. This marked concession to the demands of the Opposition only produced some captious remarks from Mr. Disraeli, to the effect that the Government did not know its own mind; and that, in leaving the choice of the mode of procedure to the House, it was abdicating its functions.

After leave was given to bring in the bill, the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills were introduced. The Scotch bill provoked some discussion, but, on the whole, the House seemed to have made up its mind to let the Franchise question comparatively alone till the Redistribution of Seats, which most members considered a far more personal and pressing question, should have been settled. In the week which intervened between the introduction and the second reading of the Redistribution Bill, two notices were put upon the order book of the House, which gave the Government ample warning of a troublesome time coming. One was Mr. Bouverie's motion to consolidate the Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill and make one measure of them; the other and more important one, moved by Captain Hayter, was to the effect "that in the opinion of this House the system of grouping proposed by Government is neither convenient nor equitable, nor sufficiently matured to form the basis of a satisfactory measure." Before they came on for discussion, however, the Redistribution Bill passed the second reading without formal opposition, though Mr. Disraeli took the opportunity of making a vigorous defence of small boroughs. After the Whitsuntide holidays the hottest part of the contest began. Government announced that they were prepared to fuse the two bills, and that they were willing to give every facility for discussion of Captain Hayter's amendment, but the "Cave" and the Conservatives were not to be conciliated; and Sir Rainald Knightley's motion, to add on to the twofold bill, already unwieldy in size, provisions against bribery and corruption at elections, both surprised and annoyed ministers. Mr. Gladstone opposed it warmly. As he said afterwards, "We had already an overweighted measure, and it was impossible to find time to consider it alone," without adding to it any fresh material for discussion. But the Opposition rallied round the motion, and it was carried by a majority of ten against Government. Mr. Gladstone once more gave way, and announced that if Sir Rainald Knightley could produce a matured scheme for the prevention of bribery at the proper time and place, the Government would not oppose the discussion of it. Captain Hayter's amendment against the system of grouping was brilliantly debated for five nights. Mr. Mill, Mr. Lowe, Sir Hugh Cairns, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli showed themselves at their best; and the clever skirmishing of Mr. Lowe, and the more serious but hardly more logical speeches of Mr. Disraeli, contrasted well with Mr. Mill's grave sarcasms upon the "dense solid force of sheer stupidity" in the Conservative party, and the sincere enthusiasm of Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Lowe's speech upon the Redistribution Bill attacked the measure seriatim. He first accused the Government of radical inconsistency upon the subject of small boroughs. Had not the head of the Government, Lord John Russell, only the year before, put into print a plea for the preservation of small boroughs, on the ground that they admitted a class of members to the House who would else be excluded from it—men of moderate means or lacking in strong family connections wherewith to back their candidature? And if this was still the view of the noble lord and his Government, how did they justify such an immense curtailment of the electoral privileges of small boroughs as the Redistribution Bill proposed? Was it not, indeed, very true that the small boroughs formed at present the only refuge for men with average means? One of the worst results of the system of grouping would be to still further increase the expenses of elections, which were already far too heavy. It would enlarge the electoral districts, instead of lessening them; and to lessen them was the only way of making elections really cheaper. The system of grouping, indeed, met with small mercy at Mr. Lowe's hands. He contended that in the various groups proposed to the House, the Government had followed no principle, either geographical or numerical. "Is it on account of geographical considerations," he asked, "that Bridport is to be coupled with Honiton, nineteen miles off?" And as to

numbers, the Government, instead of reducing anomalies, as they pleaded, were only creating greater ones. If Bodmin, Liskeard, and Launceston, for instance, mustering between them 18,000 inhabitants, were to be grouped and allowed two members, why were Redruth, Penzance, and other towns in the same county, with 23,000 inhabitants, to go unrepresented? In Yorkshire, Richmond and North Allerton scraped together 9,000 inhabitants, and were to return a member; while, in the same county, Barnsley, with 17,000, Doncaster, with 16,000, and Keighley, with 15,000, were wholly left out of consideration. Why were seventeen boroughs, all larger than Huntingdon, formed into various groups, while Huntingdon was allowed a member to itself?

THE RIGHT HON. ROBERT LOWE, M.P.

In contrast to Mr. Lowe's, the view of the supporters of the bill may be stated. The Government had not undertaken to review the whole representative system of the country, to go back to the origin of things, and weigh upon *a priori* grounds the rival claims of Stourbridge and Tewkesbury. Certain conditions remained unclastic. The House, for instance, refused to add to its number, so that the enfranchisement of new boroughs could only be undertaken on the most limited scale, and by a re-arrangement of old boroughs. On the other hand, the Government had pledged themselves not to disenfranchise any place altogether. Thirdly, there was a real anomaly untouched by Mr. Lowe, which it was the object of the bill to remedy—the anomaly of giving a member to Totnes, and letting the great manufacturing towns go so barely represented in Parliament that they were practically hardly represented at all. Were the claims of Oldbury to representation to be weighed against the claims of Manchester? But it was these very claims of the great manufacturing towns which was the real difficulty in the way of the "Cave." They were ready to make a sentimental grievance of the small boroughs, if only these terrible working classes, these formidable artisans, could be kept a little longer and a little more effectually out of that share in the House of Commons which their numbers seemed to promise them. The claim of mere numbers, against which Mr. Lowe went on to argue, is indeed a claim which can be only gradually conceded, but it is one

which, with every year of spreading wealth and education, must be more carefully considered by a popular Government. Mr. Gladstone's Redistribution Bill was, at least, an honest attempt to deal with the claim of numbers, and all the eloquence of Mr. Lowe's famous peroration could not change the great facts lying behind the inexpressible importance; any error is absolutely irretrievable. . . . To our hands at this moment is entrusted the noble and sacred future of free and self-determined government all over the world. We are about to surrender certain good for more than doubtful change; we are about to barter maxims and traditions that have never failed, for theories and doctrines that never have succeeded. Democracy you can have at any time. Night and day the gate is open that leads to that bare and level plain where every ant's nest is a mountain and every thistle a forest tree. But a government such as England has—the work of no human hand, but which has grown up as the imperceptible aggregation of centuries—this is a thing which we only can enjoy, which we cannot impart to others, and which, once lost, we cannot recover for ourselves. . . . We are not agreed upon details, we

THE RIGHT HON. BENJAMIN DISRAELI, M.P.

bill—the facts of growing population, of growing intelligence among the working classes, and of a growing determination on their part to secure a fair share of the representation of the country. After protesting against numerical representation, against the lowering of the county franchise, and against the new arrangements as to boundaries, as all parts of one great scheme tending to the annihilation of aristocratic parties in England, Mr. Lowe wound up thus:—

"I press most earnestly for delay. The matter is of

have not come to any accord upon principles. To precipitate a decision in the case of a single human life would be cruel. It is more than cruel—it is parricide in the case of the Constitution, which is the life and soul of this great nation. If it is to perish, as all human things must perish, give it, at any rate, time to gather its robe about it, and to fall with decency and deliberation.

'To-morrow!
Oh, that's sudden! Spare it! Spare it!
It ought not so to die.'"

This was indeed eloquence, but the Attorney-General, notwithstanding, might well ask in bewilderment, What was it Mr. Lowe wanted to have done? what was his practical object? His argument resolved itself into this—that we should stand on things as they are, because they are, and without showing any reason why they are. Sir Hugh Cairns contended against the bill's going into committee. The House was not agreed upon any one of its fundamental principles; what, then, was the use of going into committee upon it—a process meant not to re-construct, but only to amend a measure? The Lord-Advocate did his best to demolish Sir Hugh Cairns' arguments, and when he sat down, Lord Grosvenor, the nominal leader of the "Cave," upon whose support of the amendment the Opposition had counted, rose to make the important announcement, that, seeing the amendment seemed likely to be made a question of the maintenance or resignation of the Ministry, he should in this instance support the Government, as, though he had not much confidence in them in the matter of Reform, in the present state of European politics, and in the present condition of our finance, it would be a great misfortune to the country if they, particularly Lord Clarendon, were compelled to quit office. Mr. Gladstone's speech, which followed Lord Grosvenor's, was memorable for some sharp handling of Mr. Lowe's speeches contained in it. With regard to Mr. Lowe's charge of creating anomalies, instead of getting rid of them, Mr. Gladstone said: "I deny that it creates a single anomaly in the true and proper sense of the word. I ask of those who make the charge, did the Reform Act create anomalies, or not, by disfranchisement and redistribution of seats? If you choose to say that the man who destroys a gross anomaly, and substitutes a much milder form of the very same thing, creates an anomaly, to that charge we are open; and to that charge the Reform Act was open." With regard to the general tone of Mr. Lowe's speeches, Mr. Gladstone had several indignant remarks to make. One passage he called "one gross and continued error, both of taste and judgment." "And although," he continued, "it is a very great treat to listen to his speeches as intellectual exercises, yet no man must imagine that any practical good was to be got out of discussion with such a disputant. How, let me ask, can we occupy common ground with my right honourable friend? How can we cherish the slightest hope of mitigating the differences which exist between us, or of arriving at a settlement with one who approaches a question of this gravity in such a spirit, and with such a degree of license, so far as regards his own individual opinion?" Mr. Gladstone went on to argue against Mr. Lowe's objections to the bill in detail. He defended the system of grouping, and he defended the proposed extension of parliamentary boundaries. In fact, Mr. Gladstone's speech was an elaborate and eloquent vindication of the Government bill from the many attacks that had been made upon it. "We have now to deal," he said in conclusion, "I will not say with an alteration so much as with a growth of circumstances, with a growth of numbers, a growth of wealth, a growth of intelligence, a growth of loyalty, and a growth of confidence in Parliament among all classes of the community. And our view is this—that under these circumstances, we are entitled to say that now again has the time come to apply with caution, yet with firmness, those principles from the operation of which we have already reaped such blessed fruits;" viz., the principles of the Reform Act of 1832. "It is in the prosecution of that work that we are confronted with the hostility which has met us in the various stages of this bill—hostility that may be formidable; indeed, hostility of which I will not even now presume to predict that it may not meet with a momentary success; but to which I will say, that any triumph which may be gained, will recoil with tenfold force upon the heads of those who may achieve it." In the earlier part of his speech, Mr. Gladstone had made an indignant protest against the mode of procedure of the Opposition. Captain Hayter's amendment was, he said, an indirect attempt to defeat the bill altogether, and, as such, a violation of Lord Derby's pledge that it should receive fair play. Mr. Disraeli, in the speech which concluded the debate, did his best to defend his party from the charge of factious opposition; but when one considers what a much more sweeping bill than the one they were at present opposing, on the ground of its Radical tendencies, was passed by him and his party in the following year, his arguments appear hardly convincing. When he resumed his seat, the amendment was negatived by 403 to 2, the greater part of the Opposition having left the House to avoid voting, seeing that Lord Grosvenor's defection from their ranks left them little or no chance of obtaining a majority against Government.

So far, and upon questions of general principles, the Government had in the main, though with great difficulty, and at least one hair-breadth escape, been successful. That is to say, the House as a whole, with the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Lowe, were agreed that Reform in some shape or other was inevitable. But the Opposition were also agreed in the determination not to let the Russell Ministry settle the question. A successful Reform Bill would have continued the Liberals in power, as later on it kept the Conservatives in office, and Mr. Disraeli saw his opportunity and seized it. Reform, especially that side of it which is concerned with the redistribution of seats, rouses the most apathetic Conservative member, and Mr. Disraeli could therefore count upon the undivided support of his party. But Mr. Gladstone's majority would have baffled all their efforts, had it not

been for the unexpected defection of the "Cave." The opposition of Lord Grosvenor, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Horsman, and others to the bill meant victory to the Conservatives; and Mr. Disraeli would not have been Mr. Disraeli had he not known how to use the advantage thus given him. So that while in committee the fortunes of the bill went wavering backwards and forwards over the debatable ground of "rateable value," or "gross yearly rental," all the world knew that it was in reality no question of details, no question indeed of Reform, but a question of a Liberal or a Conservative Ministry which was being so obstinately fought out. The general consciousness of this gave an unusual piquancy to the discussion of even the dullest of those details of which a Reform Bill is full. The cleverness and determination of the opponents of the Ministry were notably shown in a most unexpected attack upon the bill made by Lord Stanley on June 7. The House in committee was engaged in debating the 4th clause of the now consolidated bill, relating to the county franchise, which it was proposed to reduce to £14. Mr. Gladstone had just made an elaborate defence of the clause against a hostile amendment moved by Mr. Walpole, and all seemed going on as usual, when, to the amazement of the Tory side of the House, no less than of the Liberals, Lord Stanley, the member for Lynn, advanced quietly to the table and moved "that the portion of the joint bill which relates to the redistribution of seats be taken first," or, in other words, that the Franchise Bill should be postponed *sine die*. "This brief speech," says the historian of the year, "had the effect of a *coup de théâtre*." Lord Stanley went on to give various plausible reasons for the motion, but the House, in spite of its astonishment, was not to be taken in.

The tendency of the motion and the animus which prompted it were very plainly visible, and the indignant Liberal benches applauded every word of Mr. Gladstone's speech in answer to it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ironically complimented the Opposition upon their perfect knowledge of the "art of ambush." At last, it seemed, they had made up their minds, so long in uncertainty, as to what step they should take next, and this new strategy was the result of their cogitations. Loudly cheered by his supporters, Mr. Gladstone went on to say that the Government would never suffer the conduct of the measure to be taken out of their hands by such a motion. They were pledged to accomplish, or at least to attempt, the enfranchisement of the people, and to that object they would adhere so long as they retained the support of the House. Lord Stanley's motion was defeated by a majority of 27, a larger majority than had yet fallen to the lot of the Government since the beginning of the Reform debates, for the strong sense of unfair treatment among the Liberals kept several wavereers loyal to the Ministry who would otherwise have voted with the Opposition. Nor was this all. "The engineer was indeed for once hoist with his own petard," for the feeling awakened by Lord Stanley's motion did the Government good service in the next division which they had to encounter upon Mr. Walpole's amendment, the debate upon which had been interrupted by Lord Stanley's speech. Mr. Walpole was beaten by a majority of 14.

A far more vital question, however, was raised on June 11th by Mr. Hunt, member for Northamptonshire, and one leading to much more important consequences. He proposed to make the basis of the county franchise, not the "gross yearly rental" of any given property, but its "rateable value;" while Lord Dunkellin followed suit with a similar motion with regard to the borough franchise. The bill as originally drawn up gave the borough franchise "to the occupier, as owner or tenant of premises of any tenure within the borough, of *a clear yearly value* of seven pounds or upwards;" and the same expression was used in the case of the county franchise; *clear yearly value* meaning the same as "gross estimated rental." In order that it may be clearly understood what is meant by "gross estimated rental" as opposed to "rateable value," we will copy the headings of a valuation list as it is prepared for rating purposes by the parochial overseers:—

"Name of Occupier.
Name of Owner.
Description of Property.
Name or Situation of Property.
Estimated Extent.
Gross Estimated Rental.
Rateable Value."

A valuation list classifies every house in the parish under these heads, for purposes, as we have said, of local taxation. The "gross estimated rental" of a house, according to the Union Assessment Committee Act of 1862, is defined as "the rent at which the hereditaments might reasonably be expected to let from year to year, free from all usual tenants' rates and taxes and tithe commutation rent-charge, if any." But the rateable value, the yearly value, that is to say, at which the house is assessed in the rate-books for rating purposes, is computed from the "gross estimated rental" by making various deductions. The scale of these deductions varies according to local needs; thus, in some places, "rateable value" is ascertained by deducting 10 per cent. from "gross estimated rental," in others 15 per cent., and in others as much as 35 or 36 per cent. One parish may be richer than another perhaps, and so be able to assess its inhabitants at a lower rateable value, or accidents of physical situation may make municipal operations more expensive in one case than in another—from whatever cause, there is not, and never has been, any uniform standard of "rateable value." In the judgment of the framers of the bill of 1866, "gross estimated rental," though subject, no doubt, to some local variations, yet afforded a far safer and more uniform basis for both the borough and the county franchise than the "rateable value," which was dependent upon "local usage and personal caprice." The arguments of Mr. Hunt, Lord Dunkellin, and their supporters seemed to show at least some misapprehension of the state of the case. The rental valuation was spoken of as if it was something wholly unofficial and dependent upon the will of the tenant himself, instead of being just as much a parochial and official matter as the computed "rateable value," which occupied the next column

to it in the rate-book. People who had never seen a rate-book, and had not taken the trouble to listen attentively to Mr. Gladstone's explanations, talked as if "gross estimated rental" had nothing to do with the rate-book, and was being put by the Government in opposition to it. Whereas it was all along merely a question between the sixth and seventh columns of this same rate-book. At least, so it appeared outwardly; really, these two amendments were part of the general tactics of the Opposition, as we have already described them, and were aimed against what was most vital and essential in the Government measure. The substitution of "rateable value" for "clear yearly value" in clauses 4 and 5 of the bill would, as will be easily understood by any one who considers the difference between the two as given by the rate-book, considerably diminish the number of new voters to be enfranchised by the bill. That is to say, a £5 rating franchise even would hardly admit as many voters as the £7 rental franchise, because the "rateable value" was always something below the "gross estimated rental," and sometimes, as we have seen, very much below it. Mr. Hunt said frankly that the object of his amendment was to raise the county franchise to a higher standard than if the clause passed without amendment. He thought the £14 franchise would admit an excessive number of votes.

Mr. Gladstone, in a short, clear speech, defended the basis adopted by the Government, and once more patiently explained what was meant by the terms "rateable value" and "gross estimated rental," an explanation of which many members of the House stood greatly in need. A smart passage of arms followed between the Solicitor-General and Mr. Disraeli; and finally, upon a division, the amendment was negatived by a narrow majority of seven votes. Lord Dunkellin's motion, to the same effect with respect to the borough franchise, met with very different success. Its mover supported the principle of rating rather than rental, because he believed it, he said, to be the more convenient, inexpensive, and constitutional method of giving the franchise of the two. Whatever were the inequalities of rating, the inequalities of rental, he contended, were greater still. Mr. Gladstone again rose in answer, this time to give so determined a statement of the course the Government intended to pursue, that it was at once felt that the crisis of the whole matter had at last been reached. Piercing through all arguments as to details, he went to the heart of his opponent's case, and showed that what Lord Dunkellin wanted was not merely "rateable value," as against rental, but that the motion was avowedly meant to restrict the suffrage, and as such, in the end, to defeat the bill. "But," said Mr. Gladstone, "from the moderate amount of enfranchisement proposed in the bill, we are not, under any circumstances or conditions, prepared to recede. By it we intend to stand." Lord Dunkellin's motion, he continued, if carried, would strike off 60,000 voters from the 200,000 which it was proposed by the bill to enfranchise. Another motion on the order book, by the member for Wenlock, would take away another 40,000, "so that a deduction of one half from the total enfranchisement in boroughs seems to be the aim of the more moderate among our opponents." The proper basis of political franchise, he maintained, "is not the net value of any property to the landlord (its rateable value), but the capacity of the occupier to pay," or, in other words, the rent he was able to give for his house. No doubt there were inequalities in the "gross estimated rental" column of the rate-book; but in contradiction of Lord Dunkellin, he declared the inequalities in the rateable value column to be infinitely greater, and such as would, were the amendment allowed to stand, prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of the working of the bill. For these and other reasons, the Government were determined to stand or fall by the clause as it originally stood; and Mr. Gladstone sat down, having made it fully apparent that the coming division, should it prove hostile, would be taken by the Ministry as decisive of their resignation.

A warm and exciting debate followed. Mr. Bright strongly supported Government, urging that if the amendment were carried, the great aim and object of the bill would be defeated, and the legitimate hopes of the working classes once more disappointed. "Every interest in the country," said the member for Birmingham, "would be the safer and happier for the introduction of 200,000 more of the working classes to the electoral franchise. If the amendment were carried, and the Government overthrown, the question would not be disposed of; it would rise up again, and break up every Government till it was settled; and he put it to the Opposition whether it would not be wiser to accept this moderate measure frankly, and show once more that confidence in the people which had always been repaid by increased loyalty and obedience to the law." Other speakers followed, but all the world knew there was not much to be said now on either side. Finally, Mr. Gladstone clinched his first speech by the brief repetition of the Government's determination not to accept the amendment, and to regard the carrying of it as incompatible with the further progress of the bill. It was a quarter-past one o'clock when the crowded House divided, and amid a scene of great excitement, the following numbers were announced: For the amendment, 315; against it, 304. Majority against Government, 11. Long and loud was the cheering of the Opposition. Mr. Disraeli had won his battle, and the immediate political future, at least, was in the hands of the Conservatives.

On the day following this important division, it was generally known that the Russell Ministry was at an end; in fact, in the evening Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone formally announced to the two Houses that the Ministry had sent in their resignations to the Queen, and motions of adjournment to the following Monday, the 25th, were put, and agreed to. It was on Tuesday, the 26th, however, that Mr. Gladstone made his promised statement in the House of Commons. The House was crowded in every part, and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, he was greeted with a burst of tumultuous cheering. "Sir," he said, "the suspense, which the House yesterday so kindly consented to prolong, is at an end, and Her Majesty has been pleased to accept the resignation of their offices, which was last week tendered

by the Government. The House is aware that Her Majesty thought fit in her wisdom to postpone the acceptance of that tender when it was first made. It appeared to Her Majesty that, upon the first aspect of the vote which led to the tender of our resignation, it might, perhaps, be considered as a matter of mere machinery and detail, susceptible of adjustment, rather than as one which tended to break up the framework of the bill; and Her Majesty also felt, and I think the House and the country, without distinction of party, will agree in that sentiment, that, in the present state of affairs on the continent of Europe, there is necessarily a disadvantage in a change of Government. Without the slightest approach to any invidious preference or distinction, it may truly be said that at such a moment it is not easy for any incoming Administration to step at once into the exact conditions of relations with Governments and ministers abroad which was enjoyed by their predecessors; and that difficulty, whatever may be its amount, is in itself a public disadvantage." Upon these grounds, then, the Queen had been for some little time unwilling to accept their resignation, until a long conference with Lord Russell had convinced her that the step was inevitable, and the resignations were accepted.

Mr. Gladstone went on to give a general review of the action of the Government. "After the division," he said, "which took place on the 18th inst., and during the interval which has since occurred, the alternative which the Government had to consider was, whether it was their duty at once to resign their offices, or whether, on the other hand, they ought to accept the vote which had been arrived at on the motion of my noble friend (Lord Dunkellin), and to endeavour, if they could, to adapt that vote and the operation of it to the framework of their measure and the attainment of its essential object. . . . Now, sir, when we came to examine the effect of the motion, and to consider whether it was possible for us to adopt it, we were struck with these difficulties. In the first place, the inequality of its operations in the different boroughs; in the second place, the inequalities of its operation in the same borough; and in the third place, the almost insurmountable difficulty of choosing any formal figure of enfranchisement, relative to rating, which would express faithfully and exactly, and without material deviation on the one side or the other, the scale of enfranchisement which we had contemplated and submitted to the House, and to which we thought ourselves bound by consideration for the public interest to adhere." Mr. Gladstone proceeded to enlarge upon these three points, and to declare that the Government had felt the practical difficulties in the way of accepting Lord Dunkellin's motion to be so great, that they saw no other course open to them but that of unqualified resistance to it, on the ground that it broke up the essential framework of the measure by which they had deliberately pledged themselves to stand or fall.

Having thus sketched the conduct of the Government, Mr. Gladstone gave "a plain, unvarnished tale" of that of the Opposition, which, as it sums up the history of the Reform Bill of 1866, may be quoted here. "We found ourselves met with these proceedings on the bill:—On the 27th of April my noble friend, Earl Grosvenor, made a motion as an amendment on the second reading, the effect of which would have been to compel us to produce the Seats Bill before the House had given any opinion whatever on the Franchise Bill. That motion was rejected, in a House unprecedentedly large, by a majority of five, the numbers being 318 as against 323. The next step was that, on the 2nd of May, the honourable baronet, the member for Northamptonshire (Sir Rainald Knightley), made a motion to instruct the committee to include in the bill clauses for the repression of bribery and corruption. One difficulty already was, that we had an overweighted measure, and that it was almost impossible to find time to consider it. We remonstrated; but the House thought fit to overrule the view of the Government, and by a majority of ten the honourable baronet carried his motion. I do not say now whether he was right or wrong. I speak only of the amount of obstacles which we found besetting us on our road to the end which we had in view. On the 4th of June, another motion was made by the member for Wells (Captain Hayter), which certainly ended without a division, but which was debated for three nights, and which evidently must have had, and was intended to have, the effect of putting aside the consideration of the bill for this year. On the 7th of June, Lord Stanley moved to postpone the enfranchising clauses to the clauses relating to the redistribution of seats. That motion was made without any public notice whatever. But it was within the knowledge of the Government at a subsequent period, that, through channels which I am not able to point out, information had been conveyed, that either that motion or some such motion would be made on that day and on that hour; such information, however, being conveyed exclusively to certain gentlemen on this side of the House whose votes appeared likely to be favourable to the motion. Notwithstanding that information, the motion was negatived by 287 against 260. We were then met by the motion of the right honourable the member for Cambridge University (Mr. Walpole), who proposed to raise the county franchise to £20, and thereby to maim, in our view—at all events greatly to alter—one of the fundamental clauses in the bill. That motion was rejected by a very small majority of only fourteen; and then came in another form a motion which was admitted to have for one of its objects the raising of the county franchise—I mean the motion of the member for Northamptonshire (Mr. Ward Hunt). That motion was rejected only by a majority of seven. Then came the motion of my noble friend the member for Galway, raising the very same point for the boroughs which had been rejected by only seven for the counties, and applying that principle to the boroughs which had been refused for the counties, although it was within the knowledge of us all that whatever difficulty was connected with rateable value would be greater in the boroughs than in the counties. That motion was carried by a majority of eleven; and it was upon a deliberate review of this series of facts, from the recital of which I have endeavoured to exclude every qualifying epithet—it was on a deliberate review of this series of facts, combining that review of previous divisions and debates, with what I have already stated as to the

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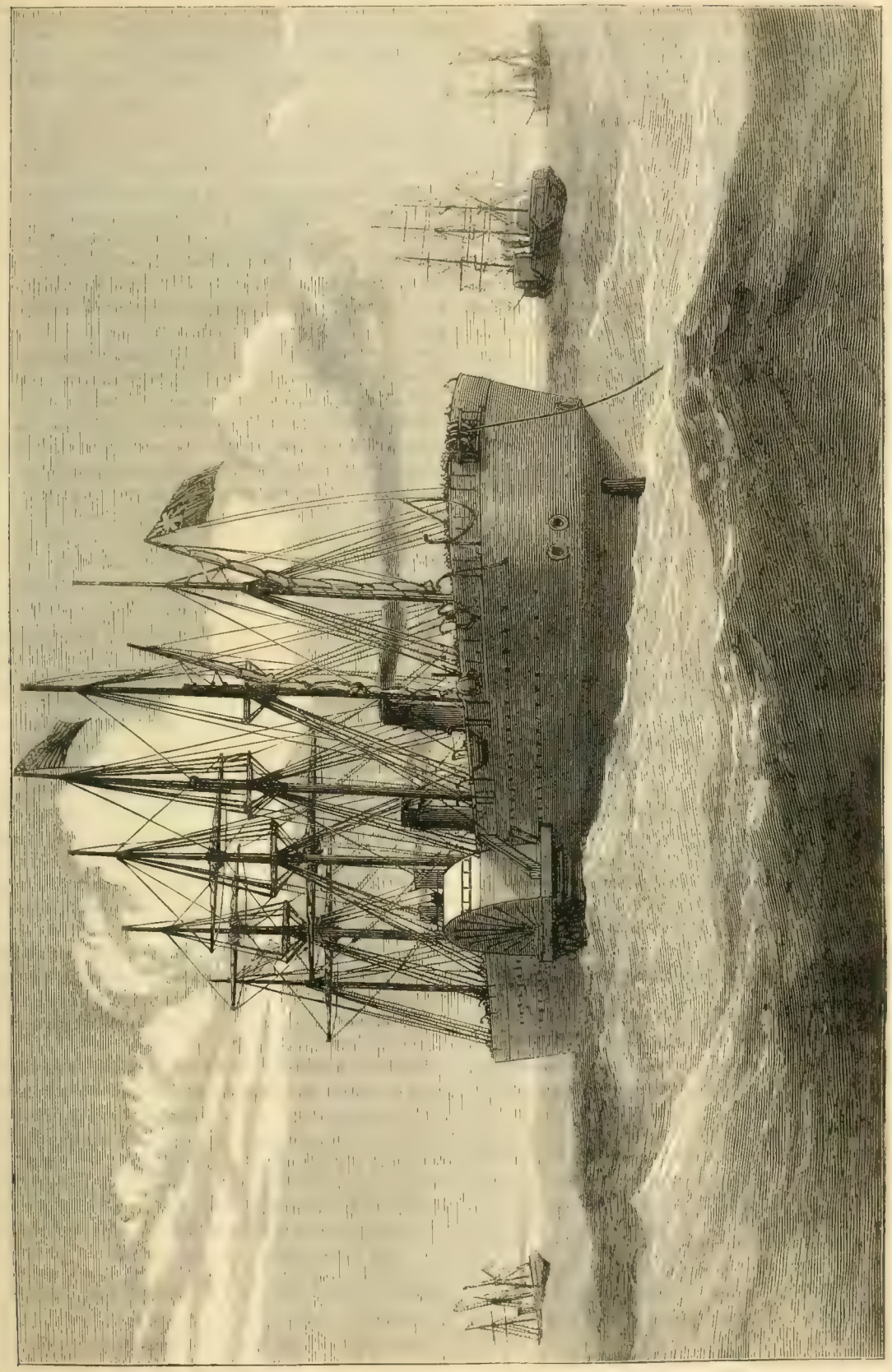
nature of the motion itself, that we arrived at the conclusion, that effectual progress with the bill was, under existing circumstances, impossible."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Lord Derby forms a Conservative Ministry—Speech of Mr. Disraeli in Buckinghamshire: England's Policy of Abstention: Sees no Difficulty in the Question of Reform Lord Derby's Ministerial Statement—Lord Cranborne on Indian Finance—General Progress in India—The Reform League Meeting in Hyde Park prohibited by the Police: Speeches at Clerkenwell: Scene at the Marble Arch: Rioting: The Mob break down the Park Railings: The Military called out—Mr. Walpole's Concessions to the League—Debate on the Riots in Parliament—Close of the Session—Decrease of the Cattle Plague—Visitation of Cholera: Diminished Severity of the Disease in the course of August The Atlantic Cable of 1866: Survey of Previous Attempts: Transient Success in 1858: Failure in 1865: Incidents of the *Great Eastern's* Voyage: She Lands the Cable at Heart's Content: Recovery and Completion of the Lost Cable of 1865—Series of Reform Demonstrations: at the Guildhall; at Manchester; at Leeds; at Beaufort House—Meeting of Trades in St. James's Hall—The Commercial Crisis of 1866. Suspension of Overend, Gurney, & Co.; of Peto, Betts, & Co. Great Panic in the City: Stoppage of the Agra and Masterman's Bank. Intervention of the Government—Practical Working of the System of Limited Liability—Marriages of the Princess Helena and the Princess Mary of Cambridge—Award in the Banda Prize-money Case—Loss of the *London* steamer—The November Meteors—Deficient Harvest, and consequent Distress.

THE dislocation of the Liberal party was so complete that no reasonable prospect remained of a stable Government being formed by any of the fractions into which it had been temporarily shivered. When, therefore, the Queen sent for Lord Derby and requested him to form a Ministry, that statesman, although the Conservative party was in so decided a minority in the House of Commons, accepted without hesitation the responsibility of undertaking the government of the country. Mr. Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Walpole went to the Home Office; Lord Stanley and Lord Cranborne were appointed Secretaries for Foreign Affairs and for India respectively; General Peel and Sir John Pakington accepted the chief posts in the War Office and the Admiralty; Lord Carnarvon became Secretary for the Colonies; and the Marquis of Abercorn accepted the Vice-royalty of Ireland. This, it will be evident, was a purely Conservative Administration; such, however, had not been the desire of Lord Derby, who



THE "GREAT EASTERN" PAYING OUT THE ATLANTIC CABLE.

made overtures to some of the leaders of the recalcitrant Liberals—the Adullamite faction, as it was called—which were declined. Lord Stanley's explanation of his father's ill success, made a few days later to his constituents at Lynn, was doubtless the true one. "We have not desired," he said, "to form our Administration upon any narrow party basis. There are many of the Whig party whose sympathies are well known to be with us, whose support in debate and divisions we have no doubt of receiving, and whose official co-operation, where it has been asked, has only been withheld, not on account of any real or wide difference of political opinion, but rather from that natural and honourable scruple which makes men shrink from the appearance of changing their party—of walking, as the phrase is, across the floor of the House—under circumstances where they may possibly appear to be personal gainers by the change."

Mr. Disraeli went down for re-election to his constituents in Buckinghamshire, and there delivered an address which adumbrated with considerable clearness the course which the new Government intended to, and which it actually did, pursue. There was a notion abroad that the Conservatives were more favourable to intervention in the affairs of foreign countries than the Liberals; that in their hands the country was more likely to drift into war; and this notion, so fatal to the popularity of any party with the present pacific generation of Englishmen, Mr. Disraeli took great pains to dispel. There is sound sense and truth in the justification which he pleaded for the policy of abstention to which England now by preference adhered. "The abstention of England from any unnecessary interference in the affairs of Europe is the consequence, not of her decline of power, but of her increased strength. England is no longer a mere European power; she is the metropolis of a great maritime empire, extending to the boundaries of the farthest ocean. It is not that England has taken refuge in a state of apathy, that she now almost systematically declines to interfere in the affairs of the continent of Europe. England is as ready and as willing to interfere as in old days, when the necessity of her position requires it. There is no power, indeed, that interferes more than England. She interferes in Asia, because she is really more an Asiatic power than a European. She interferes in Australia, in Africa, and in New Zealand, where she carries on war often on a great scale. Therefore it is not because England does not recognise her duty to interfere in the affairs of the continent of Europe, that persons are justified in declaring that she has relinquished her imperial position, and has taken refuge in the *otium cum dignitate* which agrees with the decline of life, of power, and of prosperity. On the contrary, she has a greater sphere of action than any European power, and she has duties devolving upon her on a much larger scale." All this is admirably said, and undeniably true; but it loses sight of the fact that the real source of the dissatisfaction of some with the attitude towards foreign Powers which England had been made to take in recent years, did not lie in an abstract approval of intervention, but in the circumstance, that when England did intervene (which she did very frequently), they believed the intervention was of a feeble and fruitless character; and also in the further circumstance, that to escape from interference when it became perilous, positive pledges and national covenants had been disregarded.

On the subject of Parliamentary Reform, Mr. Disraeli was decidedly explicit. He would not for one moment allow that Reform was a Liberal preserve, and that in dealing with the question the Conservatives were poaching on forbidden ground. "I hear very often," he said, "that the subject of Parliamentary Reform is the great difficulty of the present Ministry, and will be their stumbling-block. I am quite of a different opinion. *I see no difficulty in the subject at all;* and if we stumble, rest assured we shall not stumble over the subject of Parliamentary Reform. If Parliamentary Reform is to be dealt with, I consider the present Government have as good a right to deal with it as any body of statesmen in existence. The great Reform Bill of 1832 was mainly devised by Lord Derby, and was entirely carried by his energy; and with regard to the only measure on the subject, since the great Reform Bill, ever mentioned with respect, why, I myself brought it in. I have remarked, during the recent campaign in the House of Commons, that every division that took place, and every strong manifestation of opinion which was expressed, ratified the principle upon which the bill of 1859 was founded. And night after night, sitting in that House opposite to me, distinguished Liberals of all hues rose, and, in a tone of courteous penitence, publicly avowed how much they regretted they had voted against the bill of 1859."

On the 9th July, the new arrangements having been completed, Lord Derby made a Ministerial statement in the House of Lords, the leading ideas of which were in close agreement with those enunciated by Mr. Disraeli in the speech from which we have just quoted. At this late period of the session, the Budget for the year having been already discussed and settled, it was out of the question that the new Government should do more than wind up the business of legislation with all possible dispatch, and then dismiss the members to their homes. In a considerable section of the large Liberal majority which now crowded the Opposition benches, a determination was apparent to give the new Ministry a fair trial, and neither to join in, nor permit the success of, any factious or precipitate attempt to place them in a minority.

Besides that of the Premier, but one important Ministerial statement was made before the close of the session; this, which was delivered by Lord Cranborne on the 19th July, related to the finances of India, and was regarded on both sides of the House as a masterly and lucid exposition. Though so far satisfactory, inasmuch as it showed that, during the last three years, the Indian Government had very nearly succeeded in establishing an equilibrium between receipts and expenditure, it was calculated to occasion some anxiety on account of the proofs which it afforded of the unelastic character of a large proportion of the sources from which the Indian revenue is derived, of the complete failure of the income tax, on the introduction of which such ardent hopes had been founded,

and of the degree in which the prosperity of Indian finance was dependent on the rise or fall of the opium tax. Every one knows what degradation, moral and physical, what social ruin and individual abasement, is implied in the fact of a large consumption of opium by any population. The estimate of revenue from this single tax was £8,500,000; and Lord Cranborne reluctantly admitted that "opium had become the essential element in Eastern finance." Yet the general picture which he drew of the material condition of India was eminently satisfactory. The railway expenditure had been a source of enormous success; the Great Indian Peninsula line paid 7 per cent. on its capital, and the East Indian nearly 5 per cent., though neither of them was fully and thoroughly opened. A full report on the condition of India having been lately presented to the House, he deemed it unnecessary for him to say more than that "education was progressing; public works, particularly of irrigation, were going on; railways advancing; the Ganges Canal had been rendered more fitted for its great purposes; and there was much evidence of prosperity."

The administrative skill and prudence of the new Home Secretary were severely tested before the close of the session, by the necessity of dealing with the turbulent demonstrations promoted by the Reform League. On the committee of this body, Mr. Edmond Beales and Colonel Dickson were the most influential persons, and in a series of meetings, large and small, they had taught their multitudinous auditory to believe that without manhood suffrage and the ballot, the English Constitution was deplorably one-sided and imperfect. The advent to power of a Conservative Ministry raised the ardour of the Leaguers to a pitch of yet more enthusiastic warmth than before, and it was announced that a great public meeting would be held in Hyde Park, on the evening of the 23rd July, in order to demand the immediate extension of the suffrage. The authorities feared that the demonstration, occurring at so late an hour, might be taken advantage of by the "roughs" to create a disturbance, under cover of which thefts on a large scale might be conveniently perpetrated; it was resolved, therefore, that this meeting should be prohibited. Placards signed by the Chief Commissioner of Police, Sir Richard Mayne, were, early in the afternoon, extensively posted throughout London, stating that the park gates would be closed to the public at five o'clock. The League and its adherents viewed the attempt to suppress their oratory with the deepest indignation, and a written notice was forwarded by the "Demonstration Committee" to the various sub-committees, to the effect that the members were to march in procession to the park, and, if prevented from entering it, were then to form four deep, and proceed by way of Grosvenor Place, Victoria Street, and past the Houses of Parliament to Trafalgar Square. The Procession of Leaguers was formed on Clerkenwell Green, when several speeches of a highly inflammatory nature were delivered before the march was commenced. One speaker denounced the conduct of the Government in giving orders to close the park against the advocates of Reform, and declared that the Reform League were fully determined to have the question tried, whether the parks were the property of the Crown, or of the people who, he said, paid for them. He trusted, however, that the people would go quietly, and use no violence whatever. No amount of advertising, he observed, could have made the meeting so generally known as the notice which had been issued by Sir Richard Mayne. After some severe remarks on the aristocracy, the speaker concluded, amid general cheering, by declaring his belief that if the people did not get the right of voting, the sooner they left the country by millions the better.

The procession set out shortly before five o'clock, and proceeded along Holborn and Oxford Street to the Marble Arch. Here things presented an animated appearance. A force of foot and mounted police, numbering 1,600 or 1,800, had been assembled within the park, under the direction of Sir Richard Mayne and Captain Harris; and at five o'clock the gates were closed. A large number of spectators had previously entered the park, to witness the arrival of the procession; and with these the police did not interfere. Arrived at the Marble Arch, Mr. Beales, Colonel Dickson, and other prominent Leaguers, alighted from the foremost carriages, and going up to the gate, demanded admission to the park from the police. This was refused, on the authority of "our Commissioner;" and then Mr. Beales, re-forming the procession as well as he could in the midst of the dense crowd, led as many as would follow him down Park Lane, and, by the streets already named, to Trafalgar Square. Here several speeches were delivered, but all accounts represent the proceedings as remarkably tame.

Meantime the mob that had gathered about the Marble Arch, both in Park Lane and in Bayswater Road, exasperated at the loss of the excitement which the meeting would have afforded them, and partly, no doubt, animated by resentment at what seemed needlessly arbitrary conduct on the part of the police, pressed close up to the park railings; the bolder spirits seized them, shook them; grasped by hundreds of strong hands at once, they swayed—they gave way. In an instant a hundred practicable breaches afforded that admission into the park which the police had denied. Down came the police, horse and foot, upon the invaders; but they were distracted by the multitude of inroads, and disconcerted by the ease with which the railings were laid prostrate in every direction. They used their truncheons freely, and many a head was cut open; but the mob, besides the advantage of overwhelming numbers, took to stone-throwing, and many of the police were severely injured. Sir Richard Mayne, who had himself been wounded, then sent for the military. A detachment of Foot Guards soon arrived, followed by a troop of Life Guards. The mob cheered the soldiers, who posted themselves near the Marble Arch, occasionally marching upon any specially dense assemblage of persons, and compelling them to shift their ground. Speeches were made by excited orators at various points within the park, after the mob had forced their way in; but the

confusion that prevailed was such that little attention seems to have been paid to them. On the southern side of the park also, in the Knightsbridge Road, a number of mischievous persons congregated, and broke down two hundred yards of the park railing. After the arrival of the soldiers, the police endeavoured to make a number of arrests, in doing which they met with a violent resistance, and were in many cases severely handled. The partisans of order were presently re-inforced by a second detachment of Foot Guards, who, with the first detachment, received orders to be in readiness to fire, should it become necessary. Encounters between the police and the mob then became less frequent, and finally quiet was restored when another body of Life Guards arrived, and assisted in removing the mob from the park. Much stone-throwing was all this time going on in the streets, and the windows of the Athenæum and United Service Clubs, as well as of a number of private houses, were broken. No lives were lost, though a considerable number of persons received severe injuries.

Mr. Walpole, the new Home Secretary, a man of remarkable humanity and gentleness, was afflicted beyond measure by the turn which matters had taken. He received a deputation of the Leaguers at the Home Office two days afterwards, and in conversation with them actually shed tears, and came to the somewhat ignominious understanding with them, that the Government would cause the police and the military to be withdrawn from the park, until the question as to the legal right of the people to claim admission to it had been decided, the League meantime undertaking to do its best to prevent any breach of the peace or other misconduct within the park enclosure! The consequence of such deplorable weakness may be conceived. In a London paper of the following week, it was stated: "The park is still infested, night after night, by numerous bands of thieves and ruffians, who are left to prey on defenceless passengers or unwary loungers after dusk, without the slightest interference of the park-keepers or the police. Several gross outrages, perpetrated in Hyde Park, about eight or nine o'clock in the evening, since the enclosure was destroyed last week, have been narrated by the sufferers themselves, or by witnesses to the fact, in letters to the daily papers. . . . A herd of men and boys, estimated at 300 or 400, of the worst class of habitual malefactors, are permitted to assemble and prowl about the ground, waiting for an opportunity of plunder."

In Parliament the conduct of the Government in prohibiting the meeting was much canvassed, and, by some speakers, severely censured. Mr. Ayrton said, that instead of appealing at once to force, the Home Secretary ought to have met the people in a conciliatory spirit on the matter of right, and should have issued a temperate notification explaining how the case really stood. Mr. Mill declared that if the people had not a right to meet in the parks they ought to have it. He added that, as the Government seemed inclined to enrol their names on the list of those who could do more mischief in an hour than others could repair in years, he exhorted them to consider seriously the gravity of what they had done on this occasion. But the majority of speakers, including all statesmen of long experience, on both sides of the House, were of opinion that the Government, though perhaps every step taken by Mr. Walpole might not have been judicious, were substantially justified in what they had done; and Mr. Disraeli struck precisely the right chord, when he declared that "it had never entered the minds of ministers that the real working man, whose general orderly conduct he cordially acknowledged, would commit acts of riot, but they believed that the scum of the great city would take advantage of such an assemblage, and the justice of their apprehensions was proved by the event."

The Queen's speech at the close of the session was read by the new Lord Chancellor (Lord Chelmsford), on the 10th August. It contained several paragraphs on the Fenian conspiracy, and the doings of the Fenians both in Ireland and in Canada, recording in terms of grateful acknowledgment the good faith and promptitude of the United States Government in checking at the outset "any attempted invasion of a friendly state." It alluded with satisfaction to the fact that, although the late Ministry, in the presence of a financial crisis of almost unexampled severity, had authorised the Bank of England to infringe the letter of the Bank Charter Act of 1844, if such a step were required for the accommodation of their customers, yet no such infringement had actually taken place, the Bank having been able to weather the storm without it. It spoke of the gradual mitigation of the cattle-plague, of the late visitation of cholera, and of the successful laying of the Atlantic cable. The murrain had, indeed, continued its ravages during the earlier half of the year; but, fortunately, as time went on, the stringent precautions which had been enforced by the Privy Council produced the desired effect: the cases showed a progressive reduction in number; and by the end of the year the plague, though not extinct, was in a material degree abated. Wales continued almost wholly exempt from the disease; in the south of England its virulence was continually on the decline; only in the north-western counties it seemed to hold its ground tenaciously, and in the dairy farms of Cheshire many ancient pastures were given up in despair to the plough. The total loss to the country from the disease, even in this year of improvement, was computed at not less than £3,500,000 in money.

The visitation of the cholera this year was light in comparison with what it was in some foreign cities, and with what it had been in former years in London. The deaths from cholera did not materially affect the returns of mortality for the year; they certainly fell short of eight thousand. In Austria, it was computed that at least 100,000 persons were carried off by cholera in this year, and there was hardly a week in which the deaths in London were not exceeded by those in some continental cities with scarce a tenth of its population. This result was certainly owing in great part to the sanitary precautions and improvements carried out by the Cholera Committee. A curious phenomenon connected with this visitation of cholera was the appearance of a peculiar

blue mist, thus described by Mr. Glaisher, the meteorologist, writing on the 30th July:—"On looking from the grounds of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, under the trees towards the boundary walls of the park, I saw the same dense blue mist, which has continued without intermission to the present time, though somewhat less in density this morning. Ordinary mists pass away when the wind blows with a pressure of half a pound on the square foot. Since last Monday we have had pressure of the wind varying from a quarter of a pound to nine pounds, blowing continually for from sixty to seventy hours, yet there has been no change in this blue appearance. I have examined the atmosphere daily for this blueness, particularly during the last twelve months, and have never seen anything like it since 1854. This blue mist is apparent on all sides; it extends fully to the tops of the trees, though it is not then so easy to distinguish. It is most easily discernible through as much atmosphere as possible, viewed from under a tree, looking under other trees. Thus seen, the boundary walls of Greenwich Park, and all objects near them are coloured blue; or through gaps in trees, if there are others at a sufficient distance to form a background, when it resembles thin smoke from a wood fire. The intensity of the blue is increased when seen through a telescope with a low power. . . . The only other tint of mist I know connected with the prevalence of epidemic is that of a yellow mist, perceptible in like manner when scarlatina is prevalent; in neither case is there any excess of humidity in the air."

The disease kept extending itself as the summer advanced, until it reached its culminating point in the fortnight between the 21st of July and the 4th of August; in the week ending on the last-named day 1,053 deaths from cholera were reported in London. Then all at once it began to subside, and before the month of August had passed, the Lord Mayor was enabled to suggest a large appropriation of the funds which had been liberally subscribed by charitable persons (the Queen sent £500) for the formation and support of cholera hospitals, to the assistance of those who had been left orphans by the epidemic.

The enterprise of laying an insulated electric cable at the bottom of the Atlantic, in order to secure instantaneous telegraphic communication between Europe and America—first attempted in 1857, crowned with a fleeting and illusory success in 1858, and partially accomplished in 1865—was in the summer of this year completely realised, not only by the successful laying of the cable of 1866, but by the recovery from the bottom of the sea of the cable of 1865, which was then pieced on to a new wire rope, and carried safely onward to the shore of Newfoundland. A brief survey of the previous unsuccessful attempts will not be uninstructive. In the first, that of 1857, the cable was of a clumsy and ponderous description, if compared with the lighter and relatively stronger ropes afterwards adopted. Two men-of-war, the *Agamemnon* and the *Niagara*, composed the expedition; the *Niagara* paying out the cable. When 380 miles had been paid out, the cable broke, and the ships returned to port. In 1858, the same ships were employed, and a new plan was tried. The ships proceeded to the middle of the Atlantic, each with 1,500 miles of cable on board; here they effected a splice of the two ends of their respective cargoes, and proceeded in different directions, the *Agamemnon* to the eastward, the *Niagara* to the westward, paying out as they went. Even to the uninitiated this plan would appear to expose the cable to a needless amount of additional strain, and therefore to increase the risk of fracture. Twice the cable broke after less than fifty miles had been paid out; each time the vessels retraced their course, found each other on the waste of waters, effected a fresh splice, and went on paying out as before. A third time the cable broke, when about 140 miles had been submerged; a third time the vessels returned to the watery rendezvous, but they now failed to meet, and each returned separately to Queenstown. A fourth attempt, at the end of July, was more successful; though the signalling was repeatedly interrupted during the paying-out process, the cable did not actually break, and the end was supposed to have been accomplished. The *Niagara* brought her end to Trinity Bay on the 5th August, and on the same day the *Agamemnon* brought hers to Valentia. Messages of congratulation were interchanged between the Queen and the President of the United States (Mr. Buchanan), and for a short time there was great exultation. But a suspiciously great expenditure of electricity was required on one side of the ocean in order to affect the instrument on the other, and the movements of the needle continually became more like those which are produced by the normal electric currents that course through land and sea—"*opis haud indiga nostræ*." The indications became feebler and feebler, and before any commercial use had been made of the cable, they ceased entirely.

Great disappointment was felt in both continents, and for some years no fresh attempt was made. In 1864, a new company was formed, under the auspices of which a new cable was manufactured on a simpler and better plan, and in July, 1865, the *Great Eastern*, accompanied by the *Sphynx* and the *Terrible*, men-of-war, commenced to lay it from Valentia. 1,200 miles of cable had been paid out, and a distance of only 600 miles remained to be traversed, when, while engaged in hauling in upon the cable, in order to discover and remove a "fault" which had revealed itself, the adventurers had the mortification of seeing it suddenly part. All three ships then began to fish for the cable with the greatest diligence; but although repeatedly grappled, it always snapped before it could be raised to the surface, and, after losing an inconceivable amount of rope, and all to no purpose, the expedition returned to England.

From the diary kept by the Secretary of the Anglo-American Telegraph Construction Company on board the *Great Eastern*, we extract a few interesting particulars with reference to her successful voyage in 1866. She took her departure from Berehaven, Bantry Bay, on the 12th July, having the cable stowed away in large coils in two immense tanks, one forward, the other aft. The ship was commanded by Captain Anderson; the "cable

crew," and everything connected with the laying of the cable, was under the superintendence of Mr. Canning. The plan was, that the immense vessel, propelled both by paddles and screw, and, therefore, more manageable than a vessel dependent on one source of motion, should steam slowly ahead, paying out the cable as she went over the stern, through machinery invented for the purpose in the preceding year by Messrs. Canning and Clifford, which had been found to answer admirably. The shore end of the cable, which had been laid at Foilhummerum Bay, in Valentia Island, some days previously, was brought on board the *Great Eastern* on the 13th instant, and made fast to the cable; as soon as the splice was effected, the paying-out process immediately commenced. For some days the weather was everything that could be wished; it seemed as if "old ocean smiled" upon the enterprise; on the 16th, the sea was so still and smooth that the masts of the convoy were reflected in the water, an unusual thing to see. Three men-of-war took part in the expedition, ready to give immediate aid, if necessary—the *Terrible*, the *Albany*, and the *Medway*. The insulation of the cable was perfect; communication between the ship and Valentia was uninterruptedly maintained, and the last news from Europe, received through the cable, was printed each day on board, under the title of the *Great Eastern Telegraph*. The first check to the prosperous progress of the undertaking occurred on the 18th July, and it was a very alarming one. A "foul flake" took place in the after tank, containing, originally, more than 800 miles of cable, while the paying-out was tranquilly going on, a short time after midnight. The engines were immediately turned astern, and the paying-out of cable stopped. "It was found that the coil being paid out had caught three turns of the flake immediately under it, and carried them into the eye of the coil, fouling the lay-out and hauling up one and a half turns from the outside and five turns in the eye of the under flake." To compare great things with small, the emergency was like the tangle which often befalls a lady's skein of silk or worsted, as it is being reeled off from the back of a chair, or from clumsy hands. No fishing line was ever entangled worse than the rope was, when thrust up in apparently hopeless knots from the eye of the coil to the deck. There lay at least 500 feet of rope in this delightful condition; the rain was falling all the time heavily, and the wind getting up. Mr. Canning feared that he would be compelled to cut the cable and buoy it, and the ominous order was given to "stand by to let go the buoy." Captain Anderson, however, conned the ship, and directed the working of wheels and screw, with such admirable skill and judgment, as to keep the ship as nearly as possible right over the rope, so that it should hang straight up and down; in this way the dire necessity of cutting the cable was averted. Meantime, the cable crew had discovered the nature of the tangle, and, by dint of an hour and a half's hard work, succeeded in clearing it, so that soon after 2 A.M., the paying out of the cable could be recommenced. All through this critical period, the insulation of the cable continued to be "simply perfect."

From this time no incident of much moment marked the progress of the expedition. As the *Great Eastern* neared Newfoundland, the weather became foggy, and the *Albany* was sent on to Heart's Content, a harbour in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, to clear the north-east side of the harbour of shipping, and place a boat with a red flag for Captain Anderson to steer to for anchorage. By dint of good management—the men-of-war forming a line of communication between the shore and the *Great Eastern*, and that one which was nearest to her guiding her through the fog by the repeated firing of guns—she was piloted into Trinity Bay without accident on the morning of the 27th of July. The shore end was quickly laid, and the electric union of Europe and America was at last complete. On the 28th, Lord Carnarvon telegraphed to Lord Monck at Ottawa felicitations on the happy result of an enterprise which could not fail to draw closer the ties of amity and fellowship uniting Canada to England; and on the 30th congratulatory messages were exchanged between the Queen and President Johnson.

But this was not all. The task of fishing for the broken end of the cable of 1865, which the loss of all her spare rope had, as we have seen, compelled the *Great Eastern* to abandon in the previous September, was now resumed with all the eager hope and confidence engendered by success. The cable had been lost at a depth of about 2,000 fathoms, and experience had shown that to pick it up at one lift from that enormous depth was impracticable, the mere weight of the cable, in its resistance to the force employed by the picking-up machinery, being sufficient to snap it. It was arranged, therefore, that the *Great Eastern* herself, and the attendant men-of-war, tracing back the cable for the space of several miles from the point of fracture, should grapple for it, and when found raise it, not to the surface, but to various heights from the bottom, so that several miles of cable should be raised to an altitude intermediate between the bottom and the surface, and secured there by buoys attached to the grappling ropes; and thus the final lift, being only from this intermediate altitude, might present reasonable chances of success. But this plan of operations, simple though it be in the telling, involved a great amount of anxious and exhausting labour, and mechanical and practical difficulties of various kinds. We will let the Secretary describe the joyous termination of the enterprise in his own words.

"The grapnel went down for the fifteenth time at 10 A.M. [September 1]. Save that there was a long swell, as there always is in the Atlantic, the sea was like a mill-pond, and as we saw the grapnel go down we could not help remarking to each other that the circumstances under which we were going to make another effort to preserve the cable were as favourable as they could possibly be. In fact, it was felt that if we did not succeed on such a day as this, there was very little chance of our succeeding at all. . . . From 3.45 P.M., when we began to haul up, the strain on the dynamometer varied from 9 to 11. After dinner, we received a signal from the *Medway*" (which had been stationed two miles to the

westward of the *Great Eastern*, and therefore so much nearer to the broken end) "that she, having hooked the cable, had hauled it up about 500 fathoms. We told her to heave up as rapidly as possible, and, in fact, to break the cable, so that we might have the strain taken off our portion of it, and so increase our chance of raising it to the surface. To the eastward, the same effect would be produced by the bight we lifted the day before, and buoyed on the bight buoy. The picking up went on with its usual certainty and precision, and by twelve o'clock (midnight) the bows of the ship were crowded, not only by those actually on watch, but by nearly all the hands, who turned out to see the result of this attempt to recover the cable. . . . Precisely at 12.50 this morning, the cable made its appearance upon the grapnel; and save when the voice of Captain Anderson or Mr. Canning was heard giving an order, one could almost hear a pin drop, such was the perfect silence which prevailed. No excitement, no cheering, as there was on the day when we lifted it before; all was calm and quiet; the men scarcely spoke above their breath." With some difficulty the cable was disengaged from the tenacious hold of the grapnel, and then—"the signal being given to haul up, the western end of the bight was cut with a saw, and grandly and majestically the cable rose up the frowning bows of the *Great Eastern*, slowly passing round the sheave at the bow, and then over the wheels on the fore-part of the deck. Even then there was no excitement; but now men were seen to cross the platform and to touch the rope, in order to feel satisfied that success had been achieved."

But although the cable had been recovered, the momentous question was still unanswered: What is its electrical condition—can signals be sent through it to and from Valentia? Certain necessary measures of precaution took up a considerable time, but at last it became evident that the end of the cable would soon be passed down into the electrician's room. "There, awaiting its arrival, were Mr. Gooch, M.P., Mr. Cyrus Field, Captain Hamilton, Mr. Canning, Mr. Clifford, Professor Thomson, Mr. Deane, and others. At last, Mr. Willoughby Smith, the chief electrician, made his appearance at the door with the end of the cable in his hand, and, the connections having been made, he sat down opposite the instrument. A breathless silence prevailed; not a word was spoken, all eyes being directed upon the experienced operator, whose expression of countenance indicated the deep anxiety he felt in making the test. At the expiration of some ten minutes he relieved our suspense by stating

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that, as far as he had then gone, he believed the tests to be perfect; but another minute had scarcely elapsed when he took off his hat and gave a cheer, which was lustily taken up in the room; and, having been heard outside, it was echoed from stem to stern of the ship with a heartiness which every Englishman can appreciate. . . . Mr. Canning at once sent a message to Mr. Glass, the managing director of the Telegraph Construction Company, expressing the pleasure he felt at speaking to him through the cable of 1865, and the operator at Valentia telegraphed back his congratulations."

What remained to be done was quickly accomplished. The recovered cable was spliced on to the cable coiled on board the *Great Eastern*; the paying out then commenced, and was brought to a successful close at Heart's Content, on the 8th September. When the shore end had been landed, Mr. Gooch sent the following message to Lord Stanley: "Mr. Gooch has the pleasure to inform Lord Stanley that the cable of 1865 was recovered from the bottom of the Atlantic on the 2nd of this month, and has been safely landed to-day in Heart's Content, the recovered cable being in the most perfect condition." Telegraphic communication was thus opened between the two continents, and it is surely safe to predict that our descendants will never allow it to be again interrupted.

The miscarriage of Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill led to periodical demonstrations during the summer and autumn in favour of the extension of the franchise. An organised agitation provided that mass meetings should be held in several of the largest cities in Great Britain, at convenient intervals of time. The riots in and near Hyde Park arose, as we have seen, out of a Reform demonstration; and the irrepressible Mr. Beales, whom Mr. Walpole's exquisite sensibility on the subject of broken heads had probably rather emboldened than mollified, arranged, in concert with the London Working Men's Association, a great Reform meeting in the Guildhall, on the 8th August. The Lord Mayor took the chair, and opened the proceedings with the melodramatic declaration that "the man must have a heart of stone who could witness this magnificent sight without the deepest emotion." Mr. Beales, in moving the first resolution, feelingly alluded to the perils which he had undergone in the cause of the people on the 23rd July. "Lord Derby, for whom individually, as possessing great powers in debate and high literary eminence, he (Mr. Beales) had the greatest respect, had said, at a recent banquet in the City, 'that no cause, however good, was ever otherwise than injured in public opinion, and in the opinion of Legislature, if supported by anything which bore the appearance of intimidation or violence.'" (Mr. O'Connell had years before expressed nearly the same sentiment, in much fewer words, when he said, "The man that commits a crime gives strength to the enemy.") "He (Mr. Beales) cordially assented to every word thus uttered, and the truth of the principle thus laid down brought vividly back to his recollection the memorable scene of the 23rd July last, when his request for admittance to Hyde Park was met by intimidation, and the uplifted truncheons of an army of police on foot, acting under the orders of the Government of which Lord Derby himself is the chief, whilst a magnanimous Chief Commissioner of the same body did his best to place him (Mr. Beales) under the gentle pressure of his horse's hoofs." The learned gentleman concluded by saying, "The prohibition of the League meeting on the 23rd July, and the exclusion of the public from Hyde Park on that day, have done far more than a hundred such meetings could have done to advance the cause of Reform, and unite the people in its support. . . . No half-and-half measure of Reform will now be listened to. The banner of the League, having inscribed on it, 'Residential and Registered Manhood Suffrage, and the Ballot,' is now hailed in all quarters."

Mr. Odger, whose now celebrated name had not, we believe, till then been heard of, seconded the next resolution, which menaced the existing Government with the withdrawal of all sympathy and support on the part of the Reformers if they did not speedily introduce a bill for the amendment of the representation of the people. Mr. Coffey also, and Mr. Bradlaugh, spoke in the course of the evening. About six weeks after this (September 24) a meeting, supposed to be larger than any that had been ever assembled in England, was held at Manchester. Bodies of men from the numerous manufacturing towns and villages in the neighbourhood were marching into Manchester all the morning, carrying flags inscribed with the words "National Reform Union," and proceeded to the large open space called Campfield, where six platforms had been erected. Notwithstanding the torrents of rain which continued throughout the day, the numbers assembled were estimated at between 100,000 and 200,000 persons. In connection with each of the six platforms three identical resolutions were moved and passed, the general effect of which was to identify the people of Manchester, in opinions and political action, with Mr. Beales and his fellow-agitators. A high tribute was paid to some of the members of the late Government, and other friends of Reform, particularly Mr. Bright, in the third resolution, which ran thus:—"That this meeting tenders its warmest and most grateful thanks to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, John Bright, Esq., John Stuart Mill, Esq., and all friends of Reform, who, throughout the late discussions in Parliament, vindicated the character and protected the rights of the people; and further expresses confidence in the honesty and ability of Mr. John Bright to champion the people's cause in Parliament during the coming parliamentary struggle." A resolution, passed in the evening at a great meeting in the Free Trade Hall, showed how deeply the eloquent and sarcastic invectives of Mr. Lowe were felt and resented by their objects:—"This meeting, while recording its indignation at the insults offered in Parliament and by the press to the working classes and their advocates, calls on the people of this country to allow themselves no longer to be trifled with by an oligarchic few, and to rally round those men who have upheld their cause." On the 8th October, a great Reform meeting was held at Leeds. The dreary open space above the town, called Woodhouse Moor, was the scene of the gathering, at which it was estimated that

not less than 200,000 persons were collected. Resolutions of a similar character to those adopted at Manchester were passed; several speakers fiercely abused Mr. Lowe, and vindicated the character of the working men from the aspersions which had been heaped upon it; nor was the usual vote of confidence in Mr. Bright forgotten. A similar demonstration took place in Edinburgh in November. An immense working man's meeting had been arranged for the 3rd December, to be held at Beaufort House, Kensington, but it proved to be less imposing than the promoters had intended, not much more than an eighth of the 200,000 working men whose presence had been reckoned upon, actually making their appearance. An excited glass-blower, named Leicester, spoke as follows:—"Every stage of that contest had called forth its martyrs, and they had a martyr before them in Mr. Beales. The question was, *Would they suffer these little-minded, decrepit, humpbacked, one-eyed scoundrels who sat in the House of Commons to rob and defraud them any longer of their rights*—whether those who had squandered the people's earnings like water should continue to do so? From one end to the other of this land their fiat had gone forth that they meant to be free. What had Lord Derby done? He had translated Homer. But he could not make one of those beautiful specimens of glass-work which had been carried in procession that day. There was not a stocking-weaver in Leicester, or a clodhopper in the kingdom, rendering service to the State, who was not quite as useful as Lord Derby. What the people meant to do was to drive the devil out of the House of Commons, and let God Almighty in." Such foul-mouthed ribaldry, proceeding from the murky and obstructed cogitations of a soul naturally ignoble, and perverted—by the indulgence of the passions of vanity and envy—to a deliberate preference of the mechanical to the spiritual, of the hand to the soul, seemed to lend some colour to the too sweeping assaults of Mr. Lowe against the character of the working class. It is, however, satisfactory to reflect that the speaker does not appear to have found imitators; and an incident which occurred on the following evening showed that there was a natural fairness and manliness about the English working man, which such speakers as the glass-blower at Beaufort House were very far from representing. At a Reform meeting of the London Trades in St. James's Hall (Dec. 4), Mr. Ayrton was understood to censure the Queen for not recognising the people when they gathered in such numbers in front of one of her palaces. In reply to these remarks, Mr. Bright said:—"I am not accustomed to stand up in defence of those who are possessors of crowns, but I could not sit and hear that observation without a sensation of wonder and of pain. I think that there has been, by many persons, a great injustice done to the Queen in reference to her desolate and widowed position. And I venture to say this, that a woman—be she the Queen of a great realm, or be she the wife of one of you labouring men—who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and affections, is not at all likely to be wanting in a great and generous sympathy with you." Every sentence of this vindication was greeted with cheers, and at its close there was loud and prolonged cheering, amidst which the body of people in the hall arose and sang a verse of "God save the Queen."

So persevering and wide-spread an agitation in pursuit of a political object in a country constitutionally governed, must have disposed the Conservative Government, even if originally averse to mooting the question, to make the question of Parliamentary Reform the serious subject of their councils. But we have already seen, from the speech of Mr. Disraeli in Buckinghamshire, that, although the Government regarded itself as wholly unpledged, the question of Reform was one which had no terrors for the versatile and experienced leader of the party in the House of Commons; and in the course of the winter it became known that the Ministry were engaged in framing a large and comprehensive measure, and would introduce it early in the ensuing session.

One of the severest commercial crises ever known in this country will make the months of May and June, 1866, for ever memorable in the history of banking and finance. The crash which caused so many goodly and solid-seeming commercial and financial structures to topple over and collapse in irretrievable ruin, was the natural reaction after a period of feverish, over-sanguine, and partly unsound speculation. The year 1865 had witnessed the launch on the money market of a vast number of new undertakings, carried on by companies offering the advantage of limited liability to their shareholders, and professing to hold out to the fortunate investor opportunities of enriching himself beyond the wildest dream of avarice. As the spring of 1866 wore on, the solvency and utility of some of these speculations came seriously into question, and a tendency to realise manifested itself. There was one immense financing firm which in the magnitude of its discounts had no equal in the City. This was the Limited Liability Company of Overend, Gurney, and Co., the shareholders of which had, as a great privilege, purchased the good-will of the business of the well-known firm of Overend and Gurney the year before, for the sum of £500,000. At the time they thus sold their business, the firm, as the subsequent judicial investigation proved, was hopelessly insolvent to the extent of many millions. The representatives of the new company must have been either quixotically confiding, or culpably remiss, or financially incompetent, not to have obtained some inkling, at the time of the negotiations for the purchase, of the real state of affairs; it seems certain, however, that their ignorance was as complete as that of the world outside. In March or April, it became known that certain firms and companies, with which Overend, Gurney, and Co. had had large transactions, were in difficulties or had suspended payment; a feeling of uneasiness arose; the shares of the company, which had been quoted at a good premium, fell below par; and some of the new shareholders, becoming alarmed, commenced to sell out. An immediate further depreciation of the shares was, of course, the consequence; this led to increased alarm, and to pressure from the company's creditors. The directors, perceiving ruin to be imminent, sought assistance from the Bank of England; but the authorities of that establishment, after

investigating the affairs of the company sufficiently to convince themselves that no slight or temporary measures of relief would be of the least avail, declined to grant the accommodation requested. Meantime, the run upon them was increasing, and the price of the shares continually falling; and on the afternoon of May 10th, the company had no choice but to close its doors and suspend payment. The liabilities were stated at the enormous sum of £11,000,000; the assets, it was feared, and with great reason, as the events proved, would, even if realised under the most favourable circumstances, leave an enormous margin of indebtedness. Friday morning ushered in a day of universal panic and consternation in the City, such as had not been seen since the disastrous year of 1857. The vast multitude of buyers and sellers, bulls and bears, knaves and dupes, brokers and investors, who swarm during the business hours of the day in the streets which surround the Royal Exchange, consented together, as if by a tacit understanding, to call the day "Black Friday." Every half-hour some well-known firm or company, which but the day before had presented a smiling and prosperous front to the world, was announced to have suspended payment. Crowds of despairing depositors collected round the door of Overend, Gurney, and Co., in Lombard Street, and discussed in tones of anger or despondency the prospects of the bankruptcy. Upon all the private banks the run was intensely severe; the managers of these sought assistance from the Bank of England, and, when the securities were unexceptionable, were in no instance refused. But the consequence was that the Bank, whose reserves at the beginning of the day were close upon £7,000,000, although it charged 9 per cent. all day for accommodation, found itself, when the business of the day was over, with the reserves reduced to little over £3,000,000. What measures the Bank authorities were driven to in face of this alarming reduction, will presently be related. The crash of falling houses was resounding all day in the financial ear. The English Joint-Stock Company was one of the first to go, dragging down with it thirty-one provincial branches in its fall. Failures for less than half a million were so comparatively unimportant as to arouse little attention. The convulsion reached its climax towards the close of the day, when the stoppage of the great firm of railway contractors, Peto, Betts, and Co., with liabilities exceeding £4,000,000, was announced. The authorities of the Bank of England communicated to the Treasury, as in duty bound, the drain which menaced the exhaustion of their reserves. The emergency was so serious that Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone, after conferring with a great number of bankers and directors of finance companies, agreed to allow the credit of the country to be employed, though the permission involved an infringement of the law, in order that the Bank might continue to relieve the wants of capitalists, who, possessing ample securities, were embarrassed by the suddenness of the demands made upon them by timid depositors and creditors. Late on Friday night Mr. Gladstone announced in the House of Commons that an authority would be sent next morning from the Treasury to the Bank, to continue discounting good bills, even though their reserves should thereby be reduced below the minimum required by law, provided that they made no such discounts at a lower rate of interest than 10 per cent. The panic in the City was greatly allayed when the decision of the Government was made known; confidence began to revive; and eventually (as has been already mentioned) the Bank did not find it necessary to infringe the law. Yet one more gigantic failure occurred before the crisis passed. This was the stoppage of Agra and Masterman's Bank, a house of old standing, and with a most extensive Indian connection, the business of which, as in the case of Overend and Gurney, had been lately transferred by its former proprietors to a Limited Liability Company. The run on this particular bank was so persistent, that, in the four weeks which intervened between the commencement of the crisis and their own stoppage, they paid away more than £3,000,000 over the counter, yet were unable to avert the catastrophe.

In consequence of the disasters thus described, and many other minor failures which we have not noticed, numbers of families found themselves reduced from affluence to poverty; many had to descend to a lower position in society, and an extensive contraction of expenditure took place, the effects of which were felt through all the channels of trade, and especially by those who minister to the amusements and luxuries of the affluent. It was remarked that the principle of limited liability, which, when first introduced, was held to confer so great a boon upon investors, inasmuch as it sheltered the individual proprietors of any joint-stock adventure from that awful responsibility for the *whole* debts of the concern, which the law, as it formerly stood, imposed upon them, had come to be so worked in practice as to make this immunity from risk, in numberless cases, illusory. It had become customary to announce a new company with a nominal share capital of large amount, but to state in the prospectus that only one or two pounds would be called up on each share, and skilfully to induce the belief, by glowing accounts tending to impress the reader with a sense of the safe and lucrative character of the speculation, that no further calls would require to be made. Suppose there to be five new companies, each coming out with a share capital of £200,000, in £20 shares, and calling up £1 per share, with an intimation that it was not probable that any further call would be necessary, but that under no possible circumstances, so certain was the prospect of speedy and ample profits, could the calls exceed £3 per share. A man who had saved £3,000 might think he was following a wise and safe course by investing part of that sum in the shares of the five companies, buying, let us say, two hundred shares in each, on which he would have to pay up £1,000, and supposing that, if the worst came to the worst, he would not be called upon for more than his £3,000. But a commercial crisis arrives; the companies get into difficulties; they have, perhaps, launched out into expense far exceeding the amount paid upon the shares, and every one who has a claim upon them turns round and presses for his money. Under these circumstances, whether the com-

panies suspend payment or not, they are obliged to make fresh calls upon the unpaid portion of the shares. Thus our imaginary investor may find himself, in an extreme case, called upon to furnish £20,000 upon his shares, instead of the £3,000 which he had fondly fancied to be the utmost that would ever be demanded of him. It was in this way that the shareholders of many limited liability companies found themselves, unless persons of large capital, face to face with ruin, because they had unthinkingly entangled themselves in a liability which, limited as it was, yet, when pressed to its full extent, was more than they could sustain.

A variety of minor incidents falling under the year 1866 may here be briefly noticed. The House of Commons gave proof of its unabated loyal attachment to the House of Hanover, by voting to the Princess Helena, on the occasion of the announcement of her intended marriage to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, an annual allowance of £6,000 a year, and a dowry of £30,000—a donation similar to that which had been granted to the Princess Alice. The marriage took place at Windsor Castle on the 5th July. Another marriage, which excited much popular interest—for the well-known geniality and good-nature of the bride made her a universal favourite—was that of the Princess Mary of Cambridge, at Kew, on the 12th June, to the Prince von Teck. The great Banda and Kirwee prize-money case was argued, and decided in this year. From the magnitude of the booty which was the subject of litigation, and the number and position of the claimants, the pleadings were followed with interest. In the course of the campaign of 1858 in Central India, which stamped out the last remains of the mutiny in that region, General Whitlock had led a British force to Banda, driven out the Nawab, and taken possession of a rich booty in gold and jewels collected there, the value of which was estimated at not less than £800,000. The question to be decided was—to whom did this booty of right belong? Ought it to be awarded to General Whitlock's force exclusively, by which Banda was taken—or were other divisions, even though serving at a distance, entitled to their share, on the ground that it was by their co-operation that the taking of Banda was rendered possible? The family of Lord Clyde, who was Commander-in-Chief in India at the time, also appeared as claimants. On one of the days of hearing, Mr. Bovill advanced a curious precedent, which he had found in the Old Testament, touching the equitable distribution of prize-money. In the Book of Samuel it was narrated that David with a part of his army pursued the Amalekites, and took much spoil; and since some portions of David's army had remained in charge of the baggage, while the remainder pursued the enemy, the question arose whether the pursuers alone should monopolise the booty, or whether they should share it with those that remained behind. King David decided that "as his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff; they shall part alike." By parity of reasoning, Mr. Bovill maintained that his clients had borne a necessary part in the scheme of capture through which Banda fell to General Whitlock, and that they had, therefore, a right to participate in the spoil. Dr. Lushington delivered judgment in the case on the 30th June. He seems to have admitted the force of Mr. Bovill's scriptural argument in so far that he included under the description of "General Whitlock's forces," to whom he awarded the sum in litigation, "any troops left by General Whitlock on his march, but which at the time of the capture formed a portion of his division, and were still under his command." Lord Clyde and his staff were also declared entitled to share in the booty captured at Banda and Kirwee; but the claim of Sir Hugh Rose and his army, employed at the time in the important collateral operation of the siege of Jhansi, but who had never effected an actual junction with General Whitlock—and all other claims—were disallowed. The foundering of the *London*, a large iron steamship, in the Bay of Biscay, in the January of this year, with a loss of two hundred and twenty lives, including Dr. Woolley, the principal of the new Sydney University, and the well-known actor, Gustavus Brooke, was memorable for the calm courage displayed by the captain, Captain Martin, who sent off his chief engineer in the only boat which could be launched, saying that his own duty was to stay by the ship. This boat, with nineteen persons on board, was picked up by a passing vessel. The wonderful procession of meteors, radiating from a point in the north-eastern sky, seen on the night of the 13th November, though not a proper subject for a political and social history, could never be forgotten by any that witnessed it. A deficient harvest deepened the painful impression which the monetary disasters of 1866 had left on the minds of the people. In the critical months of August and September the weather was unusually wet and stormy, and the wheat crop suffered much in consequence. A great deal of corn was housed in bad condition, and no inconsiderable portion wasted or spoiled. The result was a yield considerably below the average, and the prices of grain were consequently much enhanced. The prices of other necessaries were also raised; although this was probably due to a permanent cause, with which the bad harvest had nothing to do—we refer to that gradual rise in the price of all articles of necessary consumption, which the continual influx of gold, in quantities before unknown, into the markets of the world, commencing from the discovery of the gold-fields of California, has slowly but surely effected. These untoward circumstances, combined with a contraction of the demand for labour, arising from commercial failures and discredit, made the winter of 1866—7 a period of considerable suffering to the poor in England.

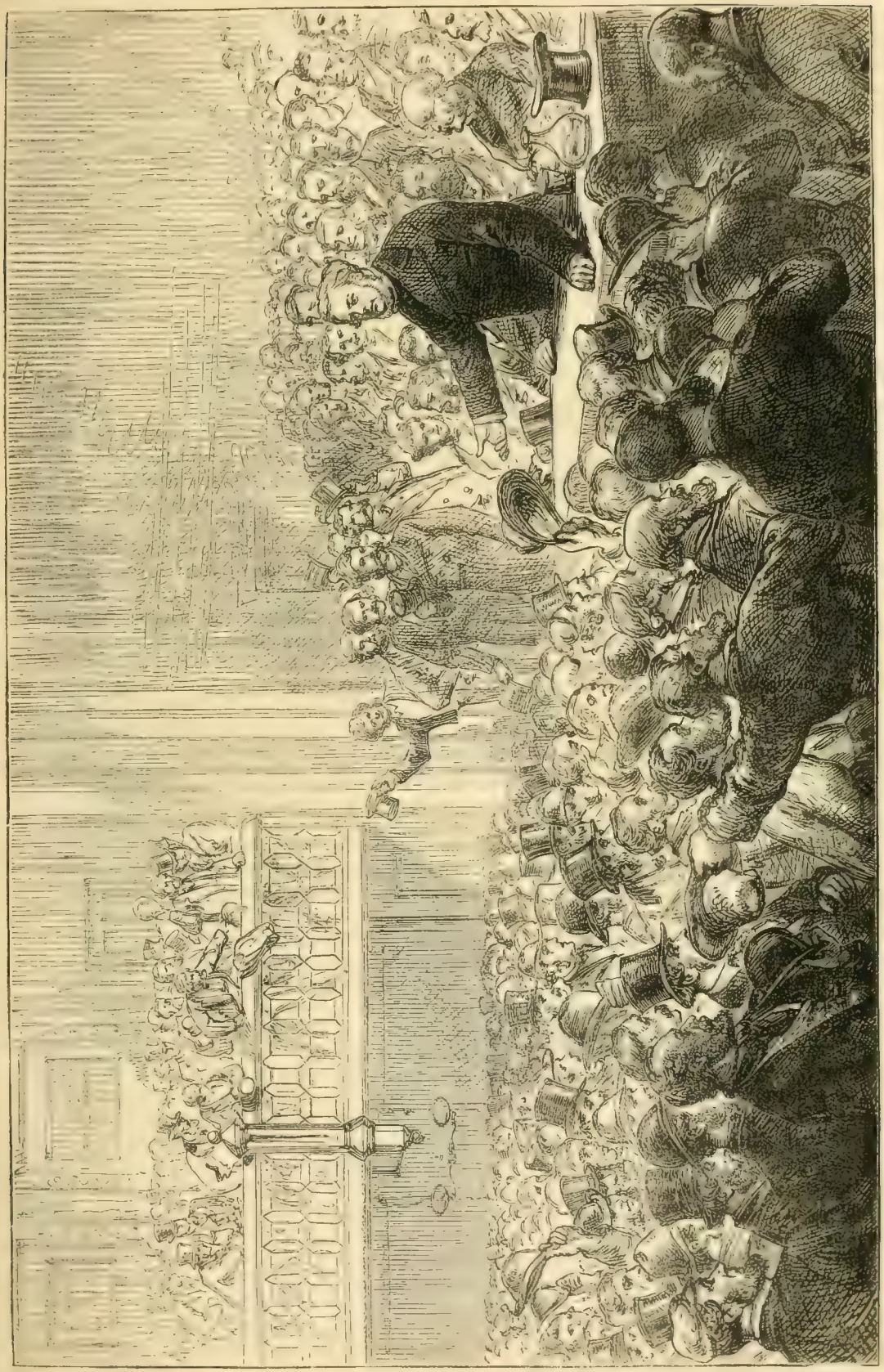
CHAPTER XIX.

State of Ireland in 1866: Fenian Trials: Lord Wodehouse's Letter: Government introduces a Bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland; it is rapidly passed into a Law: Numerous Arrests in Dublin: Arrival of Troops: Renewal of the Suspension Act in August: Mr. Maguire protests against it; it becomes Law: No actual Outbreak occurs in Ireland—Fenianism in America: Sweeny and Stephens: Fenian Raid into Canada; Skirmish with the Canadian Militia; Fenians retire: Another Raid from Ver-

mont: Firm attitude of the American Government—Death and Character of the Queen Marie Amélie; of Dr. Whewell; of Bishop Cotton; of Mr. Keble.

THE state of Ireland in 1866 was such as to excite grave and sorrowful reflections in the minds of those citizens of either country who desire to see the day when old wounds shall be healed, old international wrongs redressed, old causes of animosity forgotten. We have described in a former chapter the circumstances under which Stephens, the chief head-centre, effected his escape from confinement in 1865, and how a special commission was appointed, in order to try Fenian prisoners. During January, the Fenian trials were going on in Dublin before Mr. Justice Keogh, and a number of the accused were sentenced to terms of penal servitude varying from ten to five years. But the terrors of the law, and the grave and solemn tones of determined justice, reprobating the guilt and folly of the Fenian conspiracy, were contumaciously set at nought by many of the prisoners. Patrick Hayburne, of the "Emmet Guard" in the Fenian brotherhood, a young man, the only support of his mother, on being found guilty, requested the judge to sentence him to a term of penal servitude rather than to two years' imprisonment. Mr. Justice Keogh expressed his pity for the misguided youth, and passed the latter sentence, on which the prisoner exclaimed, "I will have the same principles afterwards." In Dublin, and still more in Limerick, the populace loudly cheered Fenian prisoners as they were being taken to gaol. A number of strangers continued to arrive in Dublin, many of them betraying by their military bearing that they had seen service in the field, whom the police knew to be in communication with those suspected of Fenianism, but who were careful to commit no overt act which could bring them within the grasp of the law, and, on being questioned, said that they were come to Ireland to see their friends. Arms of all kinds were continually being seized; even three pieces of artillery were discovered, just on the point of being dispatched to Drogheda. The attempts to seduce soldiers from their allegiance, in spite of the severity of the special commission against this particular offence, were found to increase in frequency. In addition to the former reward of £1,000 offered by the Government for the apprehension of Stephens, a further sum of £1,000 was now offered for such private information as should lead to his capture; but no informer came forward. All this was generally known before the meeting of Parliament; but the despatch of the Lord Lieutenant, dated February 14th, proposing the suspension of the Habeas

DR. WHEWELL.



MR. BRIGHT'S VINDICATION OF THE QUEEN.

Corpus Act, proved that matters were more serious than the public had any idea of. Lord Wodehouse wrote:—

"The state of affairs is very serious. The conspirators, undeterred by the punishment of so many of their leaders, are actively organising an outbreak, with a view to destroy the Queen's authority. Sir Hugh Rose details the various plans they have in contemplation, and he draws no exaggerated picture. There are scattered over the country a number of agents, who are swearing in members, and who are prepared to take the command when the moment arrives. These men are of the most dangerous class. They are Irishmen, imbued with American notions, thoroughly reckless, and possessed of considerable military experience, acquired in a field of warfare (the civil war in America) admirably adapted to train them for conducting an insurrection here. There are 340 such men known to the police in the provinces, and those known in Dublin amount to about 160, so that in round numbers there are 500. Of course, there are many more who escape notice. This number is being augmented by fresh men constantly arriving from America. In Dublin itself there are several hundred men (perhaps about 300 or 400) who have come over from England and Scotland, who receive 1s. 6d. a day, and are waiting for the time of action. Any one may observe these men loitering about at the corners of the streets. As to arms, we have found no less than three regular manufactories of pikes, bullets, and cartridges in Dublin. The police believe that several more exist. Of course, bullets are not made unless there are rifles to put them in. The disaffection of the population in some counties, such as Cork, Tipperary, Waterford, and Dublin, is alarming; and it is day by day spreading more and more through every part of the country. But the most dangerous feature of the present movement is the attempt to seduce the troops. Are we to allow these agents to go on instilling their poison into our armed force, upon which our security mainly depends?" Lord Wodehouse concluded his despatch by declaring that he could not be responsible for the safety of the country, if power was not forthwith given to the Government to seize the leaders; on that condition he hoped still to avert serious mischief.

On the receipt of this letter, Sir George Grey, then Home Secretary, immediately requested Lord Russell to summon a meeting of the Cabinet, and when it was convened, laid Lord Wodehouse's letter before them, and urged that his application with regard to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act should be acceded to. The Cabinet unanimously agreed that there was no choice but to accede to the application, and it was determined that a bill for the purpose should be introduced into the House of Commons on the next day (Saturday, February 16), and carried through all its stages, so as to receive the royal assent, and become law on the same day, and be carried into execution by the Irish Government not later than Monday. This was accordingly done. At twelve o'clock next day, Sir George Grey brought in a Bill to suspend for six months the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. His arguments were chiefly derived from Lord Wodehouse's letter, and they were of a nature that the governments of nations, in the legislative no less than in the executive branches, usually find irresistible. Yet it was a saddening thought, that sixty-five years after the Union, and thirty-four years after the first Reform Bill, so little progress had been made in attaching the masses of the Irish people to the constitution under which an Englishman thinks it his happiness to live! Mr. Bright gave impressive utterance to this feeling, when he spoke of the shame and humiliation which he felt at being called on for the second time, in a parliamentary career of twenty-two years (the first occasion was at the time of Smith O'Brien's rising in 1848), to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. He asserted that Ireland was in a state of chronic agitation, and that the numerical majority of the Irish people were in favour of a complete separation. Although this was not the occasion for entering upon the general question of the state of Ireland, and the nature of the remedial measures that were required, he could not but express his conviction that the institutions under which Irishmen were required to live were not such as could command their affection or call forth their loyalty; yet he believed there was a mode of making Ireland loyal, and he threw the responsibility of discovering it on the Government and on the Imperial Parliament.

Mr. Roebuck, alluding to the asserted fact that the Catholic clergy in Ireland were opposed to the Fenians—who on their side scouted the notion of submission to priestly authority, and endeavoured to undermine the influence of the clergy over the people—said that nevertheless he attributed much of the present discontent to the Roman Catholic priesthood, who for years had taught the people to hate English rule, but who, now that they found themselves threatened by this conspiracy, had become wondrous loyal. He went on to ridicule the sentiment of nationality, on the ground that every great empire in the world's history had been made up of different nationalities. Mr. Roebuck's study of history had failed—his opponents asserted—to show him, that men will not sacrifice the nationality of race to the nationality of citizenship, unless the sacrifice is made worth their while. Justice—equality—sympathy—where these are, it is not so very difficult to weld populations differing in race and language into one common nationality. The German inhabitants of Alsace are thoroughly French in feeling—as Germany knows to her cost—because, at any rate since the Revolution, no Frenchman ever dreamed of talking to them about their being under "French rule;" being an integral portion of the French people, they were no more under the rule of the rest of their countrymen, than the Normans or the Bretons were. Did Mr. Roebuck ever realise to himself what would be the feelings of an Englishman, if he were conscious of living under a rule other than English? Yet he expected the people of Ireland to love "English rule," and thought they would have come to do so, but for the priests! Leave was given to introduce the bill by a majority of 364 to 6 votes; it passed through all its stages without further discussion, and was then sent up to the Lords, who dis-

posed of it with equal celerity. But the royal assent had to be given, before the measure could become law; and the Queen was at this time at Osborne. As soon as the bill had passed the Lords, a telegram announcing the result was sent to Earl Granville, who was in attendance on her Majesty at Osborne, and who thereupon solicited and obtained the Queen's signature to the usual formal document, authorising her assent to be given to the bill by Commission. The sittings of both Houses were suspended till 11 p.m., by which time it was calculated that the special train conveying the document might have arrived. But midnight came, and still the messenger did not appear; at half-past twelve, however, the despatch box, bearing the important document, was brought to the Lord Chancellor. Some time elapsed before it was properly filled up, and then the clerk entered, carrying the Royal Commission. The House of Commons was sent for to hear the royal assent given to the bill in question, and soon the Speaker, accompanied by about fifty members, appeared at the bar of the House. The Commissioners then stated that it was Her Majesty's will and pleasure to give her assent to the bill, and it became law. This was about twenty minutes to one on the Sunday morning. Probably no statute was ever passed with so much celerity as this, the first Act of the new Parliament.

But rapid as were the operations of the legislature, the Dublin executive considered the state of affairs so critical as to justify it in anticipating the passing of the law. On Saturday morning, February 17, the arrests of suspected persons commenced, and were continued through the day, nearly 250 persons being in custody at nightfall. No resistance was in any case offered to the police, nor were any captures of arms effected on this day. Thirty-seven American citizens, of Irish extraction, most, if not all, of whom had served in the civil war, were among the persons arrested. The suddenness of the blow appears to have utterly disconcerted the conspirators. The suspicious-looking strangers, who had for weeks past haunted the streets of Dublin, disappeared; the steamers to Liverpool were crowded with passengers; and for several days the steamboats sailing for America took away numbers of bellicose gentlemen, who found that the Irish revolution was not to come off just yet. The authorities, however, neglected no necessary precaution; the vans conveying prisoners to Kilmainham or Richmond were guarded by troops; all the soldiers of the garrison not on duty were confined to their quarters all night, ready to turn out at a moment's notice; and no strangers were admitted within the gates of the Pigeon-house Fort, which guards the mouth of the Liffey, on any pretence. The most important arrest was believed to be that of Patrick J. M'Donnell, said to have been at the head of the movement since the escape of Stephens. In the provinces some noteworthy incidents occurred. On the same night on which the arrests were effected in Dublin, a body of Fenians were practising drill at a place called Cullen in the county Tipperary; a patrol of police came up and endeavoured to disperse them; the Fenians then fired upon and wounded some of the police, one man mortally. At Trim, in the county Meath, several arrests were made, among them that of Mr. Malone, one of the wealthiest and most respectable merchants in the town; other persons moving in a respectable position were also captured. At Queenstown, about a month later, two of the Town Commissioners were arrested. These instances showed that the passage in the Queen's speech at the opening of the session, speaking of the Fenian movement as "a conspiracy adverse alike to authority, property, and religion, and disapproved and condemned alike by all who are interested in their maintenance," was unfortunately not quite exact.

In making a great display of force at the outset, the Irish executive was probably pursuing the wisest and also the most humane course. Troops kept pouring into Dublin; the 1st Battalion of the Coldstream Guards and the 85th Regiment arrived there before the end of February, and were followed by the 6th Dragoon Guards and a body of artillerymen, as well as a detachment of the Military Train corps from Woolwich. The most stringent measures were taken for stamping out any signs of disaffection that might manifest themselves among the troops; nor was this severity without cause, for not privates only, but several non-commissioned officers, were found to have either taken the Fenian oath, or uttered treasonable language, or been seen habitually in the company of notorious Fenians. Through the greater part of March frequent arrests continued to be made; and by that time the ranks of the disaffected were so depleted and discouraged, partly by the arrest of the leaders, partly by the rush to America and England of those who knew themselves to be most compromised among their followers, that all fear of an outbreak was at an end.

The Act for the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* was originally passed for six months only, and would have expired on the 1st of September; but as the new Ministry felt that to allow it to expire would endanger the public peace, they sought and obtained from Parliament at the beginning of August the enactment of a bill renewing the former Act for an indefinite period. Lord Naas, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, stated that from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act up to the 23rd of July, 419 persons who had been imprisoned had been discharged, generally on condition that they should leave the country. From every authority he learned that it would be dangerous to permit the sudden and simultaneous liberation of the 320 prisoners who remained in custody; yet such liberation was unavoidable if the Act were allowed to expire. He spoke of the fact that, although suppressed in Ireland, at any rate as to any public manifestations, the Fenian conspiracy still existed in force in another country; that there were still in Ireland newspapers advocating the Fenian cause, which disseminated seditious and treasonable sentiments through the country; and that secret drillings of the population had been lately renewed. Mr. Maguire protested against the renewal of the Act, on the ground that there was no disorder now in Ireland which the ordinary powers of the law were not adequate to deal with. On

the other hand, Mr. Gladstone—while stating his opinion that the renewal of the Act burdened the Government with a very heavy responsibility, and made it incumbent on them to investigate with renewed ardour, and to remove by wise legislation, whatever grievances and inequalities, existing in the laws and institutions of Ireland, supplied a necessary aliment to the disaffection of the Irish people—declared that if the late Government had been still in power it would have been their duty to have made the same application to Parliament as that which was then being made by the existing Government. The bill was passed by a large majority in the Commons, and on being sent up to the House of Lords, was supported in a remarkable speech by the Earl of Kimberley, formerly Lord Wodehouse. The ex-Lord Lieutenant declared that if he had remained in office he should have recommended the adoption of this bill by Parliament. No one except those intimately acquainted with the facts could be aware how formidable the Fenian conspiracy had been. Since 1798 there had not existed so dangerous a condition of the public mind as in the past year. The promoters of the scheme had not been found in the poorer and more ignorant classes, but belonged to the class which was best described as artisans and small tradesmen; whilst in the south-west of Ireland, if a rebellion had broken out, there was no doubt the farmers also would have been ready to take part in it. Adverting to the alleged grievances of Ireland, the speaker observed that the question of land tenure was one which must shortly occupy the earnest attention of Parliament, and that the anomaly of the Irish Church must also be considered. This sentence supplies, it must be owned, some sort of confirmation to the oft-repeated taunts of the Irish national press, to the effect that the Irish Land Bill and the Irish Church Bill were not dictated by a spontaneous desire to remedy the grievances of Ireland, but were extorted from England by the dread of Fenianism. The bill soon became law; and, although nothing like an open rising was attempted during the remainder of the year, nor was a drop of blood shed, still it is impossible to doubt that the extraordinary powers placed in the hands of the executive enabled them to act with far greater promptitude against the first symptoms of insurrection, and with far less of friction and popular irritation, than would have been possible in conjunction with the somewhat cumbrous safeguards and formalities which in quiet times protect the personal liberty of the subject. In the hands of a despotic and irresponsible executive, animated by motives of interest, fear, or hatred, such an arbitrary power of arrest as that now confided to the Irish Government might easily be abused—as it often has been abused—for the vilest purposes of tyranny. But in the present case, behind the Irish Government stood the Cabinet in England, and behind the Cabinet stood a free and watchful Parliament, and behind the Parliament stood the constituencies of the United Kingdom; so that three separate and successive grades in the great hierarchy of political responsibility remained for the protection of the peaceable and law-abiding Irishman, although the palladium of the Habeas Corpus Act was for the time removed from sight into the inner courts of the sanctuary of the constitution.

Seditious and alarmist articles in Irish papers, rumours carefully propagated of Fenian expeditions about to land on some point of the Irish coast, and the certainty that arms were being continually manufactured or imported, and distributed through the country, kept the Government on the *qui vive* all through the autumn; but the rumours were probably malicious, and certainly false, and no actual outbreak occurred. In America matters did not proceed quite so smoothly. Since the arrival of Stephens in the United States, the Fenians in that country had been distracted by a split which arose between their leaders. That the British empire should be destroyed was a political axiom admitted both by Sweeny and Stephens; it was only upon the *modus operandi* that these redoubtable chiefs differed. Sweeny appears to have considered that it was necessary to annex Canada first, and thence proceed to the conquest of Ireland; Stephens, on the other hand, desired that all other plans should be made subordinate to the preparation of a formidable Fenian expedition, which should disembark at some point in the west of Ireland. Loud was the debate, and voluble the discussion. The Fenian "senate" and most of the American Fenians adhered to Sweeny, while the Irish whose expatriation was of recent date swore by Stephens. Sweeny denounced Stephens as a "British spy," and doubtless Stephens was not at a loss for a fit epithet by which to characterise Sweeny—

> "Strange such a difference should be
> 'Twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee!"

The valiant Sweeny, as the year wore on, took measures to test the soundness of his strategic plan for the invasion of Ireland *viâ* Canada. On the morning of the 1st June, 1866, a body of Fenians of the Sweeny faction, numbering 1,000 men, under the command of a Colonel O'Neil, crossed the Niagara river from Buffalo, where it enters Lake Erie, and occupied the farm or hamlet called Fort Erie on the Canadian shore. The news of this absurd raid, with which the Fenians of the United States had been threatening Canada for months past, quickly reached Toronto; and the authorities there at once dispatched all the troops they could collect to the scene of action. 1,500 men, mostly regulars, under the command of Colonel Peacocke, marched by way of the Falls of Niagara and the village of Chippewa; while 500 militiamen, under Colonel Dennis, were sent by rail to Port Colborne. The Fenians made no forward movement that day, nor were they molested at Fort Erie; but by some extraordinary accident Colonel Dennis and a few of his men allowed themselves to be taken prisoners by them. The command of the militia then devolved upon Colonel Booker, who, on the morning of June 2, led his men forward from Port Colborne, along the margin of Lake Erie, to attack the invaders. Colonel Peacocke, misled by a report that the Fenians were marching upon Chippewa, led his forces to that place, and thus had no share in the trifling action which ensued. Arrived at a village called Ridgway, about half-way between Port Colborne and Fort Erie, Colonel

Booker fell in with the Fenian column, which was advancing along the lake. A skirmish ensued, in which six militiamen were killed and forty wounded, the Fenians suffering about equally. Finding himself outnumbered, Col. Booker retired towards Port Colborne. The Fenians did not pursue; probably by this time they had heard of the proximity of Colonel Peacocke with his regulars. Wisely deeming discretion the better part of valour, they recrossed the Niagara on the night of the 2nd, leaving a few of their wounded and some stragglers—in all about sixty men—in the hands of the loyalists.

Another raid, still more foolish and reckless than the first, was executed by the Fenians on the 7th June, when, to the number of 2,000 or 3,000 men, led by a General Spear, they crossed the frontier from the State of Vermont and occupied a little village called Pigeon Hill, not far from Montreal. Some slight skirmishes between this force and some small bodies of yeomanry and militia that were hastily sent against them are reported; after which Spear led his warriors back again, and was immediately arrested, along with Sweeny and another Fenian leader called Roberts, by the United States authorities. Indeed, nothing could be more honourable than the conduct of the American Government during the whole affair. President Johnson issued a proclamation denouncing the act of the Fenians in carrying war into the territories of a friendly nation as a gross violation of the laws of the United States, and requiring all Union officials to repress such illegal acts by every means in their power, and to place under arrest any persons who should be found committing them. The indignation of the Canadians at these outrages—as disgraceful as they were absurd—was very great; and the funerals of the slain militiamen were celebrated with extraordinary pomp, and attended by an immense concourse of persons.

Fenianism had its victims in America; in Ireland, as has been seen, its ebullitions were so far bloodless. The day preceding Christmas-day, which rumour had assigned as the date of a rising, passed off in tranquillity; and the threats and predictions of the national journals were found to be mere wasted breath. The conspirators must have been conscious that their proceedings hitherto had been less formidable than ridiculous, and they determined, if they could, to give the authorities some justification for the additional precautions which had been taken. But the Fenian exploits at Tallaght, Manchester, and Clerkenwell must be reserved for a future chapter.

Among the deaths of this year, that of the ex-Queen of the French, Marie Amélie, was sincerely bewailed—far more so than is the usual lot of princes and princesses—both by the friends who knew her worth, and by the poor whom her charity and piety had consoled. Herself a Neapolitan Bourbon, daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, niece of Marie Antoinette, and grand-daughter of Maria Theresa, she passed her youth amid the storms which attended the great French Revolution, and having accompanied her father into exile in Sicily, in 1802, was residing at Palermo in 1808, when another princely exile—another of those stately wrecks which the revolutionary tempest had stranded on every coast—visited Sicily. This was the Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe. He became intimate with the family of the ex-King; an attachment sprang up between him and Marie Amélie, and they were married. Great purity and elevation of character, and deep religious fervour in the young bride afforded the foundation for a married life of singular beauty and harmony. Of her and her two sisters it used to be said, when they were children, that one was *la bella*, another *la dotta*, and the third—Marie Amélie—*la santa*. She and her husband came to France in 1814 in the train of the returning Bourbons, and Louis Philippe fell into his natural place at court as a prince of the blood; but the Hundred Days drove them again from France, and having taken refuge in England, they did not, after the second Restoration, return to Paris till 1817. When the Revolution of July had driven Charles X. from the throne, and a constitutional crown was offered to her husband, Marie Amélie, herself strong in Legitimist faith, and not believing that the mob of Paris had a right to dispose of a sceptre which had been swayed by a St. Louis and a Henri Quatre, was extremely averse to his closing with the proposal. But when she could not prevail, her duties as a wife outweighed the bias of her political predilections and aversions, and she entered as a mistress the halls of the Tuileries. The hand of affliction visited her maternal heart with the keenest strokes of sorrow; in 1839, her beautiful and gifted daughter, the Princess Marie, was cut off by an untimely death; and in 1842 her eldest son, the Duke of Orleans, having sustained a mortal injury through a fall from his carriage, expired in her arms. Yet she suppressed her own grief in order to minister comfort to her bereaved daughter-in-law, whom she tenderly loved. A few years later, this life of strange vicissitudes was visited by a storm perhaps the most unexpected, the most undeserved, of all. Unwillingly she had seen her husband mount the throne, but nothing in herself could have enabled her to realise the thought that, once installed there, he could ever pusillanimously resign it at the bidding of a mob. Lamartine, with his wonted grace and power of style, describes the scene at the Tuileries, where the Queen, her grey locks contrasting with the fire of her eyes and the animated flush of her cheek, said to the King, in language worthy of her Hapsburg ancestry—worthy of the grand-daughter of Maria Theresa—"Go and show yourself to the disheartened troops, and to the irresolute National Guard; I will place myself in the balcony with my grand-children and my daughters, and, if you fall, I shall see you die in a manner worthy of yourself, of your throne, and of our common misfortunes." When the King declared his intention of abdicating, she rebuked him with passionate earnestness. She cared not, she said, what was thought in or out of the Tuileries; but in her estimation revolution was ever a crime, and abdication a cowardice. According to Lord Normanby's report, her words were:—"Sire, n'abdiquez pas; montez à cheval, mettez-vous à la tête de vos troupes, et je prierai Dieu pour vous." When the Revolution was an accomplished fact, Marie Amélie, again an exile at Claremont, devoted herself partly to cheer and sustain her stunned and stricken consort, partly to the fulfilment of those

duties to her children and grand-children, and to the society of humbler station around her, which, as a noble Christian matron, it was her pious joy to discharge with scrupulous fidelity. She closed her husband's eyes only two years after the Revolution of February. The only political question which deeply interested her in her later days was that of the Fusion between the Legitimate and Orleanist branches of the House of France. That reconciliation which we have just seen accomplished (1873) was the object of her ardent desires; for faith in, and attachment to, the principle of legitimacy were as clear and unwavering in her as in M. de Berryer, and she could not understand how a solid and unimpeachable title could trace its origin to the half-fortuitous result of a street-fight. Her daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Orleans, with a natural jealousy of all that seemed likely to clash with the right of her son, opposed herself to the project of a Fusion; but this opposition of opinion cast no cloud over the affectionate intercourse which subsisted between the two. She outlived her daughter, the Queen of the Belgians, and even King Leopold, and lived during fifteen years of the Second Empire. She was a truly good woman, and as such attracted the respect and won the hearts not only of all the members of her numerous family, but of all the poor people among whom she lived; for, though a Roman Catholic of the strictest Neapolitan type, she knew no distinction of creed in her charities. To all who needed her aid she was ready to give it, and everywhere about Esher the name of the good French Queen was regarded with affection and veneration. Her life was prolonged nearly to eighty-four years, and her death was singularly peaceful; she had fallen into a gentle sleep, and in it passed away. In accordance with her own wishes, she was buried in the dress she wore on leaving France in February, 1848, for her long exile, and in her widow's cap, in order to show "how unalterably faithful she remained to the two guiding feelings of her life—her devotion to her royal spouse, and her love for her adopted country."

One of the most strongly marked personalities of the day—that of William Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge—was taken from English society in the March of this year. He was of humble parentage, his father being said to have been a blacksmith, but he received a good education at the Free Grammar-school at Lancaster, an institution of that class which, through the effect of recent arrangements overriding the intentions of founders, and restricting the entrance to the old foundation-schools of the country to boys who shine in a competitive examination, bids fair, unless special watchfulness be exercised, to be closed for the future against boys like young Whewell, whose parents are unable from poverty to give them an expensive preliminary training. But under any system whatever, it is hard to believe that such indomitable energy, such rare intellectual vigour, as characterised the Lancashire lad, would not have overpowered all social obstacles, and enabled him to "break his birth's invidious bar." In due course he proceeded to Trinity College, became senior wrangler of his year, and second Smith's Prizeman, and was elected to a fellowship at Trinity. The grasp and reach of his mind in the investigations of exact science soon made him known to the scientific world, and led to his being requested to write the "Bridgewater Treatise" on astronomy. Soon afterwards he produced the great works of his life, first the "History," and then the "Philosophy," of the Inductive Sciences. These are monuments to the rare ability and extraordinary energy of the man, which many generations will not see superseded. He was elected in 1838 Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge, and although his own contributions to ethical science are of no great importance, his excellent edition of Sir James Mackintosh's "Introduction to the Study of Ethical Philosophy" will long be valued by the student. Though at bottom a humane and kind-hearted man, Dr. Whewell, particularly after his nomination to the Mastership of Trinity in 1841, somewhat diminished the enlightening and beneficial effect which such rare powers of mind ought to have diffused around him, by the not very infrequent outbursts of an overbearing temper and the display of arrogant manners. Those who have often met him in society cannot fail to recollect occasions when opposition to his opinions, however mildly expressed, excited and irritated the Master to a degree which no one would have believed possible, and drew down a flood of angry and contemptuous words on the head of the objector. But this blemish detracted but little, after all, from the solid worth and weight of his character. Cambridge men all over the world associated for many years their recollections of the University with the well-known form of the Master of Trinity. That towering and stalwart form, that flashing eye, that strong vibrating voice, the generally menacing and formidable aspect of the man, were external characteristics that deeply impressed every freshman on his arrival, and were never forgotten in after life. But irreverent youth makes game of the most august earthly celebrities; and it is well known that this tremendous personage was familiarly known among the undergraduates by the soubriquet of "Billy Whistle!" Many works on various subjects attested the activity and versatility of his intellect; but it is only those on mathematical and physical problems which possess a high and permanent value. He showed his love for his college, and his generous zeal for the good of its younger members, by providing at his own expense a hostel at a little distance from the college for the reception of a portion of the overplus of students who could not get rooms in Trinity itself, and who would otherwise have had to go into lodgings. This excellent and judicious work has been extended since his death by money which he devised for the purpose. He was twice married, first to Miss Cordelia Marshall, sister of Lady Monteagle, and secondly to Lady Affleck, but left no issue by either marriage. He never seemed to have recovered the loss of his second wife, which took place in the summer of 1865; but the immediate cause of death was a fall from his horse while he was riding on the Trumpington Road, near Cambridge.

In the autumn of 1866 a singular and lamentable accident deprived British India of a bishop who was not one

of the least worthy successors to Heber in the see of Calcutta. George E. L. Cotton, born in 1813, a fortnight before his father—Captain Cotton, of the 7th Fusiliers—fell in front of a French redoubt in the battle of the Nivelle, was educated at Westminster School, whence he passed to Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1836, he was appointed by Dr. Arnold—for whose character and work at Rugby he retained through life the highest veneration—to a mastership at that school. His playful humour and affectionateness of nature, joined to unswerving rectitude and much moral earnestness, endeared him at Rugby to a large band of pupils. After the death of Arnold, Cotton became the attached friend and trusted counsellor of his successor, Dr. Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1852, he was appointed Head Master of the great school recently established at Marlborough, and occupied this important post for six years. "His success was complete. He won from the very first the hearty confidence of the singularly varied body of bishops, noblemen, M.P.'s, clergy, lawyers, and county gentlemen, who formed what is now called the 'governing body' of the school. With their co-operation, a wise economy, combined with entire self-abnegation on the part of himself and the devoted band of old pupils and their friends whom he drew around him, restored the financial equilibrium. Within the school" (which had witnessed under his predecessor an "exciting conflict with authority") "order was re-established: mutual respect and kindly intercourse took the place of mere repression and resistance. Work throve under so zealous a teacher; and a civilised out-of-door life, in the form of cricket, football, and wholesome sports, took the place of poaching, rat-hunting, and poultry-stealing."* Cotton was appointed in 1858 to the vacant bishopric of Calcutta. Of his life in India we will only say that, while his episcopal activity bore scanty fruit, in the shape of native converts to Christianity, the influence which contact with his kindly and equitable nature exerted, both on natives and Europeans, in helping to heal the wounds and close the breaches which the Mutiny of 1857 and its terrible repression had occasioned, was both great and important. One very valuable work, in accomplishing which his school experience at Rugby and Marlborough came usefully into play, was the foundation of grammar schools in the hills, for the use of the sons of European and Eurasian residents. These schools, founded at Simla, Mussoorie, and Darjeeling, were by his care provided with endowments, and continue to flourish to this day. In October, 1866, the Bishop was returning from a visitation tour in Assam, and had reached a place called Kooshtea on his return to Calcutta. Here, on the afternoon of the 6th of October, he consecrated a cemetery, and, being detained on shore by various affairs, it was nearly dark before he set out on his return to the

JOHN KEBLE, 1842.

* "Memoir of Bishop Cotton," edited by his Widow. 1871

Government barge in which he had come from Dacca. The vessel was lying out in the river, a large branch either of the Ganges or the Brahmaputra—in that maze of waters it is difficult to distinguish between the two—and some planks, with no hand-rail, furnished the only communication between her and the shore. "Somewhere on the perilous causeway of planks bridging the waters his foot slipped; he fell, and was never more seen. The increasing darkness, an unsteady platform, his near sight, the weariness of a frame enfeebled for the time by fever, had all doubtless a share, humanly speaking, in the great calamity foreknown in the counsels of Him 'who moves in a mysterious way.' Every effort was made to rescue, to recover him. All who are acquainted with the current of an Indian river will know how infinitely slight would be the chance of success in the one endeavour or the other."

John Keble, who died at Bournemouth on the 29th March, in his seventy-fourth year, participated but little in the public life of England. His was not the dignified and conspicuous career of the ecclesiastical luminary of a great city; the press did not circulate the masterpieces of his pulpit eloquence; nor was he a frequenter of missionary or charitable platforms; yet it is probably no exaggeration to say that for thirty years no one man so powerfully influenced the inner life of the Church of England as the vicar of Hursley. He was of a precocious talent; before his fifteenth birthday he had gained a scholarship at Corpus, and in his eighteenth year he took first-class honours both in classics and mathematics. Arnold was of the same college; they soon contracted a warm friendship, as was natural in men who were both of such moral elevation, such wide and keen intellectual sympathies; but Keble was by some years the elder of the two, and his more equable temperament disposed him to regard half with admiration, half with misgiving, the fervid and aggressive sallies of the young reformer. Both were elected to fellowships at Oriel College—Keble in 1812, Arnold three years later. But from this point their lives diverged. Keble was a tutor of his college for some years, and a member of that remarkable common-room which numbered Whately, Davison, Newman, and Pusey among its members. About the year 1823 he ceased to reside, and retired into the country, taking parish work, sometimes under his father at Fairford, in Gloucestershire, sometimes in the neighbouring villages. In the course of these pious toils, amid peaceful rural influences, his teeming mind found a vent in the composition of sacred poems, celebrating the Sundays and holidays of the Church of England's calendar. Thus arose the "Christian Year," the publication of which commenced in 1827, and than which no devotional work, with the exception, perhaps, of the "Imitatio Christi," ever more quickly and more potently adapted itself to the spiritual needs of innumerable souls. Keble was Professor of Poetry at Oxford between the years 1831 and 1842; his Latin lectures, or *Prælectiones*, display consummate ability, and, in spite of being veiled in a dead language, attracted crowds of hearers. These lectures were published. Mr. Keble was engaged also, at this period of his life, in preparing an edition of the works of Hooker, and accomplished the task with that conscientious thoroughness which distinguished him in everything. But it was not only as a sacred poet, still less as a literary man, that Mr. Keble influenced his generation. If in the direction of devotion and the spiritual life the "Christian Year" opened a fount of lyrical consolation for the English-speaking populations of the world such as had never flowed before, the calm steadfastness and moral force of his character ensured for his deliberate opinions on the great ecclesiastical questions of his day an influence in which he stood without a rival. The readers of Dr. Newman's "Apologia" will remember how strikingly this point is brought out by him, how clearly he traces back to the mind of John Keble, rather than to that of any other single man, the germ of that great Tractarian movement which has since branched out in so many remarkable ways. He hated modern Liberalism with the whole force of his nature, not so much because it favoured democracy, as because it raised, in his view, an impious hand to the ark of the covenant; because it suppressed episcopal sees in Ireland, and threatened to amalgamate Churchmen with Dissenters in England. Already, in 1832, he had concerted measures with a few like-minded Oxford friends for the systematic advocacy, in the pulpit and through the press, of those ideas respecting the supernatural origin and privileges of the Church, which constituted, in their eyes, a return to "something better and deeper than satisfied the last century." In the July of 1833, ten Irish sees having been just suppressed, Keble seized the occasion of an assize sermon which he was selected to preach in St. Mary's to sound the trumpet of warning against the guilt of "national apostacy," which he declared to have already set in, and against which he urged all faithful children of the Church to harden their faces like a flint, saying with Samuel, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." He was the author of several of the "Tracts for the Times;" and although deeply grieved by the secession of so many of his most trusted friends, after the movement had taken a distinctly Romeward tendency, he continued to the end of his life attached to the High Church party, and it must be even admitted that his views—as was proved by the famous alteration which he allowed to be introduced, in the latest edition of the "Christian Year," into the hymn for "Gunpowder Treason"—underwent a gradual modification in the direction of those opinions which were afterwards commonly described under the name of Ritualism.

CHAPTER XX.

Position of Austria and Prussia in Schleswig-Holstein in 1865: Divergent Views of the two Powers: Meeting of the Sovereigns: Convention of Gastein: Sale of Lauenburg: Opinion of the Prussian Law Officers on the Question of Succession in Schleswig-Holstein: Political Objects of Count Bismarck: His Interview with Napoleon at Biarritz: Proposals of the Secondary Powers—Disagreement between the two Powers about Holstein: Correspondence: Apprehensions of War: Circular of Count Mensdorff to the German Courts: Reply of Count Bismarck: General Govone at Berlin: Treaty between Prussia and Italy: Arma-

ments: Mutual Recriminations: Austria Refuses to Disarm in Venetia: Scheme of Disarmament Breaks Down: Failure of an Attempt to come to an Understanding about the Duchies: Prussian Proposals for the Reform of the Confederation—Hopes and Fears of Italy: Overtures of Austria for the Cession of Venetia; They come to Nothing—Prussia Demands from Saxony the Reason of her Arming: Proceedings in the Diet—Efforts of the Neutral Powers for the Preservation of Peace: A Congress Proposed by France, England, and Russia: The Project Fails—Meeting of the Diet on June 1: Speech of the Austrian Envoy; Reply of the Prussian Envoy: Prussian Government Protests; Orders Manteuffel to Enter Holstein; Withdrawal of General Gablenz: Prussian Military Calculations: Feelings of the King: Prussian Circular on the Reform of the Confederation—Session of the Diet on June 14: Prussian Envoy declares the Confederation to be dissolved: Prussia sends a Summons to Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse Cassel; it being rejected, she Declares War against those States.

WHILE the strife of parties was raging in the lobbies and galleries of the House of Commons, during the Reform debates of 1866, a warfare of a more decisive kind was in course of preparation in Germany. We have seen how, at the close of 1864, the first symptom of ill-will between the allied Powers which had cut with the sword the Schleswig-Holstein knot made itself apparent. The positions of Austria and Prussia in the duchies were radically different. Prussia was perfectly at her ease; the continuance of a provisional state of things caused her no annoyance, but, on the contrary, was for her advantage, since the more time was given the greater was the chance of the partisans of the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein to the powerful and aspiring state close to its borders increasing in numbers and influence. Again, a disagreement with her ally could not cause Prussia much concern, since her troops in the duchies, more numerous from the first, were close to their own resources, and could in a very short time be reinforced to any extent required; while the Austrians, in the event of a rupture, were at such a distance from their resources that the best thing they could hope for was a prompt and successful evasion. To Austria, on the other hand, every day during which the joint occupation was prolonged brought fresh cause of trouble and anxiety. However long she might keep her troops in the duchies, not an acre of them, she knew well, could ever fall to her share; the expense of the occupation was considerable; and a quarrel with Prussia must instantly, as she clearly foresaw, render her position untenable. Her policy, therefore, was to get the Schleswig-Holstein question settled as soon as possible, and settled in the way that would least benefit Prussia, and be most for the advantage of Austria's position in Germany. The Austrian Government thought that they saw their way to such a satisfactory settlement when they observed the continued loyalty and enthusiasm with which the German population of the duchies clung to the Prince whom they regarded as their rightful Duke, and also noted the strength of the desire which animated the Governments of the middle and many of the minor states to favour the erection of an independent state, and disappoint the ambition of Prussia. The Prussian Minister seemed himself to waver, in the face of the compact opposition which the disclosure of the designs of Prussia upon the duchies had called forth. In February, 1865, he sent a despatch to Vienna, in which he expressed the willingness of the King that Schleswig-Holstein should become an independent German state, but upon condition that its military force should be at the disposal of Prussia, and that to the same Power certain fortresses in the duchies, with suitable territory attached to them, should be made over. These proposals were rejected by Count Mensdorff. In the Diet it was proposed, on the 27th March, by Bavaria, Saxony, and Electoral Hesse, that Austria and Prussia should, provisionally, hand over Holstein to the Prince of Augustenburg. The Prussian envoy, M. de Savigny, raised objections; and when the Diet had voted for the motion (April 6), declared that Prussia would not recognise any right in the Diet to decide in favour of the pretensions of the Prince of Augustenburg—at any rate, before inquiring into the validity of the Prussian and Oldenburg claims to the succession. Austria, averse as she naturally was to quarrel with Prussia, qualified her adherence to the motion by the statement that she supported it only in so far as it could be executed without disturbing the existing understanding with her ally. But, in spite of all efforts, the divergent interests of the two Powers were continually creating fresh difficulties. Prussia transferred her naval station on the Baltic from Dantzic to Kiel, and declared her intention of fortifying the harbour; the Austrian commissioner protested, and ordered up two Austrian ships-of-war to Kiel; yet his Government gave way, and Prussia established herself firmly at that important harbour. On the other hand, the sort of protection which Austria afforded to the Prince of Augustenburg, and the encouragement which she gave to his adherents, were extremely offensive to the Prussian Government. It was clearly seen both at Berlin and Vienna that the plan of joint administration would no longer work; if war was to be staved off, some different *modus vivendi* must be established in the duchies. As yet there was nowhere a desire for war; accordingly, a meeting was arranged between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria at Gastein, in the Tyrol. Hither came the sovereigns in August, attended by their chief ministers; an understanding was speedily arrived at, and the Convention of Gastein was the result.

By this convention, dated August 14, 1865, it was agreed that the joint occupation should cease; that—although the right of sovereignty of either Power over both duchies, as acquired by the Treaty of Vienna, remained inviolate—Austria should for the future confine her troops and officials to Holstein, and Prussia hers to Schleswig; that the Powers would propose to the Diet to erect Rendsburg into a Federal fortress; that the duchies should join the Zollverein, or German Customs-union; and that the Emperor of Austria would cede to the King of Prussia his sovereign rights over Lauenburg, acquired by the before-cited Treaty of Vienna, in exchange for the sum of 2,500,000 Danish rix-thalers. The Prussian Chambers, the members of which were still for the most part favourable to the Augustenburg claim, disliked this convention, and let it be understood that they would not vote the money required for the purchase of Lauenburg; but the King of Prussia paid the stipu-

lated sum out of his private purse, and the convention was carried into effect without delay, Austrian troops withdrawing from Schleswig, and Prussian troops withdrawing from Holstein. General Manteuffel was appointed Prussian Governor of Schleswig, and Austria placed General von Gablenz in the similar post in Holstein.

The Gastein compromise was useful, inasmuch as it put an end to a reciprocal position, which, by its very nature, bristled with incentives and temptations to war; it placed the rival Powers at a little distance from each other, and gave a breathing time, which, had the desire for peace been sincere on both sides, might have been utilised for the achievement of a lasting and honourable settlement of the matters in dispute. But it was by this time evident that Prussia did not intend, under any circumstances, to relax her hold upon the duchies, and as this did not suit the interests—to say nothing of the sense of justice—of the Austrian Government, the discord soon became as serious and as menacing as before. In October, the opinion of the Prussian law officers on the question of the Schleswig-Holstein succession was delivered to the Prussian Government. It was to the effect that all prior rights to the succession in Schleswig and in Holstein were quashed and rendered null by the Treaty of Vienna of the preceding year. The sword, in the view of these willing tools of despotism, had swept away all previous rights, and was itself the source of right for the present and future; beyond it, and the state of things which it had created, you could not go; Prussia and Austria were masters of the duchies under the treaty, and had only each other to reckon with touching the disposal of the prize. The iniquity of this opinion will be understood when we remind the reader of one or two facts in the previous history of the Schleswig-Holstein dispute. Denmark ceded Schleswig and Holstein to Austria and Prussia at the close of a war in which she had been worsted. But in what character did Prussia and Austria receive them? The answer is plain, if we consider how the war arose. Prussia and Austria did not attack Denmark with the avowed purpose of despoiling her, and enriching themselves at her expense; had they done so, even the men of Manchester would hardly have wished to prevent this country from making an armed intervention. On the contrary, they attacked with the holy names of justice, historic right, and the faith of treaties on their lips; they claimed the right of using foul means, because Denmark had not proved amenable to fair means; they attacked her, in a word, on the ground that she had not fulfilled the engagements which she made to them in the diplomatic correspondence of 1851-2. Now, when Austria and Prussia exacted these pledges from Denmark, they were not, as our narrative has shown, acting independently, but in virtue of an authority delegated to them by the German Bund. Therefore, when they made war on Denmark on account of the non-fulfilment of those pledges, they were still acting as agents for the Bund; on no other supposition can their conduct find any sort of justification. Finally, when they conquered, do not logic and common sense certify at once that it was for the Bund that they conquered, not for themselves? that, in disposing of the duchies, they were morally bound to regard themselves as trustees for the benefit of the whole of Germany, and were not at liberty to entrench themselves within the mere letter of the Treaty of Vienna? That Austria took some such view of the relation in which she stood to the duchies and to the Bund is manifest from the whole tenor of her conduct; at the same time it must be admitted that, since she could never hope to profit territorially by the conquest, she was under no great temptation to act otherwise. Prussia, to whom annexation was easy, was under a strong temptation to substitute might for right in the future stages of the question, and she yielded to the temptation. In so doing she obtained a striking immediate success; but we do not yet see the end.

Count Bismarck, after having obtained this opinion from the law officers, proceeded with sure and unwavering step to the accomplishment of his designs. There seems no reason for supposing that at this time he was bent on war with Austria; at least, if he could have effected his main object with the help of the secondary German Powers, he would probably have preferred this course to war. That main object was the exclusion of Austria from the German Confederation, to the end that the dualism which had for centuries done so much to neutralise the power of Germany might be abolished, and that a reorganised Confederation, of which Prussia would be the acknowledged head and soul, might gather up and develop all its forces for any conflict which the future might have in store. A deep resentment against France—which after Jena had so manifoldly humbled and insulted his country—rankled in the soul of every Prussian; and Bismarck was, of course, no exception to the rule. How or when the opportunity of retribution would be given, neither they nor he could tell; but they doubted not that it would come some day; and he, the boldest and most profound political thinker in the north of Europe, was bent upon preparing Prussia to take advantage of it, and upon levelling with the dust all barriers that obstructed her unimpeded action. Austria, then, was to be excluded from Germany; and this was to be effected, if possible, by Prussia's coming to an understanding with all the minor states, and proceeding, with their consent, to the rupture of the old Confederation, and the formation of a new one in which Austria would find no place. But how if the minor states refused to see the matter in this light, and Austria herself would not consent to be excluded? In that case, the arbitrament of war alone remained, and Bismarck did not shrink from the prospect. One point alone was doubtful and disquieting—what would France do in the event of war breaking out between Prussia and Austria? A nation of nineteen millions, pitted against a nation of thirty-five millions, requires, besides any allies that she can obtain, a tranquillising assurance that if, in a forward movement into the enemy's country, she should expose her flank to a powerful neighbour, that neighbour will not seize the opportunity of making a diversion, or even of massing his troops in a menacing attitude near

his frontier. Count Bismarck resolved to seek an interview with Napoleon, in order, if possible, to gain some security that France would be neutral in the event of war. But the French Government had published a circular severely censuring the Convention of Gastein as "an abuse of power, perverting all notions of right and the conscience of the people;" and the King of Prussia thought it beneath his dignity to open confidential communications with the French Court till this language had been withdrawn or modified. Count Bismarck found some means of inducing the French Cabinet to modify the terms of its circular, and then visited Biarritz. What passed in the interviews between him and Napoleon is not yet publicly known; but the result proved that the success of the Prussian statesman was complete. On his return through Paris, Bismarck saw the Italian Minister, the Chevalier Nigra, and told him that war between Prussia and Austria was inevitable. "He showed himself full of confidence that France would not be hostile to it;" and so deeply had he reflected on all the conditions of the political problem, so keenly did he realise the importance to Prussia of the Italian alliance, in distracting the attention and dividing the forces of Austria, that he playfully said to Nigra that "if Italy did not exist, it would be necessary to invent her." The French Emperor is supposed to have approved of the project of alliance between Prussia and Italy; and it is certain that he looked forward with pleasure to the severance of Venetia from the Austrian Empire as one result of the anticipated war. But how was France to be indemnified if she observed a friendly neutrality? It is universally believed that Count Bismarck, without absolutely pledging his Government, held out such hopes of territorial extension for France, either on the side of the Rhine, or in the form of an annexation of Luxemburg or some part of Belgium, to be actively aided by Prussia, as induced the French Emperor to regard the Prussian programme with favour and hopeful anticipation, and readily to give the desired promise of neutrality. Napoleon would the less care to exact a distinct promise from Bismarck in regard to territorial indemnification, because he, like the rest of Europe at the time, did not share in the superb confidence which the negotiator expressed of the ability of Prussia to overpower Austria; he must have reckoned on the war lasting for a considerable time, with mutually exhaustive results, in which case France might play the part of a mediator, and, while performing that dignified office, not lose sight of her own interests in the general re-adjustment. However this may have been, Count Bismarck returned in high spirits to Berlin; and the extent to which the Prussian Rhine frontier was denuded of troops, when the stress of war came, proved of itself that the Prussian Government knew that it might reckon upon absolute non-intervention on the side of France—at any rate, during the earlier weeks of the struggle.

The secondary powers did not cease after the Convention of Gastein to urge upon Austria and Prussia various measures tending to establish a permanent and legal state of things in the duchies; but their proposals met with little encouragement. One of these motions—the object of which was to induce the two Powers to convene the Estates of Holstein, and empower them to take a part in the deliberations for the solution of the questions affecting the definitive reorganisation of the duchies—was discussed in the Diet on the 18th November, and called forth a joint reply from Austria and Prussia; this was the last occasion on which the two Powers acted in concert. The divergent views of the Governments naturally produced variance in the manner in which their representatives administered the duchies. While the Prussian Governor sternly repressed all movements or agitation in Schleswig relative to the question of succession, the Austrian Governor of Holstein allowed considerable latitude to the partisans of the Prince of Augustenburg to meet and declare their wishes. Thus, when the Schleswig-Holstein associations (Vereine) made arrangements for a monster meeting at Altona on the 23rd January, General von Gablenz, after stipulating that agitating questions should not be discussed, allowed the meeting to be held. Count Bismarck seized the opportunity to write a despatch to the Austrian Government, which forms an important stage in that sequence of events which was slowly but irresistibly leading up to war. In this despatch (January 26, 1866), the Prussian Minister "appealed to the recollections of the meetings of Gastein and Salzburg, and remarked that he had allowed himself to hope that at that period Austria was not only convinced of the necessity of combating the revolution, but had agreed as to the mode of combat. The conduct of the Holstein Government could only be designated as aggressive. It ill became the Imperial Government openly to use against Prussia the same means of agitation against which they fought together in Frankfort. If at Vienna it was thought that they might tranquilly contemplate the revolutionary transformation of the people of Holstein, so distinguished for their conservative spirit, Prussia was resolved not to act in a similar manner. The King's Government saw no difficulty in putting an end to the agitation, the scandals, and injuries to the principle of royalty, going on in the duchies. The Prussian Government entreated the Vienna Cabinet to weigh the situation, and to act accordingly. If a negative or evasive reply were given, Prussia would at least be assured that, influenced by her ancient antagonism, Austria could not durably act together with her. This conviction would be a painful one, but Prussia needed to see her way." The concluding sentence obscurely pointed to the necessity under which Prussia might find herself placed, of forming new alliances, in case of being unable to act any longer in concert with Austria.

It is difficult to see how the conduct of the Imperial administration, in sanctioning the meetings of the partisans of the Prince of Augustenburg, could fairly be regarded as "aggressive," or as directed "against Prussia." Two years before, Prussia had professed, no less than Austria, an earnest desire to concede the succession in the duchies to whoever might be best entitled to it. What offence, then, could it be to Prussia, to allow the friends of one of the claimants freely to state the grounds of their partisanship? The truth is, that we see

in these expressions the same spirit as that which dictated the opinion of the Prussian law officers. Prussia would now recognise no public law, no constitutional right, in Schleswig and Holstein, anterior in date to the Treaty of Vienna. The hereditary rights of the House of Oldenburg might be intertwined with the history of four hundred years; but they were swallowed up in the vortex of the Treaty of Vienna; that was now, in Prussia's view, the Magna Charta and Bill of Rights of the Elbe duchies, to support which was virtue and patriotism, to oppose which was to encourage "revolution." It was plain that the Prussian Government thought the time was come for taking advantage of the immense superiority of position which she possessed over her rival. Austria was not likely to go out of the duchies voluntarily; a quarrel must therefore be fixed upon her, which would afford some plausible pretext for turning her out.

Count Mensdorff, in his reply, said that Austria was well aware that she did not occupy Holstein as an acquisition, but that so long as the provisional government might last, she considered herself perfectly free in the administration of the duchy, and could admit of no control from any quarter. The publication of these two notes caused a profound sensation throughout Germany. War seemed to be inevitable, and all began to reckon up their military resources, and look round for allies. Soon after the receipt of Count Mensdorff's note, Count Bismarck informed the Austrian envoy, Count Carolyi, that the state of things contemplated by the conclusion of the Prussian despatch of January 26 was now established; that is to say, "that convinced of the impossibility of longer acting with Austria, Prussia resumed her liberty of action, and would only consult her own interests."

Many circumstances indicated a fixed intention on the part of Prussia to irritate Austria beyond endurance, while contriving adroitly to saddle her with the responsibility of taking the first steps in hostile preparations. A decree issued on the 11th March, in the name of the King of Prussia, peremptorily forbade, *in either of the duchies*, any attempt to set up forcibly a governmental authority in opposition to the sovereign rights of Prussia and Austria, threatening imprisonment with hard labour as the punishment of any overt act in the direction of such an attempt. This decree could not be reconciled with the Convention of Gastein, which confined the administration of the government in each duchy to one of the Powers. Again, Count Carolyi, under instructions from his Government, put the formal question to the Prussian Premier, whether Prussia intended to break the Gastein Convention. "No," was the blunt reply of Count Bismarck; he is said to have added, "If I had the

FRANCIS JOSEPH I., EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

intention, do you imagine I should tell you?" The tone in which the denial was made must have conveyed to the mind of the Austrian an impression the reverse of reassuring; he is reported about this time to have informed his Government that he considered war inevitable. Count Mensdorff—before this celebrated interpellation of Count Carolyi—had addressed (March 16) a confidential circular to all the German Courts, explaining the proposals and declarations which Austria intended, for her own security, to make in the Diet, should she be unable to obtain from Prussia definite and tranquillising assurances. Upon receiving Count Carolyi's report of the result of his interpellation, and of his impression respecting the intentions of Prussia, Austria began slowly and secretly to prepare for war. Her power of mobilising her army in a short time was greatly inferior to that of Prussia; if, therefore, she was not to be taken unprepared by a sudden declaration of war, it was necessary for her to commence at once the measures necessary for placing her army on a war footing. Prussia, on the other hand, through the able initiative of General von Roon, the Minister of War, had during the last four years reorganised her military system with such admirable skill, forecast, and completeness, that she could, starting from a profound peace, be, in an inconceivably short space of time, ready for a great war. What Austria could accomplish with difficulty in two months, Prussia, from her superior organisation, could perform with ease in three weeks. It was known also that the Prussian infantry were armed with breech-loading firelocks, and although the full superiority of the needle-gun over all muzzle-loaders could only be established by experience, the certainty that it rendered possible a much greater rapidity of fire than had ever before been known, must have caused anxiety to the Austrian military chiefs, and ought to have disquieted the Vienna Cabinet. Eight days after the dispatch of the Austrian note, Count Bismarck also (March 24) sent a circular to all the German Courts, marked with all the transcendent ability and lofty audacity which were characteristic of his genius. He spoke in it of Austria's armaments, and affected an alarm on that subject which he certainly could not have felt. He proceeded to treat of the political requirements of Germany, and it is easy to read "between the lines" his fixed conviction that, upon a wide view of national interests, it was necessary that Austria should be excluded from the German Bund. "We hoped," he said, "and, at all events, will first endeavour, to find security for national independence in the basis of German nationality, and in strengthening the ties which bind us to the other German states. The conviction, however, forces itself upon us,

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as often as we contemplate this object, that in its existing state the Confederation is ill-adapted for such an end, and for the active policy which important crises may at each instant require. Its constitution was based on the supposition that the two great German Powers would always be at one. So long as Prussia upheld this state of things by continually giving way to Austria, it could subsist: serious antagonism between the two Powers it would not endure; a threatened breach it could neither obviate nor set aside." The conclusion to which such reasoning pointed was not obscure; the Bund has subsisted hitherto through Prussia's giving way to Austria; Prussia means to give way no longer; either, therefore, there must be perpetual war, or danger of war, or one of the two great Powers must be excluded from the Bund. But Germany and Prussia, as a later pregnant sentence of the circular declares, are inseparable; it is Austria, therefore—such is the clear, though suppressed conclusion—that must go. "*The fate of Prussia involves the fate of Germany*, nor can we doubt that if the power of Prussia was once broken, Germany would merely exist with a passive share in the policy of the nations of Europe. All German Governments ought to regard it as a sacred duty to prevent this, and ought to labour together with Prussia for that end." There are various expressions in the circular which show that Bismarck did not expect that the German princes would be convinced by his reasoning; but to this he was indifferent; he had more potent arguments in reserve.

Step by step, as though by an inevitable destiny, or unalterable concatenation of events, the fatal hour drew on. At the end of March, General Govone was in Berlin, charged by the Italian Prime Minister, General La Marmora, with the duty of negotiating a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Prussia. That Italy would forego the opportunity which a rupture between Prussia and Austria afforded her of obtaining by force the Venetian territories of the latter Power, was hardly to be expected; for such a chance, once let slip, might never have occurred again. But to Prussia also the alliance of Italy was of the highest importance. With her vast superiority of population, Austria, could her military force have been wholly concentrated against Prussia, though she might have lost battles, could not have been crushed and compelled to yield; such a consummation was only rendered possible by the division and dilution of her strength necessitated by the attack of Italy upon Venetia. Could even Austria have been content to cede Venetia itself, and take Venetia's money value, she might have rid herself of her Transalpine foe, and employed her whole strength in Bohemia. Secret overtures had been made at Vienna by the Italian Premier, in the autumn of 1865, for the cession of Venetia by purchase; but the Emperor conceived his military and ancestral honour to be involved, and absolutely rejected the proposal. On April 8, the treaty of alliance between Prussia and Italy was signed at Berlin. Prussia, under it, reserved to herself the right of declaring war within three months, in which case Italy bound herself to attack Austria; but Prussia did not bind herself to declare war in Germany, or to help the Italians on their own ground, if Austria attacked Italy. Each Power bound itself not to make peace separately from the other, and to continue the war till Italy had gained Venetia, and Prussia secured a corresponding augmentation of territory in Germany. Already—between March 29 and 31—orders had been issued for the mobilisation of the whole Prussian army, and the necessary movements were effected with extraordinary celerity. By the middle of May "the 490,000 men who formed the strength of this army stood on parade, armed, clothed, equipped with all necessaries for a campaign, and fully provided with the necessary transport trains, provision and ammunition columns, as well as field hospitals."* Austria, though she had commenced her preparations earlier, was soon distanced by her opponent, and, when the war broke out, her arrangements were still far from complete. The King of Italy published a decree on the 25th March, increasing the Italian army by 100,000 men.

For several weeks after the treaty between Prussia and Italy had been signed, continual diplomatic fencing was maintained on the part of the two Governments. First there were criminations and re-criminations on the question of priority of armaments. On the 6th April, a note from the Prussian Foreign Office was sent to Vienna, insisting on the magnitude of the Austrian preparations, which could not be adequately accounted for by the alleged apprehension of disturbances in Bohemia, and ending with the declaration that nothing was farther from the views of the King than an offensive war. Yet only two days after this, as we have seen, the alliance was concluded with Italy. Nevertheless, there was a basis of truth in the statement as to the King of Prussia's inclinations; he was, in truth, earnestly, almost superstitiously, averse to being the first to resort to arms; and Bismarck had infinite trouble to bring his royal master up to the point of commencing the war. This despatch of April 6th gratified the Austrian Cabinet; and Count Mensdorff replied to it in a conciliatory tone, pointing out that the Emperor had explicitly declared that he had never contemplated an attack upon Prussia, and expressing the hope that after this avowal Prussia would countermand the military preparations which it was admitted that she had made. The Prussian Minister, whose real intentions were far from pacific, replied (April 15) that as Prussia had not commenced to arm, so she could not be expected to take the initiative in disarming, but that she would follow *pari passu* any steps which Austria might take with that intention. Count Carolyi was then instructed to make this offer at Berlin—that the dislocation of troops, which Prussia had regarded as a step menacing to peace, should be countermanded by the Austrian Government on a given day, if Prussia would undertake to order on the following day the demobilisation of those portions of her army which had been recently mobilised. The Prussian Government (April 21) frankly accepted this proposal, saying that it did so with satisfaction, and requesting the

* Hozier's "Seven Weeks' War."

Cabinet of Vienna to submit further proposals touching the proportion and time of the reductions. The real feelings of Count Bismarck we learn from a telegram from Count Barral, the Italian Minister at Berlin, sent on the previous day to the Italian Premier, General La Marmora, and published by the latter in his recent remarkable work, entitled "A Little More Light on the Political and Military Events of the Year 1866." Count Barral telegraphed, "The impression of the General [Govone] and myself is, that Bismarck *is disappointed by the Austrian proposition, and visibly discouraged by the new pacific phase upon which the conflict is about to enter.*"

But now Count Mensdorff found himself in a difficulty. The attitude of the Italian army on the frontiers of Venetia was believed at Vienna to have grown so menacing that it was impossible for Austria to replace matters on a peace footing in Venetia, short of a positive understanding with Italy similar to that which seemed on the point of being concluded with Prussia. We have the distinct assurance of General La Marmora, in the work just quoted, that at this time Italy had made no concentrations of troops whatever—had, in fact, taken no warlike step of any kind. But he admits that the impression to the contrary which prevailed at Vienna was a *bonâ fide* one, and accounts for its existence in a very curious manner. It was, he thinks, the English Government—the warm and importunate advocate of European peace—which, misled by reports from English diplomatic agents in Italy, who had imagined some inconsiderable movements of troops that were really directed against brigands to be part of a scheme for concentrating the Italian army near the frontier, had conveyed, of course, with the most friendly intentions, this false information to the Austrian Cabinet. However this may have been, the effect of the erroneous persuasion as to Italian armaments which Austria had taken up in overclouding the prospects of peace was soon apparent. It must be remembered that Austria, not having recognised the Italian kingdom, had no minister at Florence, nor Italy at Vienna; direct means, therefore, for clearing up such a misconception the moment that it had arisen, were wanting. On the 26th April, Count Mensdorff wrote to the Austrian Minister at Berlin, declaring that the intentions of Austria continued to be sincerely pacific and conciliatory, but stating that as the Italian army had been "placed in a condition to attack Venetia," common prudence obliged Austria to strengthen her military position in that country. Count Bismarck had good reason to know that the belief of the Austrian Cabinet that Italy had been concentrating her troops on the borders of Venetia was groundless, for on the 23rd April La Marmora had telegraphed thus to Count Barral: "You can declare in the most formal manner that there has not been the least concentration of troops, neither at Piacenza, nor at Bologna, nor anywhere else." But on the 27th April, La Marmora dispatched a circular to all the representatives of Italy at foreign courts, repeating in the most solemn manner the declaration that Italy had made no warlike preparations, but announcing the *present* determination of the King's Government, in consequence of the alarming nature of the military preparations of Austria, to take those military measures of precaution which the defence of the country required. These important documents from Florence evidently governed the reply of Count Bismarck to the Austrian note of the 26th inst. On the 30th April, he wrote that the Prussian Government was grievously disappointed by the tenor of the Austrian despatch, having expected that the re-establishment of the normal *status quo* would have extended to all movements of troops conducing to the war effective state. Prussia could not recognise the motives alleged for arming in Italy, for all sources of information agreed in stating that no warlike preparations had taken place in the kingdom of Italy. If, indeed, *quite recently*, any steps of the kind had been taken, they could have had no other cause than the Austrian armaments. Prussia could only consent to continue the negotiations for disarmament, if Austria would include her southern forces under the terms of whatever arrangement might be concluded. To this Austria replied (May 4) that the negotiations for a simultaneous reversal of the steps which both countries had taken in the direction of war must now be considered as exhausted. The scheme of reciprocal disarmament thus fell through, chiefly, if General La Marmora is right in his conjecture, owing to the unlucky piece of false information which the English Government imparted to the Austrian, about the imaginary concentration of troops in Italy.

Besides disarmament, two other important subjects were debated in the correspondence between Austria and Prussia in these critical weeks. One related to Schleswig-Holstein, the other to the reform of the Confederation. In her proposals on the former subject, Austria was bidding for the support of the German princes; in her proposals on the latter, Prussia was bidding for the support of the German people. Anxious to withdraw from her hazardous position in the duchies, but to make her withdrawal in such a way as would augment her popularity with the minor German states, Austria invited the Prussian Government, in a note dated April 26, to make in the Diet a joint declaration that the two Powers would cede the rights acquired by them under the Treaty of Vienna to that claimant of the sovereignty of the duchies whom the Diet recognised as having a predominant right to the succession. Although some collateral offers, such as that Prussia should have full and permanent possession of certain strategic points in the duchies, at Kiel and elsewhere, were added to the main proposal, in order to make it more palatable to the condominant Power, Count Mensdorff probably expected a refusal, and he was not disappointed. Count Bismarck, in his reply (May 7), professed in the strongest terms Prussia's intention to adhere faithfully to the Treaty of Vienna and the Gastein Convention, but maintained that by those instruments the intervention of any third party, not excepting the Diet, in the affairs of the duchies was precluded. (But this could only be maintained, at least with reference to Holstein, on the assumption of the truth of the immoral view of the Prussian law officers,

that all previous public right in the duchies was cancelled by the Treaty of Vienna.) The note went on to say that Prussia, while repudiating the interference of any third party, was always ready to treat with Austria as to the conditions on which she would be disposed to cede her share of the rights accruing to her by the Treaty of Vienna.

This reply, Sir A. Malet justly observes, though it "apparently brought the question back to the original starting-point of the discussion, proved in reality that matters were come to a dead-lock, and that in fact no agreement was possible."

The other subject discussed was the reform of the Confederation. The Prussian envoy proposed in the Diet on the 9th of April that, within a period to be precisely fixed, the Diet should decree the convocation of a National Assembly to be elected by universal and direct suffrage, for the purpose of receiving and deliberating on the proposals of the German Governments for the reform of the Confederation. This proposition, which caused great surprise and excitement in Germany, was referred by a Dietal vote of the 21st of April to a committee of nine; at the same time the Diet requested Prussia to state the nature of the proposals which it intended to submit to the Assembly when convened. Count Bismarck sharply replied (April 27) that the determination of the date at which such a Parliament or Assembly should meet was of the essence of the Prussian proposition; the modes of procedure habitual to the Diet would, he knew, lead to the indefinite adjournment and final miscarriage of the project; however, he would bring under the notice of the committee such information as would show to what regions of political life the Prussian proposals would extend. This promise he redeemed on the 11th of May by laying before the Committee of the Diet the heads of the changes which Prussia deemed necessary. These included the completion of the central power by means of a freely-elected German Parliament, the concession to the central power so reorganised of a wide legislative competency, the removal of all fetters on German trade, an improved military system, the formation of a German navy, &c. But the proposals did not embrace the exclusion of Austria from Germany, nor the organisation of a North German army under the leadership of Prussia, though these were the "reforms" which Count Bismarck had really at heart, far more than any other. Probably he foresaw the impossibility, in the midst of the increasing stir and excitement, of subjecting such proposals to serious discussion; but he might consider that his object had been in great part gained by the mere fact of having brought them forward, for the Liberal and progressive party throughout Germany would thereby be induced to look to Prussia as the only German Power from which the advocacy of serious and fundamental reforms was to be expected.

Two or three days before the despatch of Count Bismarck's confidential communication to the Committee of the Diet, a decree had been issued for the mobilisation of the whole Prussian army.

Italy, though she had enlarged her army, had not made any distinctly warlike preparations before the appearance of General La Marmora's circular of the 27th April. From that time war was looked upon as inevitable; and in order to enlist the national feeling more fully in its favour, a decree was published at Florence on the 8th May ordering the formation of twenty volunteer battalions, to be placed under the immediate command of Garibaldi. Great were the excitement and enthusiasm in Italy. Garibaldi left Caprera, and repaired to Como, where a concentration of volunteers had already commenced; here such numbers flocked to his standard, that at the end of May the number of battalions had to be doubled. Yet all this time the mind of the Italian Premier was agitated by the most anxious misgivings. The expression in the treaty with Prussia, "alliance offensive and defensive" (for which Count Bismarck had desired to substitute the words "alliance and friendship," but had been defeated by the persistence of the Italian plenipotentiary), had appeared to the Government of Florence to afford ample security that Italy could under no circumstances be left alone to measure swords in a single combat with Austria. Yet when, alarmed by the preparations which Austria was making in Venetia, La Marmora sent pressing instructions to Count Barral to ascertain what Prussia would do in the event of Austria's attacking Italy, the answers that he received were not altogether reassuring. King William seems to have feared that Italy might purposely provoke Austria, make it impossible for her to refrain from war, and so force the hand of Prussia; and, accordingly, Count Bismarck said to General Govone, about the beginning of May, that "the King would never sign a stipulation which should place Prussia at the mercy of Italy." He added that the King did not think that the obligation to make war was reciprocal, according to the text of the treaty; Italy had bound herself to attack Austria if Prussia took the lead; but Prussia had bound herself by no corresponding obligation to Italy. The Italian diplomatists were alarmed by this language more than, to all appearance, they ought reasonably to have been. Count Barral telegraphed to Florence on the 2nd May that he thought Italy must now rely on herself and France rather than on Prussia; and La Marmora declares, in the work already quoted, that as Prussia was thus playing fast and loose with her engagements, he should have deemed it justifiable in Italy to do the same; had her obvious interest been to abandon Prussia. But there was surely something extravagant in this mistrust, something which did injustice to the Prussian character and to the known integrity and honour of the Prussian Minister. Count Bismarck, whatever faults he may be justly charged with, was the last man in the world to lead an ally into an embarrassing position and then desert him. But he made no protestations, and only appealed to the common sense of the Italian Government. He authorised Govone to declare to his chief that the Prussian Government believed that the eventuality of war between Prussia and Austria would be inevitably brought about by the force of circumstances, and would attach itself to the impossibility of permitting the struggle to commence between Italy and

Austria, without Prussia taking part in it at the same moment. And when Govone asked whether, since the signature of the King of Prussia could not be obtained to a military convention binding him to take the field, should war break out in Italy, his Government could give the assurance that they considered themselves bound in honour to Italy, Bismarck replied, "You can tell General La Marmora that we shall make of that condition [that Prussia should take the field if war broke out in Italy] a Cabinet question; for what remains, trust to the irresistible march of events." Some days later (May 7), Bismarck repeated to Count Barral that, "according to the letter of the treaty, Prussia was not strictly bound to attack Austria if Austria attacked Italy; but that it was for Prussia a moral engagement; and that the King, to whom he had spoken on the matter, answered that his loyalty caused him to regard it as a duty." What could have been plainer than such declarations as these? Yet La Marmora talks in a magniloquent style about not abandoning his ally in spite of his most serious delinquencies ("gravissimi torti"); and Govone, in a memorandum dated May 7, while admitting that Bismarck assured him that "in no case would Italy be left alone to face Austria, angry and armed," cynically observes that he only said so because he had heard some rumour of a plan of separate accommodation between Austria and Italy.

There was indeed such a plan, and General La Marmora's revelations make us acquainted with its exact scope. Although the General declares that he himself rejected it from the first, it is clear that General Govone was not altogether disinclined to it; it seems not to have been quite out of the question for Italy to entertain it; and this is perhaps the reason why Italian statesmen lay so much stress on what they regard as the (hypothetical) bad faith of Prussia towards Italy. On the 5th of May, General La Marmora received a telegram in cipher from Paris, of which the first words were, "Decipher for yourself." After he had done so, he found the purport of the telegram (which was from the Chevalier Nigra) to be this—that Austria was willing to cede Venetia to the Emperor Napoleon, who would at once transfer it to the King of Italy, on condition that she should be left free to recoup herself at the expense of Prussia. La Marmora telegraphed back that his first impression was that it was a question of honour and good faith for Italy not to break her engagements with Prussia. Again (May 6) came the tempting voice from Paris, saying that the Emperor had told Nigra that Prince Metternich was formally authorised to sign the cession of Venetia in exchange for a simple promise of neutrality. We have no ground for supposing that La Marmora wavered for an instant; but, if his resolution had been momentarily shaken, other telegrams soon arrived, of a nature to confirm him in it. On May 6, Count Barral telegraphed that he had been just informed by Count Bismarck that the Prussian army might now be regarded as entirely mobilised; and on the 9th, Nigra telegraphed from Paris that Govone had just arrived from Berlin, and was under the full conviction that Prussia had absolutely decided to draw the sword, at latest, towards the beginning of June, and would, in any case, declare war if Italy were attacked. Setting against the risks of war the odium which the acceptance of the French proposal, involving as it did a direct breach of faith with Prussia, would bring down upon the young Italian kingdom, and the painful and inconvenient consequences which might ensue from Italy's debt of obligation to France being so greatly extended, the Italian Premier wisely determined to be true to his first faith; and the project for the cession of Venetia to France vanished for the present into space.

Meantime events were ripening to a crisis in Germany. On the 27th of April, Count Bismarck dispatched an imperious missive to Dresden, demanding to know with what intentions Saxony was arming, and declaring that Prussia could not view the preparations that were being made so close to her border with indifference, the more so as there were grounds for believing that Saxony was arming against Prussia. Baron Beust, the Saxon Premier, replied with diplomatic reserve, evading all assertion of direct partisanship, and appealing to various articles of Federal law; at the same time the Saxon envoy was instructed to bring the correspondence which had taken place with Prussia under the notice of the Diet, and claim the intervention of the Confederation. This was done on the 5th of May. The Prussian envoy declared that Prussia did not intend to attack Saxony, but that it was the duty of the Diet, if it disapproved of his Government's proceedings, to restrain Austria and Saxony in their warlike preparations; if this were not done, Prussia would be compelled to have regard only to her own security and the necessity of upholding her European position, and would subordinate her relations to the Confederation to the imperative claims of self-preservation. The voting on Saxony's motion—the object of which was to obtain a decree of the Diet, with reference to the proceedings of Prussia, that the internal peace of the Confederation must be preserved—was taken on the 9th of May, and the motion was carried. Bismarck told Count Barral that the hostile feelings of the middle states towards Prussia were plainly expressed at this meeting, and that there could be no doubt that the preparations which they were making were intended for the support of Austria; he did not care, however, for Prussia would be ready before they were.

The secondary states resolved that they would make one last effort for the maintenance of peace. At the Conference of Bamberg, convened with this object, representatives of Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Baden, and several minor Powers, agreed upon a policy which they embodied in a motion made in the Diet on May 19, to the effect that all Powers which had armed should be called upon to state at the next meeting of the Diet their reasons for arming, and whether, and on what conditions, they were prepared to consent to a general and simultaneous disarmament. This motion was carried, and June 1 was the day fixed on which these important explanations were to be given.

The efforts of neutral and friendly Powers were, of course, not wanting to the cause of peace. From the

beginning of May the project of a Congress of the five great Powers, together with Italy and the German Confederation, to discuss the three European questions of the most urgent interest—the cession of Venetia, the fate of Schleswig-Holstein, and the reform of the German Confederation—had found favour with the Emperor Napoleon. Russia had cordially accepted the scheme, and England also was favourable to it, though with a proviso which marks the progress which Lord Russell, through sad experience and many failures, had made in his diplomatic education. For, although the actual Foreign Minister at this time was the Earl of Clarendon, yet the Austria. Of the three topics for discussion, the first was described by France as "the cession of Venetia;" this was afterwards modified to "the question of Venetia;" but even in this form the Russian Government considered that there was something in the phrase wounding to the susceptibilities of Austria, and obtained the consent of France to the substitution of the words, "difference between Austria and Italy." Everything at last appeared to be in train; it was arranged that the Congress should be held in Paris, and that the principal Ministers for Foreign Affairs in the different states should attend it. Bismarck, knowing the settled resolve of the Emperor

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empressement with which the English Government, at the outset of the negotiations, volunteered a statement that its interference would under no possible circumstances be carried beyond the limits of *persuasion*, evidently bespeaks the hand of the minister whose previous attempts at a dictatorial intervention had failed so disastrously. The Marquis d'Azeglio telegraphed on May 11 from London, that "England accepted the Congress in principle, and also the bases which France proposed with reference to the three urgent questions, but refused categorically to bind herself to impose any decision of the kind otherwise than by persuasion."

Some time elapsed before the three mediating Powers could arrive at a precise understanding as to the form in which the Congress should be proposed to Prussia and Napoleon to facilitate and promote the cession of Venetia to Italy, was not disposed to refuse the invitation to the Congress; he said to those around him that it would end in nothing, and that they would simply adjourn from the Congress-chamber to the battle-field; and he told Count Barral (May 26) that the Congress was a vain *simulacrum*, and that he saw no human power capable of preventing war. Yet even Bismarck, three days later, was confounded by the insistence with which France appeared to labour to avert war, and said to Barral, in a tone of deep dissatisfaction, "The Emperor of the French now wishes for peace at any price." To go to war against the will of France was, as Bismarck had before admitted to Govone, hardly within the bounds of possibility. An *unfriendly* neutrality west of the Rhine would have com-

pelled a concentration of Prussian troops in Westphalia and Rhineland which would have left her too weak to contend with Austria in Saxony or Bohemia. On the 28th May, notes, couched in almost identical terms, from the Governments of France, England, and Russia, communicated to the Powers at variance the proposal of the mediating Courts for the convocation of a Congress. Count Bismarck, while stipulating that the proceedings should be brief, and that the opening of the Congress should not be delayed if the representatives of the Confederation were not nominated in time, accepted the proposal for Prussia, but he took an opportunity of declaring to the French ambassador, M. Benedetti, in vehement and impassioned tones, that the position of affairs was become intolerable, and must be brought to a close at all risks. Italy also agreed to the Congress, as well she might, knowing the settled opinion and desire of the Emperor Napoleon with regard to the cession of Venetia. For Austria, the desirable course was not so clear. If she rejected the Congress, she alienated the good opinion of the neutral Powers. Yet if she accepted it, she knew that she could expect no good from its deliberations. The Chevalier Nigra wrote to La Marmora, on the 24th May, that the French Foreign Minister, Drouyn de Lhuys, had assured him that it was "well understood between the three neutral Powers that the Congress should discuss the cession of Venetia." Beyond question the existence of this "understanding" was known at Vienna; the Austrian statesmen knew that they would enter a Congress the members of which had already made their minds up on the one subject of discussion which vitally affected her interests and her honour. It is true that Austria had a month before offered to cede Venetia; but at that time she reckoned on compensation. If Italy could be induced by the cession to stand neutral, Austria hoped to overrun and annex Silesia. Yet to refuse the Congress absolutely was not to be thought of. Austria, therefore, hit upon a middle course; she professed a readiness to send a plenipotentiary to the Congress, but only on condition that no combination should be discussed which would result in an extension of territory for any one of the states invited. Such a limitation—especially when the preconceived views of the neutral Powers are remembered—was felt on all sides to render the project of a Congress nugatory, and it was accordingly dropped.

THE CROWN PRINCE OF PRUSSIA.

On June 1, the Diet met, according to arrangement, to receive the explanations of the Powers which had increased their armaments. Baron Kübeck, the Austrian envoy, rose, and, after adverting to the now notorious fact that a leading member of the Confederation had, for the purpose of coercing another leading member, entered into a

close alliance with a non-German Power, he explained that, on account of the menacing attitude of Italy, Austria could not leave herself unguarded on the side of Venetia; but that she would recall the troops that had been raised to protect her northern frontier, if Prussia would declare that she did not intend to make an attack on Austrian territory, or on any state allied to Austria, and would give security against the recurrence of the danger of war. The envoy then turned to the question of the duchies. He reminded the Diet that in August, 1865, the two Powers had promised to communicate to it the result of their negotiations as to the future of the duchies, and then added that, in spite of the sincere and strenuous efforts of Austria to come to an understanding with Prussia on this subject, all her exertions had been in vain; he therefore declared, in the name of his Government, that Austria, being unable to procure a settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question in the manner first proposed, now remitted the settlement of it to the Diet, and, in order to assist their deliberations, had ordered her Commissioner in Holstein to convoke the Estates of that duchy, with a view to obtaining an expression of the wishes of the people as to their future fate.

This convocation of the Estates of Holstein appears to have been an ill-considered step on the part of Austria; for while it can have tended but little to gain for her the reputation of liberalism and respect for German popular rights (which was doubtless her object in taking it), it amounted to a distinct breach of the Convention of Gastein, and, as such, placed a weapon in the hands of an adversary, who was only too well able to play his own game, without the assistance of false moves on the other side. It will be remembered that that Convention, while it severed the *administration*, left the *sovereignty* of both duchies in the joint possession of the two Powers as before. Now, to summon the Estates of Holstein for the purpose indicated was certainly no mere act of administration; it was only compatible with the possession of full sovereignty in Holstein by the convening Power, whereas Austria held under the Convention, as under the original treaty, only a divided sovereignty. Austria, therefore, first broke the Convention, and Prussia, as we shall soon see, did not fail to press the act to its logical consequences.

When Baron Kübeck sat down, the Prussian envoy, M. de Savigny, rose, and said that, with regard to the question of disarmament, Prussia was still willing to disarm in the measure and at the rate that Austria and other German Powers did so. A sentence of ominous import followed—that if Germany could not give to Prussia guarantees for the maintenance of peace, and rejected those reforms of the Federal constitution which were everywhere recognised as necessary, Prussia must entertain the conclusion that the Confederation did not fulfil the object of its existence, and was powerless to attain its proper and most important aims. He added, that in the proceedings of Austria with regard to Schleswig-Holstein, both as concerned her appeal to the Diet, and in convoking the Estates of Holstein, Prussia saw a violation of the Convention of Gastein.

These two speeches were the main events of the famous meeting of the Diet on the 1st June. They were telegraphed to every part of Germany, and disturbed the repose of all Germans. Yet few suspected that war was so imminent as proved to be the case; for Prussia was at that time supposed to be much inferior in military resources to Austria, nor was the existence of the treaty with Italy generally known; it was supposed, therefore, that Austria would be the first to break the peace, and she was, it was well known, far from being ready for war.

Count Bismarck sent a despatch, on June 3, to Vienna, renewing the protest which had been made by the Prussian envoy in the Diet against the infraction by Austria of the Convention of Gastein, and declaring that Prussia now considered herself justified in reverting to the basis of the Treaty of Vienna, and that the Government had consequently placed the defence of its condominate rights in the hands of General Manteuffel. At the same time, the Prussian Minister addressed a circular to the Prussian representatives of all foreign Courts, accusing Austria of giving direct provocations to Prussia, with the manifest intention of settling the matters in dispute by an appeal to arms. This circular was couched in terms of the bitterest invective, and sufficiently indicated that all prospect of an accommodation was renounced.

The reasoning and the acts of Prussia, in consequence of the precipitate declaration by the Austrian envoy of the intentions of his Government in regard to Holstein, were strictly logical. If Austria broke the Convention of Gastein, then the original Treaty of Vienna, of which the Convention was a sort of modification, came again into force; then the joint occupation of both duchies which had existed previously to the Convention must be resumed; and General Manteuffel must detach a portion of his troops into Holstein, but "quite in a friendly spirit." No sooner had General Gablenz, acting under instructions from Vienna, issued an order (June 5) convoking the Holstein Estates at Itzehoe for the 11th inst., than General Manteuffel intimated to him that he regarded the act of convocation as an infringement upon the sovereign rights of the King of Prussia, and invited the Austrian Governor to recall the order. At the same time, he communicated his orders to occupy, by way of practical assertion of the revived condominate right of Prussia in Holstein, certain unoccupied points in the duchy, and his intention of leading troops across the frontier for that purpose; but he declared that the contemplated movement had solely a defensive character, and requested that the local authorities of the places which he meant to occupy might be warned of the fact, so that all collision between the troops of the two nations might be avoided. Suiting the action to the word, Manteuffel crossed the Eyder on the 8th and 9th June, and directed his march upon Itzehoe, in order to prevent the deputies who were assembling there for the expected meeting of the Estates on the 11th from executing their purpose.

General von Gablenz, with his one weak brigade and one regiment of dragoons, was in no condition to prevent

General von Manteuffel from carrying out in Holstein any policy which the Prussian Government might have resolved upon; at the same time, even if the pacific professions of the advancing General could be fully relied upon, it was incompatible with the dignity of Austria that her administrator should act the part of a passive spectator, while Prussian troops were dissolving an assembly which had been convened under an order emanating from the Imperial Government. Instructions had also been received from Vienna, should Prussia make hostile demonstrations, to concentrate the Austrian troops at Altona, and retreat across the Elbe. General Gablenz therefore hastily withdrew his troops from Kiel, and concentrated them at Altona. Manteuffel marched unopposed to Itzehoe, and on the 11th June prevented the assembly of the Holstein Estates by taking military possession of the town, locking the door of the House of Assembly, and placing a guard before it with fixed bayonets. The attention of the Austrian commander was now solely directed to making good his escape out of the duchy; and this he skilfully accomplished by bringing his whole force across the Elbe on the night of the 11th to Harburg, and thence dispatching it by railway, through Hanover, Cassel, and Frankfort, to the Austrian Army of the North in Bohemia. The Prince of Augustenburg, his protectors having gone, took his departure also; and Herr von Scheel Plessen was appointed by the Prussian Government Supreme President of the Elbe Duchies. From this time the thorny question of Schleswig-Holstein has ceased to trouble the peace of European diplomatists.

The record of an interesting conversation which passed, some days before the advance of Manteuffel into Holstein, between General Govone and Count Bismarck, and which the former embodied in a letter (May 22) to the Italian Premier, casts a strong light on the military position of the two Powers at that time, and on the calculations of the cool and far-seeing intellects that were marshalling the forces of Prussia. Two army corps, said Bismarck, were near Neisse in Upper Silesia; a third was being concentrated at Görlitz; three more were in course of concentration on the Saxon frontier, facing Dresden; a seventh, facing Leipzig. This imposing mass of troops was about to be further reinforced by the two corps from the Rhineland. (In point of fact, of about 60,000 men who were stationed along the east bank of the Rhine, not more than 10,000 were left, shortly after the outbreak of hostilities.) Prussia calculated that at the beginning of June 200,000 Austrian troops, and not more, would be already concentrated and ready, and that Prussia would have from 280,000 to 290,000 to oppose to them. Govone thought that the Prussian troops were rather too scattered, and Bismarck asked him to speak to General Moltke on the subject. Moltke explained the weighty considerations which had governed his judgment in determining upon the dispositions which Govone had criticised; and the latter proceeds to say that "the impression which remained to him from the conversation which he had with General Moltke was that he felt confidence in the issue, and believed that in the first days of June (whatever appearances of delay the proposal of a Congress might just then present) the armies would come to blows, it not being possible to prolong a situation so formidably armed as that which would prevail from the 4th of June and onwards."

The King of Prussia appears to have been unfeignedly distressed at the prospect of going to war with his imperial brother; he spoke of it, says Count Barral, "with large tears in his eyes." He even attempted in the last days of May to open secret and personal negotiations with the Emperor of Austria; but they came to nothing. But he was shocked and incensed by the declaration made by the Austrian envoy in the Diet of June 1, that Austria would convene the Holstein Estates; for he looked upon this as a clear breach—as indeed it was—of the Convention of Gastein. To a precise and narrow mind the infringement of a positive agreement, though the matter of it be of slight importance, is more offensive than a far more gross violation of equity in which forms and technicalities are observed. From this time Count Bismarck had little cause to complain of the irresolution and backwardness of the King.

Count Mensdorff replied (June 9) to the Prussian note of June 3, denying that the rights of the Confederation could be infringed by any agreement made between Austria and Prussia. (This was true, and was a justification of the conduct of Austria in submitting the question of the future of Holstein, as a member of the Confederation, for the decision of the Diet; but it did not justify her in convoking the Holstein Estates.) The Austrian Minister proceeded to say that his Government protested against the self-righting measures (*selbsthülfe*) which Prussia had resorted to in Holstein as a violation of Article XI. of the Constitutional Act, and reserved to itself the right of taking whatever steps might be necessary for the maintenance of the dignity and safety of Austria, and the defence of the rights of the Confederation. The article appealed to says that "should there be ground for apprehending the use of force between Confederates, or should such have taken place, the Diet has the duty of taking preliminary steps for staying all self-righting, and for putting a stop thereto if begun." In virtue of this article, an extraordinary sitting of the Diet was held, at the instance of Austria, on June 11, to consider the proposal of Austria that the armed force of the Confederation should be mobilised, with the view of keeping in order the unruly Confederate, who persisted in "helping himself." This memorable meeting was practically the last ever held by that unwieldy body which the statesmen of 1815 had substituted for the Holy Roman Empire. But before we narrate its incidents, we must speak of a remarkable circular which Count Bismarck had dispatched on the previous day (June 10) to all the German Governments.

This circular contained the definite and final proposals of Prussia for the reform of the German Confederation, and comprehended ten articles. By the first, "the territory of the Confederation was to consist of those states which had hitherto been included in it, *with the exception of the dominions of the Emperor of Austria* and of the King of the Netherlands." The other articles provided

for the constitution of a German Parliament, the creation of a German navy, and the reorganisation of the Federal army. There was to be an Army of the North, commanded by the King of Prussia; and an Army of the South, commanded by the King of Bavaria. This last provision was an attempt to disarm or weaken the apprehended hostility of Bavaria in the approaching war. To call such a scheme a "reform" of the Confederation was surely an abuse of words. To exclude from Germany that state which was the chief treasure-house of ancient German traditions—around which clustered the mighty memories of the old Reich, the thought of Rudolf of Hapsburg, Frederic Barbarossa, and Henry the Fowler—that state which was the nearest existing representative of the old civilising Germany, which nearly ten centuries before had founded the Mark of Brandenburg itself as an outpost of Germanism against the Wends; such an act was Revolution, not Reform. By it, when extorted from Austria at the sword's point, the dualism which had paralysed Germany in its exterior relations was doubtless abolished; but by it no less was the hold of the German race on the great Danube valley fatally weakened, and the sovereignty in that region, with the command over its future, transferred to the Magyars and Schavonians. Such a proposal, to which neither Austria nor any friend of Austria could for a moment listen, may be regarded as equivalent to a declaration of war.

In the sitting of June 11, Austria moved that all the Federal contingents,* save those of Prussia, should be mobilised and placed on their full war establishment, concentrated within fourteen days, and then ready to take the field within twenty-four hours. Austria knew that the majority of the German Governments were favourable to her, and the scope of this motion was to get their contingents mobilised in a legal and regular manner, and brought into line with the Austrians against Prussia. The Prussian envoy naturally protested against such a motion being even taken into consideration, declaring that both in form and substance it was subversive of the fundamental ideas of the Confederation. The voting on the motion was fixed for the 14th June, and on that day it was adopted by the Diet, by a majority of nine votes to six. Thereupon, M. de Savigny rose, and, after a few remarks on the Holstein question, said that, by the declaration of war pronounced against a member of the Confederation by the Austrian proposition, and the vote of the Governments adhering to her—which, according to Federal law, was impossible—the King's Government held the breach of the Federal compact to have been consummated. "The envoy consequently declares, in the name and by the orders of His Majesty the King, that Prussia regards the hitherto existing Federal compact as dissolved and no longer obligatory." Prussia, however, did not undervalue the national necessities for the sake of which the Confederation had been formed, and therefore she was willing and desirous to enter into a new Confederation with any German states which were prepared to accept the basis of reform sketched in the Prussian circular of the 10th June. Finally, having protested against the disbursement of any Federal moneys without the consent of his Government, the Prussian envoy left the assembly.

The die was cast, and war was inevitable; yet in what manner, and at what precise point, it would break out, was probably suspected by few, if any, persons outside of the diplomatic world. But the revelations of General La Marmora show that Bismarck had meditated the precise stroke with which Prussia should commence operations for weeks before. On the 13th May, Count Barral telegraphed to Florence that Count Bismarck had again told him that "the hostile attitude of Hanover would probably oblige Prussia to direct the first military operations against the kingdom of Hanover." Again, on the 22nd May, he told General Govone that Prussia would be completely ready for war in a very few days, and that then "war might break out, either through a hostile decision of the Diet, or owing to armaments to which Hanover, *or some one of those little states which cut the Prussian monarchy in two*, might choose to proceed." Now, poor little Hanover, so far from being forward, was sadly backward in her preparations for war, as events soon proved when she was surprised by the Prussian ultimatum of June 15. But there were two advantages to be gained by attacking Hanover and other small states that were friendly to Austria. First, the military advantage. A glance at the map will show that Hanover and Hesse-Cassel did truly "cut the Prussian monarchy in two;" so that it was of the utmost importance to the celerity and security of the movements of her armies that Prussia should at the outset overpower and occupy those countries. Secondly, there was probably what may be called a sentimental advantage. King William had a sort of superstitious aversion from attacking Austria, for the sovereign of which he certainly entertained a feeling of warm friendship; but in the case of Hanover and Saxony there was no such obstacle, and it was perhaps easy to convince the King that the safety of Prussia required that their military preparations should be suppressed with a high hand.

On June 15, the day after the memorable vote in the Diet, Prussia sent an identical summons to the Governments of Hanover, Saxony, and Electoral Hesse, which had voted for the Austrian proposal, requiring that they should immediately reduce their troops to the peace establishment, as it had existed on the 1st March, and should agree to join the new Prussian Federation on the basis of the reform proposed on the 10th June. If these Governments declared, within twelve hours, their agreement to these demands, Prussia undertook to guarantee their sovereign rights within the boundaries of the proposed Federation; otherwise, Prussia announced her intention of declaring war.

Saxony at once refused; the two other Governments

* "The Federal Constitution provided that Austria should furnish the 3rd, 4th, and 9th Army Corps, Prussia the 1st, 5th, and 6th, Bavaria the 7th, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Grand Ducal Hesse the [illegible] Hesse, Saxony, Hanover, [illegible] Luxemburg [illegible] Holstein, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Anhalt, [illegible]." (Sir A. Malet.)

hesitated, and made no distinct reply. On the evening of June 15, Prussia declared war against these three states. No formal declaration of war was made against Austria, but at a later date the intention to commence hostilities was communicated to the Austrian outposts.*

CHAPTER XXI.

The Military System of Prussia; its Reorganisation in 1859; its Efficiency and Completeness: Special Services—The Austrian Army; its Motley Composition: Difficulties attendant on Mobilisation—Importance to Austria of taking the Initiative—The Saxon Army—Forces of other Allies of Austria—The Italian Army—Summary of Opposing Forces—Attempts of Prussia to Excite an Insurrection in Hungary—Positions and Strength of the Field Armies of the Belligerents—The Hanoverian Army concentrates at Göttingen; marches upon Eisenach; is deceived by a Prussian *ruse*—The Bavarians fail to assist the Hanoverians—Prussian troops hurried up—Battle of Langensalza: Victory of the Hanoverians: They are compelled to Capitulate—Extinction of the Kingdom of Hanover—Reflections—Occupation of Cassel by the Prussians: Imprisonment of the Elector—The Saxon Army marches into Bohemia—Saxony overrun by the Prussians—Occupation of Dresden—Manifesto of the Emperor of Austria—General Orders of Marshal Benedek and Prince Frederick Charles—Prussian Invasion of Bohemia—Operations on the line of the Iser—Action of Münchengrätz—Rapid Advance of Prince Frederick Charles—Count Clam Gallas driven from Gitschin—Heavy Austrian Losses—The Army of Silesia—Address of the Crown Prince to the Soldiers—Passage of the Mountains at three points—Action of Trautenau; the Prussians repulsed—Actions of Soor and Burgersdorf—Action of Nachod; of Skalitz—Hungarian Prisoners—Defective Discipline—Concentration of the Second Army near Gradlitz—Communications opened with the First Army—Benedek's Faulty Strategy: He Concentrates his Army in Front of Königgrätz—King of Prussia arrives at Gitschin: Takes the Supreme Command of the Prussian Armies—Conference—Prince Frederick Charles determines to Advance—The Austrian Position—The First Army moves forward to Dub—Morning of the 3rd July—Battle of Königgrätz: Austrian Order of Battle: The Army of the Crown Prince Attacks the Austrian Right: The Prussian Guards seize Chlum: Benedek vainly attempts to dislodge them: General Retreat of the Austrians: Forces engaged: Loss on both sides—Cession of Venetia by Austria to France.

BEFORE describing the achievements of the Austrian and Prussian armies in the field, some account of their relative strength when fully mobilised, and of the military system under which each was raised, may fitly be given.

The Prussian military system was reorganised in 1859, and the required changes were chiefly carried out by General von Roon, the Minister of War. Great opposition was made to them from time to time in the Prussian Chambers, on the ground that they imposed a heavy charge on the public revenue, and interfered still more than the old system with the progress and development of industry; but the King and his ministers, by their indomitable firmness, always succeeded in having their own way. The standing army and the reserves were considerably increased, so as to dispense the men of the Landwehr, under ordinary circumstances, from the necessity of being called into the field. In two important points improvements were introduced which alone sufficed to place the efficiency and serviceableness of the Prussian army at a higher level than that of any other nation. These consisted in the perfect organisation of two classes of troops, which, when war has once broken out, are of prime necessity, viz., depôt troops and garrison troops. Each regiment of infantry, on being mobilised, had to form a depôt battalion, each regiment of cavalry a depôt squadron, each brigade of artillery a depôt division, each battalion of pioneers a depôt company. These depôt troops (which were drawn from the reserve*) amounted to rather over 100,000 men; they were stationed at convenient points in rear of the main armies, ready to go forward and reinforce the regiment, brigade, &c., to which they belonged, in proportion as these last were diminished by the drain of war. In this way, provision was made for keeping the armies in the field up to their full strength—at any rate, for a considerable time after the commencement of hostilities. Again, the organisation of a large force of "garrison troops" tended also, like that of the depôt troops, to prevent the diminution of the field armies, but in a different way. These garrison troops, about 118,000 in number, were drawn from the first levy of the Landwehr; their duties consisted, not merely in garrisoning fortresses, but much more in guarding the communications, escorting convoys, watching telegraph-lines, and occupying towns and villages, as the army advanced, so as to prevent the necessity of making calls for all these indispensable services on the troops of the field army. In these, and in a hundred other ways, the military authorities in Prussia had been continually aiming for many years to make their army the most perfect possible instrument both for attack and defence. The officers—almost all of gentle birth, but not possessed by those arrogant aristocratic notions which the enormous wealth and vast possessions of many Austrian nobles imported into their army—found both their duty and their delight in studying the art of war in every principle and every detail. Their eyes and ears were always open; they carefully noted and tested whatever the experience of the French, in 1859, and of the Americans, in their Civil War, had discovered, as to the mode of applying to war the inventions of modern industry and mechanical science; and when such an invention had been once approved, they often extended and methodised its use with surprising forethought and intelligence. The Prussian information department was a model of celerity and efficiency. The order of battle of the Austrian army, and the topography of Bohemia, were better known perhaps at Berlin than at Vienna. Excellent maps were in the hands of every officer. A railway corps and a bridge-making corps were organised, trained in the most expeditious methods of re-constructing railway lines that had been broken up, and replacing bridges that had been destroyed; divisions of these corps followed in the rear of each field army. These preparations had been carried on with no less discretion than

* Hozier's "Seven Weeks War," i. 67.

* Under the reorganisation of 1859, a recruit joined the Prussian service for three years (from nineteen to twenty-two) in the regular army; for five years (from twenty-two to twenty-seven) in the reserve; and for eleven years (from twenty-seven to thirty-eight) was liable to be called up for duty in the first or second levy of the Landwehr.

perseverance. Europe had no conception either of their efficacy or of their extent. It was the fashion to speak rather slightingly of what were regarded as the theoretical combinations of pen-and-ink strategists; and this Prussian army, which had never proved what it could do, which was subjected to so brief a training to arms, and consisted so largely of recruits, was imagined to be little capable of confronting the legions of Austria.

The Austrian army enjoyed a great name, and was rather too much disposed to remain stationary, and repose on its laurels. When the efficiency of the needle-gun, as proved in the war with Denmark, was alleged to Austrian military men, they would make light of it, and talk about the fondness of their men for close quarters, and their proficiency with the bayonet. Soldiers tell you that this fond persuasion of their being particularly formidable with the bayonet, is a delusion common to the troops of almost every nation. The Austrian officers were not men of study, like their Prussian rivals, but, to a great extent, men of pleasure. Neither the tie of discipline, nor the consciousness of intelligent co-operation, which bound the Prussian officers and privates so closely together, was operative in the Austrian army to anything like the same extent. To this contributed also the difficulties arising from the heterogeneous character of the forces, raised to protect the motley nationality of Austria. The officers often did not understand the language of their men, and regiments differing in nationality, and therefore in speech, often had to be brigaded together. The maxim "Divide et impera" is a good one as against those who are subject to your control; but it leaves you at a disadvantage when you are confronted with a neighbouring power, which, from being homogeneous, can rule its people *without* dividing them. The Austrian Government brought the troops that it raised in Italy into Bohemia or Galicia, stationed its best German troops in Italy, and its Hungarian troops anywhere except in Hungary; and, in the absence of an overpowering strain, the system worked well. But when the nation was called upon suddenly to prepare for war, the defects of an arrangement which separated each regiment widely from its recruiting ground were immediately perceived. The fifth or depôt battalion of each regiment was permanently quartered in the country where the regiment had been raised, and on it fell the duty of recruitment for the regiment, as soon as the orders for mobilisation and completing to the war strength had been received. But, for many reasons, the field battalions of the regiment could not conveniently obtain the recruits which they required, except in close proximity to the depôt battalion. When, therefore, in face of the menacing attitude of Prussia, the necessity of arming and filling up the cadres forced itself upon

THE PRINCE OF AUGUSTENBURG.

the Austrian Government, a complicated movement of troops immediately took place, each regiment repairing to its native soil—Hungarians to Hungary, Bohemians to Bohemia, and so on—in order that it might be near its depôt battalion. It was impossible to conceal these movements; and as they commenced in March, they furnished Count Bismarck with a useful allegation against Austria, that she was the first to arm, and was, therefore, bent upon war. Yet, after all, so imperfectly thought out and fore-determined were all her arrangements, in comparison with those of Prussia, that she was deprived of all power of taking the initiative in the campaign, and

BATTLE OF LANGENSALZA.

so availing herself of her strong position in Bohemia. A military writer (Colonel Hamley), in a paper contributed at the time to *Blackwood's Magazine*, shows that Austria—on condition that in any war fought with Germany she take the initiative—possesses in the mountain-bound stronghold of Bohemia, projecting forward between Saxony and Silesia, a military advantage of the first order. For she can keep her army concentrated behind the mountains, while Prussia, or whatever Power is predominant in North Germany, is compelled to spread its forces over Silesia and Saxony (using this term in the widest sense); and, issuing out on whichever side she prefers, she can either descend from the Erz-gebirge in overwhelming force on the Saxon plains, menacing Berlin, and probably compelling an evacuation of Silesia; or make a similar descent across the Riesen-gebirge into Silesia. But if she allows the initiative in the war to be taken from her, if she waits till her enemy has seized the passes through both ranges of mountains, and till his columns, descending on the plains, are within supporting distance of each other, then the topography of Bohemia avails her no longer, and her soldiers have to fight on their own soil, with no particular advantage of position or numbers, and dispirited by the sense that the barriers of the land have been wrenched from them by their more active adversary. It was the profound study of these fixed conditions of a war with Austria which made the Prussian strategists realise the immense importance of celerity in all their military combinations, led them to investigate the means of attaining this celerity, and determined them, at all risks, to take the initiative in the campaign.

Of the armies of the secondary German states which sided with Austria, that of Saxony, which had all its preparations in a forward state, and which, as we shall see, succeeded in making good its retreat into Bohemia when the Prussians advanced, consisted of 25,000 excellent troops, and sixty guns. The total military strength of the other German allies of Austria was about 135,000 men, of whom about 18,000 were cavalry, and 300 guns. But multiplicity of commands, diversity of views, mutual jealousies—to say nothing of different systems of armament and commissariat—diminished in a remarkable

degree the fighting power of this large body of troops. The contingents of the German states which joined Prussia amounted altogether to about 28,000 men.

The Italian army consisted of eighty regiments of the line, containing about 202,000 men, five regiments of Bersaglieri (the old crack troops of the Sardinian kingdom), numbering 25,000 men, and about 13,000 cavalry, with 480 guns.

The forces ranged against each other at the opening of the war of 1866 may be briefly exhibited in tabular form, thus:—

Prussian army (exclusive of depôt and garrison troops) -	351,000
Armies of German States allied with Prussia - - -	28,600
Italian army - - - - - - - - - - -	240,849
Total -	620,449

Artillery: Prussian guns, 1,092; Italian guns, 480: total, 1,572.

Austrian army: Infantry, 321,140; cavalry, 26,621; artillery, 24,641; engineers and pioneers, 11,194: total - -	383,556
Armies of German states allied to Austria - - -	160,586
Total -	544,142

Artillery: Austrian guns, 1,036; German guns, 360: total, 1,396.

Thus, merely reckoning the field armies on both sides, the accession of Italy threw a decided preponderance, even of numbers, into the scale of Prussia. Austria, to oppose the Italian army, was obliged to keep 150,000 of her best troops south of the Alps; had one-third of these stood in line at Königgrätz, the fortune of the day would probably have been different. In the special and scientific services, Prussia had an additional superiority over Austria; she had 30,000 cavalry, 35,000 artillery, and 18,000 pioneers, while the Austrian strength in each of these branches was, as we have seen, considerably smaller.

It was not Count Bismarck's fault if the disparity of force between the belligerents was not still greater. The great statesman appears to have held the opinion that "everything is fair in war." He had for years repressed, roughly and decisively, all revolutionary or ultra-democratic movements in Germany; he had helped Russia to put down the Polish insurgents in 1864; he had read Austria an edifying lecture, so late as in the January of this year, on the enormity of her conduct in furthering "the revolutionary transformation of the people of Holstein," by allowing the partisans of the Prince of Augustenburg to hold a few public meetings. But now he thought he saw an opportunity of employing the revolution in the task of humbling Austria, and he grasped at it at once. The Prussian Minister at Florence, Herr von Usedom, wrote to La Marmora on the 12th June, that he had received orders from Bismarck to inform the Italian Government, that with regard to the Hungarian affair, Prussia was ready to furnish one half of the funds necessary to operate upon the Hungarians and Sclavonians, if Italy would undertake to supply the other half. At the beginning of May, General Govone had asked whether Prussia would be disposed to sacrifice five million francs (£200,000) to be expended in fomenting an insurrection in Hungary, and Count Bismarck had thrown cold water on the project. But in the interval he appears to have conversed with some Hungarian exiles, who had converted him to their views. Usedom was, therefore, now ordered to propose that the sum of three millions should be expended, one million in making the necessary preparations, and two millions at the moment when the populations in question should effectively take part in the campaign. La Marmora, who had a genuine dislike for revolutionary agencies, was pestered at the same time by memorials and proposals of all kinds from Hungarian exiles, among whom we meet with the celebrated name of Kossuth. The ex-Governor of Hungary, in an eloquent and highly imaginative epistle, proposed seriously to the Italian Government to enter into an alliance with Hungary, that is, with the Hungarian exiles and revolutionists! As if, says La Marmora, to ally ourselves with a strong and robust kingdom like Prussia, with its finances and its army in the most admirable condition, was the same thing as to ally ourselves with an imaginary kingdom, such as Hungary was then, without soldiers and without money! Yet, so bent was Count Bismarck on humbling Austria, and so little scrupulous was he as to means, that he wished Italy to direct her attack, not upon the Quadrilateral, but upon the Austrian provinces at the head of the Adriatic, in the hope of raising, by the liberal distribution of money, that most hateful of all strifes, a civil and revolutionary war. But La Marmora was better informed as to the real state of things in Hungary, and refused to be led into the Prussian project. He reminds his readers with what ardour the Hungarians, both officers and soldiers, fought at Custozza; and declares that the Hungarian generals, whom Prussia sent into Hungary during the struggle, were notoriously ill-received by their countrymen. He further mentions that the Italian Minister, Visconti, wrote to him about this time from Constantinople, after having just travelled through Hungary, "that the country was much better disposed to conciliation than to revolution, and that the *émigrés* had little influence."

The Prussian ultimatum was sent, as we have seen, to Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse Cassel, on the 15th June. It was evidently the wish of the Prussian Government that Hanover should reject the summons, that an excuse might not be wanting for annexation. On this account no *locus pœnitentiæ* was allowed. "When, on June 15, Count Platen (the Hanoverian Premier) answered *verbally* the summons of the Prussian Minister, Prince Ysenburg, 'that Hanover could not join Prussia,' the Prince replied, '*Then I declare war.*' Some hours later, when Count Platen sent him a note, in which a peaceable solution was sought, Prince Ysenburg declined to receive it, on the plea that he had ceased to bear a public character!"* On the evening before, at the end of an interview with Count Barral, Bismarck said to him, "The die is cast; let us be of good courage: *but let us not forget that Almighty God is capricious.*"

The forces of the different states, of which the totals have been given above, were distributed into armies in the following manner. The Prussian forces were formed into three armies. The First Army, commanded by

* Sir A. Malet.

Prince Frederick Charles, the King's nephew, consisted of three infantry and one cavalry corps, numbering 120,000 men; its head-quarters were at Görlitz, close to the eastern frontier of Saxony. The Second Army, commanded by the Crown Prince, contained the Guards corps, and three others, numbering 125,000 men; the head-quarters were at Neisse in Silesia, being purposely placed so far to the south in order to induce a belief that the objective of this army was Olmütz or Brunn, and to disguise as long as possible the real design of leading it across the mountains into Bohemia. The Third Army was that of the Elbe, commanded by General Herwarth von Bittenfeld, whose head-quarters were at Halle; it numbered about 50,000 men, including cavalry. Besides these three armies, which were all designed to act against Austria, special forces to the number of about 60,000 men were prepared to invade Hanover and Hesse Cassel, and afterwards to operate against the forces of the southern states friendly to Austria, as circumstances should direct. The special forces that were to attack Hanover were under the command of Lieutenant-General von Falkenstein, the military governor of Westphalia. Those that were detailed against Hesse Cassel were commanded by General Beyer, whose head-quarters were at Wetzlar, the chief town of a small Prussian *enclave*, surrounded by the territories of Nassau, Hesse Cassel, and Hesse Darmstadt.

The forces of Austria were divided into two grand armies. That of the north, under Field-Marshal Benedek, who assumed the command on the 19th May, consisted of seven *corps d'armée*, and five divisions of cavalry, numbering altogether about 245,000 men; its head-quarters were at Josephstadt in Bohemia. That of the south, commanded by the Emperor's uncle, the Archduke Albrecht, consisted of three corps, of which one was at this time quartered in Istria, near Venice, another was posted within the Quadrilateral, and the third was held as a general reserve.

The Saxon army, 25,000 men, effected a junction with the army under Marshal Benedek at the commencement of the campaign, and formed a most valuable addition to it. The Hanoverian army consisted of about 18,000 men, under Lieutenant-General von Arenttschildt; of its fate we shall speak presently. The Bavarian army, assembled on the Upper Main, consisted of between 40,000 and 50,000 men, under the command of Prince Charles of Bavaria. The army composed of the contingents of several of the smaller states, under the name of the 8th Federal Army Corps, was assembled in and around Frankfort within a few days after the war broke out; it numbered 54,000 men, with 136 guns, and was placed under the command of Prince Alexander of Hesse.

The Italian army consisted of four great army corps, stationed respectively at Lodi, Cremona, Piacenza, and Bologna, and under the command of the King in person, assisted by General La Marmora. It numbered at the outset of the campaign about 146,000 men, with 228 guns.

The destruction of the independence of Hanover had probably been long meditated by Count Bismarck. We have seen how the Hanoverian Government was denied the opportunity of reconsidering its adverse reply to the summons of the 15th June, and how frequently Count Bismarck had spoken of the probability of Prussia's commencing operations by attacking Hanover. The Hanoverian troops were about to be assembled for their customary autumn manœuvres, but by means of orders transmitted by telegraph they were nearly all collected at Göttingen, the university town in the south of Hanover, on the 18th June. The blind King, George of Cumberland, first cousin of our Queen, accompanied by the Crown Prince, arrived at Göttingen on the 16th; the Queen and the Princesses courageously remained at the palace of Herrenhausen.

Had Hanover been ready for war, or even had a spirit of promptitude and decision reigned in her councils, her army might, beyond a doubt, have made good its retreat to the south from Göttingen, and effected a junction either with the Bavarians on the Upper Main or with the 8th Corps at Frankfort. But the army was deficient in the means of transport, and in the hurry of the concentration on Göttingen the reserve ammunition had been forgotten. On the 20th June, however, the march southward was commenced, the army taking the direction of Eisenach, evidently with the intention of joining the Bavarians. The way to Frankfort was barred by the presence of the Prussians at Cassel. On the 23rd, a report that Prussian troops had been seen in the Hainich valley, near Eisenach, caused the Hanoverian General to alter slightly the direction of the march; bearing to the left, he entered and occupied Langensalza on the evening of that day. Meantime, Falkenstein was pushing forward his divisions in pursuit from Göttingen, which he had occupied on the 22nd; Beyer sent a portion of his force from Cassel to Eisenach; and several battalions of the Saxe-Coburg troops (the Duke of Saxe-Coburg having sided with Prussia) were posted at Gotha. But a vigorous forward movement on the 24th would have easily borne down the opposition of the Prussian forces then assembled at Eisenach and Gotha; and such a movement the King had resolved on making. Hanoverian troops advanced upon Eisenach on the evening of the 24th; they had a decided superiority of numbers, and were just about to attack with every prospect of success, when a telegram was brought to the colonel commanding the advance, signed by the Hanoverian officer, Major von Jacobi, who had been negotiating with the Duke of Saxe-Coburg at Gotha, announcing that hostilities were to be avoided, as the conditions laid down by Hanover in the negotiations had been accepted by Prussia. Unfortunately for the King of Hanover, he had not clearly made up his mind whether to fight or to negotiate; and this irresolution placed him at a disadvantage when opposed to men who knew exactly what they wanted, and were not troubled by scruples as to the honourableness of the means employed to compass it. The terms proposed by the King of Hanover, for the unmolested march and future neutrality of his army, were recommended to the Prussian Government for acceptance by the Duke of Saxe-Coburg on the morning of the 24th, on the express ground that the Prus-

sian forces at Eisenach and Gotha were too weak to prevent the Hanoverians from forcing their way through. But the Prussian Government did not choose to consent to these terms; at the same time, it was of the utmost importance to it that the Hanoverians should be detained somehow or other for a short time in their present encampment, since the railway from Magdeburg by Halle to Gotha would enable it in a very brief space of time to concentrate at Gotha a force which would effectually bar the Hanoverian march. The *ruse*, therefore, was resorted to of sending to the Hanoverian advance the lying telegram bearing the signature of Major von Jacobi. It is not certainly known what part was played by the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, or by the Prussian authorities with whom he was in constant communication, in this not very creditable stratagem; but there is a significant old proverb which bids us ask, when we wish to ascertain the authorship of any act, "To whom is it for good?" However this may be, the Hanoverians drew off, on the receipt of the telegram, and retired upon their main body at Langensalza. On the night of the 24th, a messenger was sent from Langensalza to the Bavarian headquarters at Bamberg, to report the situation of the Hanoverian army, and to solicit speedy assistance. Prince Charles coolly replied that an army of 19,000 men ought to be able to cut its way through, and only sent forward a few detachments for a short distance along the road to Gotha. On this, Captain Hozier remarks, "This procedure of Prince Charles of Bavaria was alone sufficient to condemn him as a general. He held his army inactive, when, by a bold advance, not only could he have insured the safety of the Hanoverians, but could in all probability have captured the whole of his enemy's troops at Gotha. Thus he would have saved 19,000 allies, have captured 6,000 of his adversary's men, have turned the scale of war by 25,000 combatants, and have preserved to his own cause a skilled and highly-trained army, proud of high and ancient military reputation, which the faults of politicians had placed in a most precarious and unfortunate position."

The King waited where he was during the 25th and 26th, engaged in *pour-parlers*, which led to nothing, with the Prussian Lieutenant-General von Alvensleben, who had been sent to negotiate from Berlin. Thus his only hope of escape vanished; for during the 25th troops were being hurried up in all directions to Gotha and Eisenach, so that by the evening of that day there were already thirteen Prussian battalions at Eisenach, and twelve at Gotha, besides cavalry and artillery. Major-General Flies arrived at Gotha on the 26th, and took the command, intending to attack the Hanoverians on the morrow. Perhaps it was well for their fame that he did so, since the time for forcing their way to the southward was probably now gone by, and, with a force of 12,000 enemies entrenched at Gotha, and another force of 13,000 encamped a few miles to the westward, the chance was but trifling that a small army of 18,000 men, ill fed and short of ammunition, would be able to fight its way to the southward in spite of them. Had the Hanoverian army been left to itself, it would either have capitulated in a few days to a superior force, or, if it had attempted to continue its march, it would probably have been attacked on both flanks, and could scarcely have escaped a great disaster. As it was, Major-General Flies gave them the opportunity of winning a victory, which, in the long night of political extinction that has followed, must have often cheered the downcast spirits of Hanoverian patriots, when brooding indignantly over the mixture of fraud, rapine, and violence to which the independence of their country succumbed.

Flies had moved his force out from Gotha on the evening of the 26th, and bivouacked at Werza; whence he advanced in the direction of Langensalza early on the morning of the 27th. Through some mismanagement or misconception, such as did not often occur on the Prussian side, the real superiority of force which the Prussians could by this time have brought to bear against the Hanoverians was not made available, and Flies was about to attack an army considerably more numerous than his own. Misleading reports respecting the movements both of the Bavarians and Hanoverians had reached Von Falkenstein at Eisenach. He therefore ordered Goeben with his division to watch the Bavarians, who were supposed to be advancing from the south, and detached Manteuffel towards Mühlhausen, a town between Göttingen and Langensalza, under the erroneous belief that the Hanoverians were now retreating northwards, and meant to seek a strong position among the Harz Mountains. General Arenttschildt entertained no such intention, but, expecting to be attacked from Gotha, he had drawn up his little army on the northern bank of the Unstrut, a marshy stream which runs past Langensalza in a general easterly direction, running to join the Saale near Leipsic. The Prussians advanced gallantly, drove in the Hanoverian outposts on the right or south bank of the Unstrut, and attempted to cross the river. But the Hanoverian artillery, judiciously posted and well served, defeated this attempt. A number of partial actions, in which great gallantry was exhibited on both sides, occurred in different parts of the field. The Prussians, however, being decidedly over-matched, were unable to gain ground; and about one o'clock, General Arenttschildt ordered his brigade commanders to cross the Unstrut, and assume the offensive. This was done—ineffectually for a time on the Hanoverian left, where the swampy nature of the ground by the river presented great obstacles to an advance—but with complete success on their right, where General Bülow drove the Prussians steadily before him, and was able to use his superior cavalry with considerable effect. The excellent military qualities of the Prussian soldier, and the deadly rapidity of fire of the needle-gun, prevented the retreat from becoming a disaster. However, General Flies had no choice but to order a general retreat, and fall back in the direction of Gotha. Two guns and two thousand stand of arms fell into the hands of the victors, whose cavalry continued the pursuit till about half-past four, making many prisoners.

In this battle of Langensalza, the Hanoverians sustained a heavier loss in killed and wounded than the

Prussians, doubtless owing to the comparative inefficiency of their firearms. The loss on their side amounted to 1,429; on the Prussian side it did not much exceed 800; but the Hanoverians claimed to have captured upwards of 900 prisoners, besides the two guns already mentioned.

On the day after the battle, the King of Hanover, still at Langensalza, published a general order, thanking the troops for the gallantry they had displayed. Nevertheless, a council of war being held in the course of the day by the principal officers of the army, the situation of affairs appeared to them to be desperate, and they reported their opinion to the blind King. How far Prussian promises and inducements may have been influential in producing this unanimity among the officers, there are no means of judging. It is certain that the soldiers, although insufficiently fed, and exhausted by the great heat and the hardships of their unaccustomed life, were extremely dissatisfied at the prospect of a capitulation, and demanded to be again led against the enemy. Perhaps a determined pressing onwards might, since the force at Gotha had been defeated, have brought at least a considerable portion of the army to a place of safety, within reach or supporting distance of the Bavarians. But it is idle to speculate in this direction, and the King took the only course which could be considered prudent, under the circumstances, in authorising General Arenttschildt to treat for a capitulation. Von Falkenstein required an unconditional surrender, and a convention was drawn up accordingly; but on the 29th General Manteuffel arrived from Berlin, empowered by the King to grant additional articles, which were more honourable and more favourable to the Hanoverians. The King of Prussia commanded that, in the first place, his highest recognition of the gallant conduct of the Hanoverian troops should be recorded. It was then agreed that the King of Hanover, with the Crown Prince and his suite, should be at liberty to fix his royal residence anywhere he pleased, except in Hanover, his private property remaining at his high disposal. The officers were to retain their arms and horses: all other arms, horses, and ammunition were to be surrendered; and both officers and men were to engage not to serve against Prussia. This convention, thus modified, was signed at Langensalza, on the 29th June, by the Lieutenant-Generals Arenttschildt and Manteuffel.

It is needless to observe that this convention embodied the last public act which Hanover was destined to execute as an independent state. The Prussians overran the kingdom, and took its administration into their own hands. With what unblushing disregard to justice and international right all this was brought about, even the meagre sketch which has been given in these pages may sufficiently indicate. Yet it is hazardous for an Englishman to pronounce a decided opinion upon the whole transaction. On the one hand, an ancient ruling house, of an antiquity and dignity beside which the more modern glories of the Hohenzollerns have a *parvenu* and upstart look, was rudely hurled from the throne; the capital became a provincial town; the nobles were hurt in their feelings of honour, and the honest peasantry in their simple loyalty, by the violent transfer of their allegiance to a foreign sovereign. On the other hand, the commercial classes, with which in Hanover, as in every other country, the prosperity of trade is a paramount consideration, are said to be satisfied with the change, on account of the increased activity which union with Prussia has promoted in the pursuits of trade and industry. To this it must be added, that with so dangerous a neighbour as France, every sensible Hanoverian must feel some satisfaction for the loss of independence in the thought that Germany now offers a compact and united front, where formerly all was weakness and division. Till France has beaten her sword into a ploughshare, it is probable that no serious effort will ever be made to vindicate for Hanover, now an integral part of the Prussian state, any portion of her old independence.

No decided answer having been given by the Government of Hesse Cassel to the summons sent by Prussia on the 15th inst., war was immediately declared, and General Beyer was ordered to advance with his division from Wetzlar upon Cassel. Breaking up from Wetzlar on the night of the 16th, one of the Prussian brigades reached Cassel by three forced marches on the 19th, and the remainder on June 20. The Elector, taken by surprise, had only time to give directions to his small army to march upon Fulda and Hanau. The soldiers showed an excellent spirit, and obeyed the order strictly; many even joined their respective corps after they had reached Frankfort and Mayence. Thus the army was saved, though it was but ill provided with munitions of war. The Elector himself remained at his country palace of Wilhelmshöhe (memorable a few years later as the place of captivity of the prisoner of Sedan), where he underwent many vexations and annoyances. He was eventually transferred, under arrest, to Bremen, by the express order of the King of Prussia, vainly protesting against the violence to which he was subjected. Cholera having broken out at Bremen, the Elector was subsequently removed to Stettin.

Alone among the three Princes to whom the imperious Prussian summons of June 15 was addressed, the King of Saxony was not taken unprepared. He met the Prussian demand with a direct and unqualified refusal, and immediately put his army in motion to join Marshal Benedek. Orders were given for the dismantling of the railway that enters Saxony out of Prussia, near the course of the Elbe, and for the destruction of the bridge over that river at Rieza. The Saxon pioneers set to work on the night of the 15th, but had made no great progress, when the advanced guard of General Herwarth's army was upon them, early on the morning of the 16th, and compelled them to desist. The rails had been taken up in many places, but not bent or carried away, and only a portion of the bridge of Rieza had been destroyed by the flames, so that the clever workmen of the Prussian railway and pontoon corps soon brought both railway and bridge into working order again. On the same day Prince Frederick Charles, moving from Görlitz, crossed the Saxon frontier, and advanced upon

Dresden. A junction was effected between the two armies near Meissen, and both marched to Dresden, which was occupied without opposition on the 18th. By the 20th June, the whole of Saxony (with the exception of the virgin fortress of Königstein in the Saxon Switzerland) was in the power of the Prussians. The war had lasted but five days, and already the vigour and rapidity with which Prussia dealt her blows had secured for her advantages of inestimable value. Her right flank was now perfectly secure from attack, through the prostration of the power of Hanover and Hesse Cassel; the prestige and the terror of her arms were greatly enhanced by the occupation of the beautiful capital of Saxony; and the conquest of that kingdom had rendered possible the union of two Prussian armies, and secured a corresponding shortening and strengthening of her lines. The discipline maintained in the Prussian columns entering Saxony was perfect; there was no plundering, and the least possible amount of damage to property; hence an amicable feeling soon sprang up between the invaders and the natives, and the good-natured soldiers might frequently be seen helping to carry the peasants' hay for them.

FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN.

There was no formal declaration of war on the part of Austria or Prussia; but an Austrian manifesto appeared on the 17th, and a Prussian on the 18th June. On the 20th, Italy declared war against Austria and Bavaria.

In the Austrian manifesto, addressed "To my peoples," the Emperor retraced the series of events which had culminated in the present situation of affairs, and ascribed the entire guilt of the war to the unprincipled ambition of Prussia. "While engaged," he said, "in a work of peace, which was undertaken for the purpose of laying the foundation for a constitution which should augment the unity and power of the empire, and at the same time to secure to my several countries and peoples free internal development, my duties as a sovereign have obliged me to place my whole army under arms. On the frontiers of my empire, in the south and in the north, stand the armies of two enemies, who have allied with the intention of breaking the power of Austria as a great European state." The hostility of Italy was at least intelligible; she desired to deprive Austria of a portion of her territory, and made no secret of the fact. As for Prussia, events had proved that she substituted open violence for right and justice, and was determined to break down all barriers in Germany which obstructed the path of her inordinate ambition. "The most pernicious of wars, a war of Germans against Germans, has become inevitable, and I now summon before the tribunal of history—before an eternal and all-powerful God—those persons who have brought it about, and make them responsible for the misfortunes which may fall on individuals, families, districts, and countries. We shall not be alone in the struggle which is about to take place. The princes and peoples of Germany know that their liberty and independence are menaced by a Power which listens but to the dictates of egotism, and is under the

influence of an ungovernable craving after aggrandisement; and they also know that in Austria they have an upholder of the freedom, power, and integrity of the whole German Fatherland."

On the same day Marshal Benedek published a general order to the Austrian Army of the North, the tone of which, recalling the bombastic manifestoes of a Hooker or a Pope, must have sounded ominous of disaster in the ears of one who had attentively studied the late American War. He told his troops that "the bands would place themselves in the rear of the front of the respective positions, and play heroic pieces for the warlike dance." He alluded to the rumoured superiority of the Prussian firearms, but only to indulge in an idle vaunt. "The enemy has for some time vaunted the excellence of their firearms, but, soldiers, I do not think that will be of much avail to them. We will give them no time, but will attack them with the bayonet and with clubbed muskets. When, with God's help, we shall have beaten our enemies and compelled them to retreat, we will pursue them without intermission, and you shall then find repose upon the enemy's soil, and those compensations which a glorious and victorious army has a right to demand." Such sanguine anticipations, where the wish is father to the thought, are of the same family with the cries "Ã

GENERAL STEINMETZ.

Berlin!" which resounded through the streets of Paris in July, 1870.

Prince Frederick Charles, who, after the occupation of Saxony, was ready, on the 23rd June, to march for the Austrian frontier, replied to Benedek in a general order, dated Görlitz, June 22, in which he simply reminded his troops that the conflict was one in which the national existence of Prussia was at stake, and expressed his conviction that the streams of blood which their fathers and his had poured out under Frederick the Great, in the War of Independence, had not been spilt in vain. He

concluded by bidding them go forward with their old battle-cry, "With God for King and Fatherland! Long live the King!"

The Prince broke up his head-quarters at Görlitz on the 22nd June, and marched thence with the main body of the First Army direct for Zittau, the last town in Saxony towards Bohemia. The passes through the mountains were found to be undefended; in fact, the rapid movements of the Prussians had left no time for Benedek to take the necessary measures. Count Clam Gallas, in command of the 1st Austrian Corps, numbering about 60,000 men, was posted to the south of the mountains, on the line of the Iser (a river which runs into the Elbe at Brandeis, not many miles from Prague), prepared in that advantageous position to stop, or delay as much as possible, the advance of the invaders. At the toll-house which marks the frontier of Bohemia, the Prince stationed himself, on the morning of June 23, to watch his troops march over the border. "As the leading ranks of each battalion arrived at the first point on the road from which they caught sight of the Austrian colours that showed the frontier, they raised a cheer, which was quickly caught up by those in the rear, and was repeated again and again till, when the men came up to the toll-house, and saw their soldier Prince standing on the border line, it swelled into a roar of rapturous delight, which only ceased to be replaced by a martial song that was caught up by each battalion as it streamed into Bohemia. Their chief himself stood by the roadside, calm and collected; but he gazed proudly on the passing sections, and well he might, for never did an army cross an enemy's frontier better equipped, better cared for, or with a higher courage, than that which marched out of Saxony that day."*

Our readers will not expect that we should enter into a minute description of the various combats and strategic movements which ensued, till the day on which the opposing hosts were confronted together for the decisive struggle of Sadowa. Such a description belongs to purely military history. It may be found in the pages of Captain Hozier's interesting work, or in those of the Swiss Colonel Rüstow's "Krieg von 1866." The general result of the skirmishes and severer conflicts which occurred, between the First Army and the Army of the Elbe on the one side, and the forces under the Count Clam Gallas on the other, from the 23rd to the 29th of June, may be summed up in a few sentences. The first action was fought at Liebenau, where some Austrian cavalry were driven back on their supports. On the same day (June 26) a severe action was fought at the town of Podoll; there was hard fighting in the streets, and from house to house; but the fatal superiority of the needle-gun soon asserted itself, and the Austrians were driven out of the place, with a loss of several hundreds in killed and wounded, and 500 unwounded prisoners. The Prussian medical men, who tended both friend and foe in the field hospitals with equal zeal and humanity, declared that the Austrian wounded on this occasion were in the proportion of five to one of the Prussian. A more important action was fought at München-grätz (June 28), in which the Austrians were defeated, with the loss of 1,000 prisoners. Türnau—a town which had fallen into the hands of the Prussian advanced guard immediately after the skirmish of Liebenau—Podoll, and München-grätz, are all towns situated on the Iser, and the consequence of the Prussian successes in these three actions was that Count Clam Gallas was forced back from the whole line of the Iser, and compelled to retire on Gitschin. Here he took up a strong position on some hilly ground to the north and west of that town, having the little river Czidlina behind him. A Saxon brigade stood in line with the Austrians on this occasion, and fought most gallantly. Lieutenant-General Tümpling had the direction of the main Prussian attack, which was made late in the afternoon of June 29. For some time the resistance of the Austrians and Saxons was stubborn, and the battle remained stationary; gradually, however, fresh troops were brought into action on the Prussian side in overwhelming numbers, and the enemy was dislodged from the hills and woods to which he had clung, losing fearfully in his retreat, from the rapid discharges of the needle-gun. The Austrians, however, withdrew in good order across the Czidlina, and re-formed behind Gitschin. From the whole Prussian line, now crowning everywhere the heights from which their foes had been driven, there thundered down, about nine o'clock in the evening, the shout of victory. But even with this success Prince Frederick Charles was not content, but sent several regiments in, later in the night, to storm Gitschin. There was some street fighting, but the place was not firmly held; and, on the morning of the 30th June, Gitschin was completely in the power of the Prussians, and Clam Gallas was in full retreat upon Nechanitz. The Austrians and Saxons are said to have lost 7,000 prisoners on this disastrous day, besides 3,000 killed and wounded. Many of the regiments that fought against Prussia in this series of actions were Italian, and it is no subject of surprise if we find that they fought with little enthusiasm, and allowed themselves rather easily to be taken prisoners. It could not be expected that they would contend with much spirit against the Power which was fighting the battles of their own countrymen.

While the First Army and the Army of the Elbe were thus advancing from the north, the Second Army was moving from Silesia, under circumstances of far greater difficulty and peril, to effect a junction with them in Bohemia. The Crown Prince had been appointed in May to the command of the Second Army, which consisted of the corps of Guards, and the 1st, 5th, and 6th Army Corps of the line, and, when about to take the field, mustered 125,000 strong. The Crown Prince fixed his head-quarters at Neisse, with the object, as has been already explained, of disguising from the Austrians his intention of leading his army across the Sudetic ranges from the county of Glatz. Between the 10th and the 20th June, the dense masses of the Austrian army (with the exception of the 1st Corps, under Count Clam Gallas, which had been already detached in advance to

* Hozier.

the north of Bohemia) moved forward from Moravia and Austrian Silesia, in the direction of Josephstadt. It is clear, therefore, that Marshal Benedek's information as to the real intentions of the Second Army was good; he was, however, so far misled by the movements of the 6th Prussian Corps, which advanced menacingly across the frontier of Austrian Silesia, that he left the 2nd and 3rd Austrian Corps in positions near Böhmisch Trübau, close to the Moravian border, where they could be of no service in attacking the Prussians at the point where they actually crossed the mountains.

On the evening of the 20th June, an order came from the King of Prussia, directing the Crown Prince to send intimation in writing to the commanders of the several Austrian outposts, that Prussia considered Austria's bearing at Frankfort as a virtual declaration of war. In a general order, dated at Neisse the same day, the Crown Prince communicated the royal order to the troops under his command, with the addition of a few well-chosen words, as follows:—

"Soldiers of the Second Army!—You have heard the words of our King and Commander-in-Chief! The attempts of His Majesty to preserve peace to our country have proved fruitless. With a heavy heart [not 'd'un cœur leger,' according to the foolish and wicked phrase of M. Ollivier], but with strong confidence in the spirit and valour of his army, the King has determined to do battle for the honour and independence of Prussia, and for a new organisation of Germany on a powerful basis. I, placed by the grace and confidence of my royal father at your head, am proud, as the first servant of our King, to risk with you my blood and property for the most sacred rights of our native country. Soldiers! for the first time for fifty years a worthy foeman is opposed to our army. Confident in your prowess, and in our excellent and proved arms, it behoves us to conquer the same enemy as our greatest King defeated with a small army. And now, forward with the old Prussian battle-cry—'With God for King and Fatherland!'"

The different corps composing the Second Army were now massed around Glätz, and the Crown Prince, on June 25, left Neisse and proceeded to Eckersdorf, near Glätz. Out of this Silesian county, which juts forward among the mountains that on this side girdle in Bohemia, several good roads lead into Austrian territory. The three northernmost of these—leading respectively by Liebau to Trautenau, by Wünschelburg to Braunau and Eypel, and by Reinerz to Nachod and Skalitz—were selected for the passage of the army, in order that it might be the sooner brought into communication with the armies of Prince Frederick Charles and General Herwarth. The 1st Corps, the Guards, and the 5th Corps were to march by these three roads; the 6th being held in reserve, and directed to advance to Reinerz, in support of the 5th. Breaking up from Liebau on the morning of the 27th June, the 1st Corps, commanded by General von Bonin, advanced through a mountain country to Trautenau. They found the town occupied by the Austrians, and the bridge over the Aupa (a small river running to the southward to join the Elbe at Josephstadt) strongly barricaded. By dint of hard fighting the Prussians forced their way into the town, won the passage of the river, and pushed back the Austrians from the villages on the first hills west of the town. By three o'clock they had achieved all these successes, and the battle appeared to be over. But in about an hour the Austrians again appeared in great force, for General Gablenz, who was here in command, brought up strong reinforcements from Pilnikau, and launched them against the tired Prussians. Slowly forcing them back, the Austrians drove them down into the valley, and recovered the town of Trautenau. General von Bonin felt himself decidedly over-matched, and in the evening retired to Liebau, the place whence he had started that morning. The first serious conflict in which the Army of Silesia was engaged terminated thus in a defeat. But when the returns of loss on both sides are examined, it becomes evident that the Austrians had little cause for exultation. The Prussians, according to their own returns, lost in this action 63 officers and 1,214 men killed and wounded; while the Austrian losses were more than three times as great, amounting to 196 officers and 5,536 men! No wonder if the corps of General Gablenz was "considerably shaken by its victory!"

The Guards Corps was around Braunau on the night of June 26, and on the next day marched for the mountain towns of Eypel and Kosteletz, the first division taking a road from Braunau which led more to the north, and therefore nearer to the 1st Corps, than that followed by the second division. Prince Augustus of Wurtemburg, who was in command of the Guards, heard at Eypel on the evening of the 27th of the check which the 1st Corps had met with, and of its retreat from Trautenau. The Prince resolved to attack General Gablenz the next day. After having repulsed General von Bonin, Gablenz posted his corps on some hilly ground, about the villages of Neu Rognitz, Soor, and Bürgersdorf, some three or four miles south of Trautenau, and about the same distance to the east of Eypel, and there awaited attack. The attack came, and ended, as usual, disastrously for the Austrians. The intolerable superiority of the needle-gun made a pitched battle, unless they were in overwhelming strength, a useless sacrifice of Austrian life. The Guards' first division drove the troops opposed to them from all their positions, and pushed them back in the direction of Pilnikau. While the fight was raging, the second division of the Guards came up from Kosteletz, and, pushing back the Austrian left wing, carried the town of Trautenau by assault, and made 3,000 prisoners. The Austrians lost altogether 5,000 prisoners on this miserable day, and ten guns.

On this same ground, a hundred and twenty-one years before (Sept. 30, 1745), about the villages of Standenz and Bürgersdorf, a Prussian army of 23,000 men, led by Frederick the Great, had defeated a much superior Austrian force commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine.

The way was now opened by the victory of the Guards for a fresh advance of the 1st Corps, which marched past the Prince of Wurtemburg at Trautenau on the

29th of June, and advanced, without meeting the enemy, to Arnau on the following day. On the 29th, the Guards, continuing their march into Bohemia, arrived in front of Koniginhof, which they were not long in carrying by assault, capturing several hundred prisoners, and gaining an important passage over the Elbe at this point.

The 5th Corps, whose march across the frontier must now be related, was commanded by the brave and experienced veteran, General Steinmetz, who shared in his youth the perils and glories of the Prussian War of Liberation from 1813 to 1815, and had also commanded against the Danes in 1848. After seizing the village of Nachod on the evening of the 26th June, Steinmetz moved forward his troops through the long defile, some five miles in its full extent, along which runs the only road which affords a practicable entrance into Bohemia, at this point, for a large body of troops. No attempt was made on the Austrian side to improve the natural facilities for defence which such a position offered; the road was not broken up; no bridges were destroyed, no riflemen were posted on the heights to harass the long unwieldy column, encumbered with guns and wagons, as it wound along the defile. All that Benedek did was to send General Ramming with the 6th Corps to attack the Prussians at the moment that the column should begin to issue from the defile. General Lowenfeld, commanding the advanced guard, arrived at the end of the pass about ten o'clock on the morning of the 27th, and found the Austrians drawn up and awaiting his approach. A neighbouring wood offered a convenient shelter, into which Lowenfeld threw his few battalions of infantry; his cavalry engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with the Austrian cuirassiers, in which they were at first overmatched, but, being reinforced, succeeded in utterly defeating their antagonists. The wood was searched by Austrian bullets; and a vigorous attack early in the action, the Austrians having then a great preponderance in numbers, must have resulted in the dislodgment of the Prussians, and the consequent arrest of the march of the entire corps. But no such attack was made; and as fresh Prussian troops continued to pour out of the defile, Steinmetz assumed the offensive, and drove the Austrians from the field. The Crown Prince himself was present on the ground during this action, and is said to have given orders for a decisive charge of cavalry, in which a dragoon and an Uhlan regiment met and overthrew in equal fight the most famous cavalry in Europe. General Ramming fell back to Skalitz, three miles to the westward, on the evening of the 27th. Thence he sent to Benedek an urgent request for reinforcements. The Commander-in-Chief immediately ordered up the 8th Corps from Jaromierz to Skalitz, directing its commander, the Archduke Leopold to supersede Ramming, and employ the much-shaken 5th Corps as a reserve. This was done, and a good position was taken up in front of Skalitz and the line of the Aupa. Steinmetz, in readiness for battle, marched forward the next morning (June 28) to the attack; the numerous and well-served artillery of the Austrians dealt destruction through the ranks of the assailants; but, though sometimes held in check, they were never beaten back, and evening saw the Austrian army abandoning the field, and seeking ground for bivouacking on the other side of the Aupa. Demoralisation, caused by continued ill-success, by distrust of their leaders, and partly by certain political influences that were at work, had by this time made fearful progress in the Austrian ranks. Several thousand men, mostly Hungarians, let themselves be taken prisoners in these actions of Nachod and Skalitz. They were taken to Neisse, and there about one half of them enlisted voluntarily in the revolutionary Hungarian legion which was then in course of formation by General Klapka. But, apart from any political cause of disintegration, the mysterious invisible bond of discipline kept Austrian officers and men together with a far less power of attraction than that which was infused by the Prussian system into all that were subjected to it. Something like this was once remarked by General Moltke after the war, in the course of a conversation in which it was sought to elicit the precise cause or causes of the surprising facility with which large numbers of unwounded Austrian soldiers had allowed themselves to be captured. It was the company organisation, he thought, that was deficient; Austrian captains and subalterns, as a rule, knew little of their men individually; but when a Prussian regiment was going into action, you heard the men of each company continually saying to each other, "Where is the captain?" "What does the captain say?" They clustered round him naturally, like bees round their queen; and it scarcely ever happened that he was undeserving of their confidence.

After the action at Skalitz, the Archduke Leopold, who had been suffering for some time from illness, was relieved by Marshal Benedek, and turned over his command to Major-General Weber.

Thus the three army corps, which had started from Glätz and Landshut on the 26th, had in three days, with no mishap except the defeat at Trautenau, and with inconsiderable loss, fought their way through the mountain passes, and stood within easy supporting distance, in the rich undulating country which forms this part of Bohemia. The Crown Prince ordered a general advance on the next day (the 29th) to the banks of the Elbe. Meantime, a fresh Austrian corps had been brought up by Benedek, as if they were all to enjoy the luxury of being beaten one after the other. The remains of the 8th and 6th Corps were withdrawn behind the fortress of Josephstadt, and the 4th Corps, under the command of General Festetics, was moved forward to Schweinschädel, a village between Skalitz and Josephstadt. Steinmetz, with his victorious 5th Corps, while marching towards Gradlitz, to unite with the Guards, who had already arrived there, found Festetics in his path. But the Austrian General, perhaps wisely, feared to injure the tottering *morale* of his soldiers by permitting them to engage seriously an enemy of equal or superior force; and the action at Schweinschadel was little more than a prolonged cannonade, in the course of which Festetics retreated under the guns of Josephstadt, not, however, without leaving 800 prisoners in the hands of the Prus-

sians. Steinmetz left a brigade in front of the fortress, to observe the garrison, and with the rest of his corps moved by his right on Gradlitz, a town close to the Elbe, which he reached the same evening, finding the Guards Corps there, as already mentioned. The 6th Corps, which had marched by the pass of Nachod, in support of the 5th, arrived at Gradlitz on the 30th. The 1st Corps was on the same day at Arnau, a town on the Elbe, about twelve miles to the north-east of Gradlitz. Thus the whole of the Upper Elbe, from Arnau to near Josephstadt, was in Prussian hands within four days from the commencement of the march from Silesia. The history of war scarcely contains an instance of such important successes, gained, in so short a time, with so little loss, and in defiance of such formidable obstacles of every kind.

To crown all, a cavalry regiment sent out by Prince Frederick Charles from Gitschin, on the 30th June, fell in with the outposts of the 1st Corps near Arnau. Thus the First Army and the Army of the Elbe were brought into communication with the Army of Silesia; and the imminent peril which had existed of an attack by Benedek, in overwhelming force, upon one of these invading armies, before the other was near enough to help it, was now at an end. Military authorities are agreed in casting great blame on the generalship of Benedek. That he did not take the initiative by an advance into Saxony, was probably not his fault; but if compelled to receive the attack, it was manifestly his policy, as he knew the Prussians to be advancing on two sides, to detain one of their armies by a detachment, with orders to throw all possible difficulties in its path, while avoiding a pitched battle; but to fall upon the other with the full remaining strength of his own army, and endeavour to inflict upon it, while isolated, a crushing defeat. He appears to have manœuvred with this object for a time; Count Clam Gallas, with one corps, was detached to detain Prince Frederick Charles; and though he did not do all that was expected from him, he at least prevented the Prussians from marching through Bohemia as if on a military promenade; meantime the rest of the Austrian army was concentrated round Josephstadt, as though for a resolute attack on the Crown Prince, when he should issue from the passes. Even on the evening of the 27th, nothing was lost; Von Bonin had been driven back from Trautenau, and Ramming, though foiled, had sustained no serious defeat. Then was the time for Benedek to bring up, without a moment's delay, all the troops that were at his disposal, and send them, on the morning of the 28th, at the Guards at Kosteletz and the 5th Corps near Skalitz. It was in his power, according to Captain Hozier, to have massed 150,000 men against a Prussian force which could not, on that day, have been augmented above 67,000. But just at the critical moment, irresolution seized the mind of Benedek; he did indeed reinforce Ramming, but not sufficiently to turn the tide of victory, and he left the Guards at Eypel free to turn against Gablenz, and tear from him the fruits of the victory which he had won on the previous day.

The tidings of the actions of Soor and Skalitz must have convinced the Austrian commander that his plan of falling upon the separate corps of the Army of Silesia, as they issued from the mountain passes, and defeating them in detail, had failed of success. He resolved, therefore, to oppose their passage of the Elbe, and for this purpose to take up a position extending along that river in a north-westerly direction from Josephstadt. But it was a necessary element in this combination that Gitschin, on his left flank, should be firmly held by Count Clam Gallas, and that the army of Prince Frederick Charles should be temporarily detained in front of it. When, on the morning of the 30th, news came of the storming of Gitschin by the Prussians the evening before, and of the rout of the 1st Corps and the Saxons, Benedek saw that by this disaster his left flank was uncovered, and that his dispositions must instantly be changed. While his army was still in a position to fight a great battle, he must interpose it between the enemy and Vienna, and accept battle on the most favourable and carefully prepared ground that he could select. He therefore sent out orders to his corps and divisional commanders to concentrate their commands in front of the fortress of Königgrätz, with its left resting on the little river Bistritz, and its right on the Elbe. These orders were issued on the 30th June. On the same day the Army of Silesia closed up to the First Army, so as to form with it and the Army of the Elbe a wide semi-circle, extending from the Elbe about Königinhof to Neu Bidsow, due west of Königgrätz. The retrograde movement of the Austrians along crowded country roads was attended with considerable difficulty, and it was not till the night of the 2nd July that the whole of their army was assembled in front of Königgrätz. The Crown Prince left two corps and a half on the other side of the Elbe, both to observe the fortress of Josephstadt, and to be prepared vigorously to check any movement which might be made from under its cover against the communications of the army with Silesia. On the 1st July, Prince Frederick Charles pushed forward from Gitschin, and the bulk of the First Army lay that night between Gitschin and Horitz, but nearer to the latter place, on the line of road leading to Königgrätz.

The two main armies of Prussia being now in close proximity, while their commanders, the Crown Prince and Prince Frederick Charles, were independent of each other, it became urgently necessary that some general of superior rank should be on the spot, so as to co-ordinate, if necessary, the movements of both armies, in accordance with whatever plan for the further prosecution of the campaign might be resolved upon. But this officer—superior in rank to the commanders both of the First and of the Second Army—could be no other than the King himself. The King of Prussia accordingly left Berlin on the 29th June, and arrived at Gitschin on the 1st July, where he assumed the supreme command of the three Prussian armies. The importance of this proceeding we shall presently see.

The King decided that the troops should rest on the 2nd July, in consequence of the severe privations which they had undergone since the march through Bohemia

began. A conference was held on that day at Gitschin to discuss the position of affairs, to which Prince Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince were summoned. The position of the bulk of the Austrian army being at that time imperfectly known, although the general belief at the Prussian head-quarters was, that Benedek meant to make a stand on the Elbe, facing westwards, between the

MARSHAL BENEDEK.

fortresses of Josephstadt and Königgrätz, it was decided at the conference that strong reconnaissances should be sent out on the next day, in order to feel the enemy, and ascertain where his chief strength lay. Prince Frederick returned in the afternoon after the conference to his head-quarters at Kammenitz, a farmhouse between Gitschin and Horitz. Here he received intelligence which completely changed the aspect of affairs. The skirmishers of the seventh division, advancing early in the morning a few miles beyond Horitz, had watched an Austrian column, which was estimated to number from 30,000 to 35,000 men, defiling for the space of seven hours along a country road leading southwards through Cerekwitz to Königgrätz. Two staff officers also, riding forward with strong escorts in the vicinity of the villages of Dub and Sadowa, in order to obtain information, were set upon by superior bodies of Austrian cavalry, and had to ride hard for their lives. That the Austrians were in great force a few miles off was abundantly clear from these facts; and it immediately occurred to Prince Frederick Charles that Benedek was concentrating his whole army between Horitz and Königgrätz, in order to fall upon and defeat him before he was in effective communication with the army of the Crown Prince. Whether this were so or not, Prince Frederick Charles resolved at once to move his army forward, ready either to receive or to deliver an attack according to circumstances. He sent an aide-de-camp to the Crown Prince at Königinhof, requesting him to send one corps of his army early the next morning to attack

THE BATTLEFIELD OF KÖNIGGRÄTZ. (REDUCED FROM THE PRUSSIAN OFFICIAL MAP. ONE-FOURTH SIZE.)

Benedek's right flank, while he himself, with the First Army, attacked him, or repelled his attack, as it might turn out. At the same time he sent his chief of the staff, General von Voigts Rhetz, to the King at Gitschin, to communicate the new movements which he contemplated, and to request the King's approval of them. And now the importance of the King's presence, and of his paramount authority was made evident. Prince Frederick Charles could only *request* the Crown Prince to assist him with one of his corps, for the two commands were independent; and he would probably hesitate to give to his request a greater extension, lest he should appear to be assuming the direction of both armies. But no sooner had the King learnt the Prince's plans, than he dispatched (it was then about midnight of the 2nd July) an aide-de-camp to the Crown Prince, *ordering* him to march to the attack of Benedek's right at daybreak, *with his whole available force.* "Who knows what might have happened on the 3rd July," asks Colonel Rüstow, "had not the King been there to order the co-operation of the Crown Prince with Prince Frederick Charles, in such formidable strength as to render a victory for Austria the next thing to an impossibility?"

The position which Benedek had taken up, on a mass of rolling hilly ground, the highest point of which is marked by the village and church of Chlum, bounded on the west by the Bistritz, and on the east by the Elbe, and with the fortress of Königgrätz in its rear, would have been an exceedingly good one, had he had no other army but that of Frederick Charles to think of. As against the First Army, the line of the Bistritz, with its commanding ridge, its woods affording shelter for marksmen, and the difficulties presented by the (in places) marshy character of its valley, presented a defensive position of the first order. But Benedek had to reckon also with the army of the Crown Prince, and this he well knew; for an Austrian force had been driven out of Königinhof by the Prussian Guards on the evening of the 29th. In the interval between that date and the 2nd July, he could not doubt that communication had been opened between the two Prussian armies; and, therefore, since Königinhof is but ten miles from Horenowes, the village at the northern edge of the hills which formed the arena of battle, he ought to have been certain that he could not give battle to Frederick Charles, without the Crown Prince descending upon his right flank. For these and other reasons, it is the opinion of Colonel Rüstow that Benedek did wrong in risking a great battle on the plateau of Chlum, and that he could have selected a far more advantageous position farther south, in which his army, facing slightly west of north, with the Bistritz in its front, would have had its right resting on Königgratz, and its left covered by the network of lakes and swamps near Altwasser; yet, in case of defeat, would have had an excellent line of retreat open to it, by Pardubitz, across the Elbe.

In pursuance of his resolution to risk an immediate advance, Prince Frederick Charles put his columns in motion from Horitz before midnight on the 2nd July. Marching along the main road towards Koniggratz, the First Army, full 100,000 strong, arrived, soon after midnight, at a point where the road sinks into a deep hollow near the village of Milowitz. Here they were halted for some hours, hidden from sight in the undulation of the ground. Daylight broke on the eventful 3rd July, yet no Austrian scouts came up to the edge of the hill in front, no skirmishers could be seen stealing through the corn. The Prince began to fear that Benedek had altered his plans, and that he might be secretly withdrawing his army behind the Elbe. About four o'clock, therefore, he gave the order to advance, and the whole Prussian army, starting Antæus-like from the ground, marched eagerly forward over the few miles of ground which separated them from the memorable battle-field of Königgrätz.

A chilly wind was blowing, and the rain fell steadily; the guns laboured heavily through the deep soil of the cornfields, and it was six o'clock before the main body reached the plateau of Dub. Here there was another halt for a short time, while the necessary dispositions were taken for deploying the columns into line. About seven o'clock Prince Frederick Charles sent some cavalry and horse artillery down the hill from Dub towards Sadowa, a village situated on the main road, where it crosses the Bistritz. Some Austrian guns posted in a field near the river opened fire upon them, and the battle was begun.

To understand the fluctuations which characterised this remarkable struggle, it is necessary that the reader should have an accurate notion of the Austrian order of battle. The ground occupied by Marshal Benedek may be regarded as divided into two nearly equal portions by the high road running across it to Königgrätz. The centre was about Lipa and Chlum, two villages, of which the former was upon the road, the latter, conspicuous by its church spire, stood on a hill above it to the right. Chlum was the highest ground, and manifestly the key of the position. From the high road, proceeding in a south-westerly direction, the villages of Langenhof, Problus, and Prim were successively met with. The two last-named were held by the Saxons as the extreme left of the army; they had thrown forward a detachment to Nechanitz on the Bistritz. On the other side of the road, proceeding north-east and then east, the line ran by the villages of Cistowes, Benatek, Horenowes, and Sendrasitz, beyond which it abutted on the Trotina, a small stream running into the Elbe. Here was posted the Schwarz-gelb brigade as the extreme right flank.

The position, naturally good, had been artificially strengthened on the side from which the attack of the First Army was expected. The villages of Sadowa, Dohalitz, Dohalicka, and Mokrovous, bordering the stream of the Bistritz in the order in which they are named, at intervals of about three-quarters of a mile, starting from the high road, were strongly held by bodies of Austrian infantry, pushed forward from their respective corps. The hill-side above Sadowa, to the left of the road, was covered by a large wood, the trees of which, at the lower part of it, had been cut down to a height of ten feet from the ground, and the cut branches twisted

in among the standing trunks, so as to make the entrance into the wood extremely difficult. In every favourable situation guns were planted, and in order to guide their fire, different ranges had been marked beforehand, by posts set up at the proper distances on the side of the hill down which the Prussians had to descend.

A slow artillery fire was interchanged for some time. Presently the King came on the ground, having driven up that morning from Gitschin; on the plateau of Dub he mounted his horse, and assumed the supreme command. More Prussian guns were then brought up, to the fire of which the Austrians were not slow in replying; and soon 500 pieces were thundering at each other across the Bistritz. The Austrian fire, from the precautions which they had taken, was rather the more deadly of the two; and soon after ten o'clock the King gave the order to form storming columns to attack the villages on the Bistritz. The Prussians suffered heavily as they advanced, for the Austrians were sheltered by the houses. Eventually they forced their way in, and the four villages just named, beginning with Sadowa, after a terrible hand-to-hand struggle in the streets and houses, were all in Prussian hands by eleven o'clock. But the defenders only retired a little way up the hill into a line with their batteries. Prussian guns were then brought across the Bistritz, and began firing at the main Austrian position. About this time the smoke of Herwarth's advance began to be seen on the Prussian right. That General had moved early in the morning from Smidar. At Nechanitz, which was held by the Saxons, he had considerable difficulty in getting his guns across the river under their fire. When this difficulty was surmounted, Nechanitz was carried, and the Saxons, fighting bravely, fell back upon Prim and Problus. Herwarth detached a division towards Hradek, thus threatening the Austrian line of retreat.

Between eleven and twelve Marshal Benedek was informed that the 6th Corps of the army of the Crown Prince was approaching the Trotina, and menacing his right flank. He gave orders that it should be firmly resisted, his intention being at this time, as is supposed, to cross the Bistritz in his turn, having called up a portion of his reserves, and attack Prince Frederick Charles, in the hope, perhaps, of disabling him, and so gaining time for an unmolested retreat. He could scarcely count upon more than this, with Herwarth pressing on towards his left, and the Crown Prince advancing with the whole strength of the Army of Silesia against his right. Desiring first to shake the Prussian line by a heavy artillery fire, Benedek concentrated sixty-four guns to the left of Lipa, and some of the reserves of cavalry and infantry were moved up to positions favourable for making the counter attack.

"At this time," says Captain Hozier, "the Austrian artillery were making splendid practice, and about one o'clock the whole battle-line of the Prussians could gain no more ground, and was obliged to fight hard to retain the position it had won. At one time it seemed as if it would be lost, for guns had been dismounted by the Austrian fire, and in the wooded ground the needle-gun had no fair field, and the infantry fight was very equal." Prince Frederick Charles then sent two fresh divisions forward to storm the wood above Sadowa. The men went forward, with cheers, across the bridge of Sadowa, and pushed the battle forward a few hundred yards; but the deadly Austrian fire was more than they could bear up against, and they were obliged to fall back without reaching the enemy. The division under General Franzecky, holding the left of the First Army, though it had fought splendidly and driven the Austrians out of a large wood near Benatek, was, by this time, terribly cut up, and could make no farther progress. Herwarth was also, about one o'clock, checked in his advance. The First Army could do no more; it was even a question whether it could hold its ground; and the Prussian commanders on the plateau of Dub turned many an anxious glance to the left, wondering why the columns of the Crown Prince did not make their appearance. The King himself frequently turned his field-glass in that direction. The heavy rain that had fallen prevented the march of the Crown Prince from being marked by those clouds of dust which are the usual accompaniment of a moving army. Some Austrian guns about Lipa, it is true, appeared to be firing towards the north, but it was not certain that they were not directed against some movement of Franzecky's division. Yet all this time two corps belonging to the army of the Crown Prince had been in action since half-past twelve with the Austrian right, and one of them was pressing forward to the occupation of ground, the defence of which was vital to the continued maintenance of its position by the Austrian army.

The King's order to march forward at daybreak with all his available forces reached the Crown Prince at four o'clock on the morning of the 3rd July, and he immediately made the necessary dispositions. The 1st Corps was ordered to advance on the right, the Guards in the centre, and the 6th Corps on the left. The 5th Corps was to move forward two hours after the 6th, and form the reserve of the entire army. The trains and baggage of the army were to be left in their old positions. The Crown Prince, after witnessing the passage of the Elbe at Königinhof by a portion of the Guards, hastened forward with his staff to place himself at the head of the column. It was with difficulty that the guns could be dragged up the miry slippery road which led from the bank of the Elbe up to the plateau of Daubrowitz. Pushing forward as rapidly as the state of the roads would permit, the Crown Prince, with the main body of the first division of the Guards, arrived soon after eleven at the edge of the elevated ground about Chotèborek. A wide depression about two miles across, through the middle of which ran the stream of the Trotina, carried the eye to a group of hills to the south of it, along the western edge of which a great battle was evidently raging. For from this point the eye swept the valley of the Bistritz for several miles, and could note the flashes of the guns that were firing from opposite sides of it, and the smoke and flame from the burning villages; the sound of the cannonade did not reach, for the wind blew towards the battle-field. Near the village of Horenowes, between three and four miles

from where the Crown Prince stood, there was a hill crowned by a solitary tree; and it was evident, that by pressing forward in this direction, the Guards would come in on the right flank, or partly in rear, of the troops that were fighting with the First Army. But as the ground was open all the way, and the draught difficult for the guns across the soft ground of the depression, the Crown Prince gave orders that the division should break up into regiments, which should separately and in extended order make for the tree on the Horenowes Hill. To the left, the 6th Corps, under General Mutius, was just getting into action, attacking Racitz, a village where several roads converge to cross the Trotina. It was this movement which was reported to Benedek, as above related. The Austrians, who had hitherto been firing only from the west of Horenowes Hill, now brought up a number of guns to its northern side; forty pieces were soon ready to fire on the Guards as they approached, and the first shell was discharged at ten minutes before noon. Meantime, the division of Franzecky had been so cut up as to stand in great need of assistance, and on this being reported to General Mutius he sent four batteries, covered by a regiment of hussars, across the Trotina at Luzan, which, at half-past eleven, opened upon the Austrian artillery at Horenowes. With the rest of the 6th Corps he marched upon Racitz at the same time that the Guards were moving against Horenowes. At neither place did the Austrians make a stubborn resistance, but abandoned them by one o'clock, and fell back on the villages of Maslowed and Sendrasitz. The Guards pressed on; and now occurred that extraordinary event which decided the battle, and which has never yet been adequately explained.

The hill on which stood the church of Chlum rose considerably above the general level of the field of battle. In the heat of the battle, an observer stationed near Sadowa could see the spire of Chlum rising into the clear air, above the curtain of mist and smoke which shrouded the intervening country from his view. An officer stationed on the church tower could have discerned the approach of the Crown Prince when he was still miles away; yet it does not appear that the thought of making this use of the tower occurred to Benedek, or to any one else. In a general order, printed by Captain Hozier, which the Marshal is said to have sent round to the different corps on the night of the 2nd instant, the defence of the hills of Chlum and Lipa is assigned to the 3rd Corps. Batteries, facing westward, were planted on the top of the hill; yet it is certain that, notwithstanding Benedek's order, and although simple common sense would have dictated that so commanding a point should be very strongly held, the hill of Chlum, between two and three o'clock in the day, was almost destitute of defenders. Forty thousand men were massed in reserve below the northern slope of the hill, but the hill itself was, it may almost be said, abandoned to the Prussians. The statement seems incredible; yet, in the absence of fuller information from Austrian sources, the accounts of the battle that have hitherto appeared compel us to this conclusion. How the Prussian Guards, after having pushed back the Austrian troops who opposed them from Horenowes to Maslowed, were allowed to march, unchallenged and unmolested, the 2,000 paces which still separated them from Chlum, Captain Hozier has satisfactorily explained. "It seems," he says, "that the 4th Corps, to whom the defence of the ground between Maslowed and Nedelitz was entrusted, seeing their comrades heavily engaged with Franzecky in the Maslowed wood, turned to their aid, and, pressing forward towards Benatek, quitted their proper ground. A short time afterwards, the 2nd Austrian Corps was defeated by the Prussian eleventh division, and retreated towards its bridge at Lochenitz. The advance of the 4th Corps, and the retreat of the 2nd, left a clear gap in the Austrian line, through which the Prussian Guards marched unmolested, and without a shot seized the key of the position." Still, however, the circumstance that Chlum itself was denuded of troops remains wrapped in mystery.

While the main body of the Prussian Guards mounted the hill to Chlum, one regiment moved to the left and occupied Rosberitz. The first Prussians arrived at Chlum at a quarter before three, and saw beneath them, between the hill where they stood and the fortress of Königgrätz, the serried lines of the Austrian reserves, numbering about 40,000 men. A few minutes later, Benedek, who was between Chlum and Lipa, was informed that the Prussians had seized the former village. He refused at first to credit it, and hastened to the spot, but was received with a volley which brought down some of his staff, and convinced him that the report was only too true. He at once took measures in order to bring up troops to retake the hill. The Prussians who had seized Rosberitz were driven out of it with heavy loss, but no efforts that Benedek could induce his troops to make availed to regain the hill of Chlum, against the combined advantages of a strong position and superior weapons. Three times did the Austrians charge up the hill, twice they almost reached the churchyard, but were received within a few paces by a withering and rapid fire, under which hardly any troops could have lived. The third and final attack was repelled, and then the battle was won. The 1st and the 5th Corps were coming rapidly into action, bringing a reserve of 50,000 fresh soldiers into the heart of Benedek's position. The unfortunate General saw that all was lost, and is said to have eagerly sought death by exposing himself recklessly to the rain of bullets. The second division of the Guards marched against the wood of Lipa, seeing which, the whole First Army rose up, and with loud shouts rushed across the stream and up the blood-stained slope. Arrived at the top of it, they saw the whole hollow ground between them and Rosnitz covered with running white uniforms. They opened fire with fatal effect on the fugitives, and the artillery of the 6th Corps, which had made great progress in the left attack, raked their flank; yet the Austrians kept their formation, and the retreat never became a rout. Their numerous cavalry now did splendid service in arresting the pursuit, and engaging, often with brilliant success, the Prussian cavalry regiments which were harassing the discomfited and flying infantry. The

Austrian field artillery was also admirably handled, unlimbering upon every rising ground, and pouring shells into the pursuers, so as to gain time for the retreating columns. Most of the guns, however, which had been placed in batteries, were lost, the carriages having been purposely sent away out of fire before the battle began, and so being out of reach when the occupation of the central point of Chlum brought the battle to a sudden termination. In spite of the self-devotion of the cavalry and artillery, large numbers of prisoners were taken, for the long summer day favoured the work of slaughter and rout, and the pursuit was continued nearly to the banks of the Elbe. Fortunately for the Austrians, several bridges had been laid down by Benedek's orders across the river between Königgrätz and Pardubitz; and by these the infantry got beyond the stream by night-fall without severe loss; the cavalry retired to Pardubitz. It was not before nine o'clock that all firing ceased, though the main body of the Prussian army halted about seven. All night long the Krankenträger (literally, "sick-bearers") were engaged in collecting the wounded men, both friend and foe, from all parts of the field; and the task was not accomplished till late the next morning.

The Austrian and Saxon troops engaged in this great battle amounted, according to the computation of Captain Hozier, to about 200,000 men, with 600 guns; and the Prussian army to 260,000 combatants, with 816 guns. Colonel Rüstow's estimate is widely different; he speaks of Benedek's army as having been more than twice as numerous as the First Army and the Army of the Elbe put together. But the ardent Prussian partialities of this writer appear to have grievously misled him; for, before hostilities commenced, the three Prussian armies are estimated by Captain Hozier* to have considerably exceeded the united force of Austria and Saxony; and the heavy losses since sustained, particularly in prisoners and deserters, must have yet further reduced the Austrian army by at least 30,000 men.

The defeat of Königgrätz was a crushing and ruinous disaster, which even a greater nation than Austria would have found it impossible to retrieve. A hundred and seventy-four guns, twenty thousand prisoners, and eleven standards, fell into the hands of the victors, while the loss in killed and wounded amounted also to nearly 20,000. The loss of the Prussians was under 10,000 men, the highest proportionate loss falling on the division of Franzecky which fought in front of Benatek.

Field-Marshal Gablenz came to Horitz the day after the battle, deputed by the Emperor to seek an interview with the King of Prussia, and endeavour to obtain an armistice as a preliminary to peace. But it was considered at the Prussian head-quarters that as the Austrian army still kept the field, a pause in the military operations would give Austria too great an advantage, by enabling her to bring up troops from the Italian frontier; moreover, the treaty with Italy was held to preclude Prussia from separate action. The proposal for an armistice was therefore rejected, and the Austrian General returned to his own lines without having obtained an interview with the King.

The Emperor, seeing his capital threatened, and the empire menaced with dissolution, determined to rid himself of one enemy by removing the ground of dispute. He accordingly ceded Venetia to the Emperor of the French, with the understanding that it was to be transferred to the King of Italy at the conclusion of the war. Napoleon accepted the cession, and from that time was unremitting in his endeavours to bring hostilities to a termination.

* Hozier, "Seven Weeks' War," Vol. I., p. 187.

CHAPTER XXII.

Operations in Western Germany—The Bavarian Army: The 8th Federal Corps: Their endeavours to effect a junction: Falkenstein interposes his Army between them—Action of Wiesenthal—Affair of Hünfeld—Combat of Hammelburg—Battle of Kissingen—Defeat of the Bavarians—Falkenstein marches against the 8th Corps—Actions of Laufach and Aschaffenburg: Italian Prisoners—Prince Alexander of Hesse evacuates Frankfort: Defenceless state of the City: Partiality of the Inhabitants towards the Austrians: Entry of the Prussians: Their brutal and arbitrary behaviour: Heavy War Contributions—Death of Herr Fischer—General Manteuffel relieves Falkenstein—Compulsory Billeting—Burgomaster Fellner commits suicide—Frankfort annexed to Prussia—The Diet at Augsburg—Close of Hostilities in Bavaria—Military Operations in Italy—Prussian Suggestions—Signor Bernhardi—Note of M. d'Usedom—Prussia desires to abet a Revolution in Hungary—Inconsistency of Count Bismarck—La Marmora's strategic plan: Italian Declaration of War—The Italians cross the Mincio—Both Armies march for the Hills near Somma Campagna: Description of the Ground—Battle of Custozza: The Austrians gain the Victory—Retreat of the Italians: They fall back behind the Oglio—Losses on both sides—Futile Operations of the Volunteers under Garibaldi—La Marmora resigns the Command—Austria recalls most of her Troops from Italy—Advance of Cialdini—The Austrians retire behind the Isonzo: Naval Operations—Admiral Persano attacks Lissa—The Austrian Fleet comes up: Battle of Lissa: Gallantry of Admiral Tegethoff: The Italian Fleet defeated with heavy loss—Outcry against Persano: He is deprived of all Command—Advance of the Prussians after Königgratz: Benedek retreats to Olmütz—The Archduke Albrecht appointed to the Command—Popularity of Benedek with the Army—The Prussians occupy Brünn and Prague—M. Benedetti at Brünn—Combat of Tobitschau—Austria saved from ruin by French mediation—Count Bismarck's Speech in the Prussian Chambers—The Prussians move forward from Brünn—Description of General Moltke—The King of Prussia at Nikolsburg—Conclusion of an Armistice—Peace Preliminaries signed at Nikolsburg—Review of the Prussian First Army on the Marchfeld: Speech of King William—The Prussian Armies return home.

THE course of events in the western portion of the theatre of war must now be briefly described. It will be remembered that, for the purpose of sudden and simultaneous operations against Hanover and Hesse Cassel, a considerable Prussian force had been collected—drawn partly from the Elbe duchies, partly from the garrisons of neighbouring fortresses—and placed under the command of General Vogel von Falkenstein. After the surrender of the Hanoverians on the 29th June, this force was concentrated about Gotha and Eisenach, and was free to act against the armies which had taken the field in the cause of Austria and the Diet farther south. Falkenstein had two separate armies in his front—the Bavarians under their Prince Charles, now numbering

upwards of 50,000 sabres and bayonets, with 136 guns; and the 8th Federal Corps, composed in the manner already specified,* and numbering little short of 50,000 men, with 134 guns. The head-quarters of Prince Charles were at Bamberg on the Upper Main; those of Prince Alexander of Hesse, the Commander-in-Chief of the 8th Corps, were at Frankfort. General von der Tann, destined to serve under happier auspices in a later war, was chief of the Bavarian staff. Nothing could be less satisfactory than the military condition of the 8th Corps. "The corps had not been concentrated for twenty-four years, and the divisions were totally different in uniform, administration, and organisation. The hussars of Hesse Cassel were dressed and accoutred so similarly to Prussian cavalry, that the Austrians fired upon them at Aschaffenburg. The small-arms were of different calibres. The four field-batteries of the third division were equipped on four different systems."† The 8th Corps was not fully ready to take the field till the 9th July; and this fact, and the record of its weak, dilatory, and ill-concerted movements when it did take the field, amply justified the objections raised by Prussia to the military organisation of Germany under the old Bund.

The Bavarian commander, whose right lay at Hof, appears to have contemplated, in compliance with the wishes of his Government, an advance from that town in the direction of Berlin. But, by a convention concluded between Austria and Bavaria just before the war broke out, the supreme direction of the strategical movements of all the allies of Austria had been committed to the War Office at Vienna; and the decision there taken was that the Bavarians should as soon as possible form a junction with the 8th Corps—a combination which, it was hoped, would compel the detachment of strong bodies of troops from the Prussian armies engaged with Benedek. Had this junction been effected in good time, the result would probably have agreed with the anticipations entertained at Vienna. But, from irresolution and dilatoriness on the part of both Princes in command, their forces never had the good luck to coalesce until after they had been attacked and beaten separately by the Prussians in a variety of encounters, in almost all of which they were so badly handled that their mistrust of their leaders and consequent despondency had grown to a height which was incompatible with the triumph of their arms. When it was too late, Prince Charles had acted with some vigour, with a view to the rescue of the Hanoverians; his Bavarians were led by hasty marches in the direction of Gotha; but the only result was, that they were wearied and dispirited, and faced about with the uncomfortable reflection that, had their commander brought them there twenty-four hours earlier, the Hanoverians might have been saved. Prince Alexander, though placed under the orders of Prince Charles, acted at first independently. He seems to have meditated a diversion upon Cassel, partly to reinstate the Elector, partly to compel Falkenstein to weaken his army. With these objects in view, he broke up from Frankfort on the 30th June, and marched northwards in the direction of Alsfeld. On the evening of the same day, Prince Charles, whether under pressure from Vienna, or because he foresaw that the Prussians at Eisenach, after the Hanoverians had been disposed of, would not long remain inactive, issued orders for a concentrative movement, in pursuance of which both corps should seek to unite at Fulda. Between Fulda and the Federals lay the barren ranges of the Vogels Berg; between the same point and the Bavarians rose the huge mass of the Hohe Rhön. Prince Alexander, on receiving the order, instead of continuing his march towards Cassel, directed his divisions, which were then about Wetzlar and Giessen, to wheel to the right, so as to make for Fulda round the northern end of the Vogels Berg. But, instead of throwing that energy into the movement which the circumstances required, Prince Alexander made but slow progress, and remained inactive during the whole of the 4th July at the little village of Ulrichstein, on the northern outlets of the Vogels Berg. On that same day the Bavarians had come in contact with the Prussians, and had got the worst of the combat; for Falkenstein, at Eisenach, having ascertained from his scouts the position both of the Bavarians and of the 8th Corps, resolved upon driving his army between them like a wedge, in order to prevent their meeting. He therefore pushed forward Göben and Manteuffel to Gerza, on the road to Fulda, with orders to move thence by their left across the lower slopes of the Rhön, and attack the Bavarians, whom he had ascertained to be in force at Wiesenthal. On the morning of the 4th the attack was made; and although the Bavarians fought well, the result was that they were pushed back from Wiesenthal to the eastward, and so stopped from pursuing their march in this direction, to effect a union with the 8th Corps. An unfortunate circumstance which occurred on the same day at Hünfeld raised additional difficulties in the way of that movement. Two squadrons of Bavarian cavalry, with two guns, forming part of the advanced guard of the army of Prince Charles, had reached Hünfeld, a village on the great road between Fulda and Eisenach, only about ten miles from the former town. General Beyer, advancing with the remaining division of the Prussians towards Fulda, found the Bavarian cavalry in position; their guns opened fire. The first shot so surprised the Bavarians, who had not anticipated that there was artillery with the Prussian advance, that the cuirassiers reined about, and sought safety in a wild flight. They left one of their guns, which in their panic they had not waited to limber up. It is said that these cuirassiers, who had been pushed forward in order to open communications between the Bavarians and the Federals, were so dismayed by one well-aimed cannon-shot, that they continued their headlong flight far to the south of Fulda, spreading consternation wherever they came, and many of them did not draw rein until they had found shelter within the gates of Würzburg. Prince Alexander, on his side, on hearing of the disasters which had befallen the Bavarians, hastily wheeled round, and marched his army back to Frankfort. Thus the object of the Prussian

* See p. 215. † Hozier, "Seven Weeks' War," Vol. II., p. 43

advance was completely attained. On the 5th July, the Bavarians and the 8th Federal Corps were separated from each other by only thirty miles; on the 7th, seventy miles of country lay between them.

Falkenstein now concentrated his troops at Fulda, and considered where he should strike the next blow. To march upon Frankfort, between which and his army lay the Prussians appears to have been very imperfect, so that, when the critical moment came, the rest of the army was too far from the troops defending Kissingen and Hammelburg to give them effectual support. On the 10th July, General Beyer was sent against Hammelburg, and, after a bloody contest, drove out the Bavarians, the town being set on fire in the *melée*, and gained the

MARSHAL VON WRANGEL.

the difficult defile of Geluhausen, in passing which he would be exposed to attacks from the Bavarians on his left flank, appeared too hazardous. He resolved, therefore, to strike heavily at the Bavarians again. Prince Charles had his army now posted along the line of the Saale (not the well-known river of that name, but another, called the Franconian Saale, which runs into the Main at Gmünden), and he held Kissingen strongly, and also occupied the village of Hammelburg, a village a few miles lower down the river. But his troops were too much scattered, and his information of the movements of passage of the Saale. On the same day the main body of Falkenstein's army was heavily engaged with the Bavarians at the celebrated watering-place of Kissingen. The inhabitants had been alarmed some days before by the sight of a party of Bavarian troopers, fleeing through their town from the scene of their disgraceful panic at Hünfeld; but the Burgomaster had given his word that every one should have twenty-four hours' notice of the approach of the Prussians, and the numerous visitors and invalids were reassured. Even on the 8th July, Bavarian staff-officers might be seen sauntering about the Kurgarten

as tranquilly as if in a time of profound peace. But on the 9th it became known that the inhabitants of the villages to the west of the river were fleeing from their houses before the Prussians; a large force of Bavarians was brought into the town; and now it was too late for the visitors to take their departure, for all the avenues were closely guarded, in order that no one might carry intelligence to the Prussians concerning the dispositions for the defence. The bridges over the Saale—except the stone bridge, which was strongly barricaded—were destroyed; but the supports of one of the iron bridges below the town were left, and of this inadvertence the Prussians skilfully availed themselves. Five battalions occupied the town, supported by only twelve guns; an inexcusable negligence on the part of Prince Charles, who had a hundred and twenty pieces of artillery at his command, but had dispersed them at different points along the river between Kissingen and Hammelburg, so that most of them were of no use when they were wanted. Early on the morning of the 10th, the Prussians might be seen approaching along the roads which cross the plateau west of the town; the brigades of Kummer and Wrangel were in advance. When they came within range, the Bavarian guns opened upon them, and from the houses of the town a biting fire was kept up by the soldiers who occupied them; so that for a long time the battle was stationary. Wrangel at last brought up some guns to the Alten Berg, a hill nearly opposite the southern portion of the town, but commanded from the Finster Berg, on the town side of the river, where, however, owing to the paucity of artillery, no guns had been posted. Protected by the fire of the guns on the Alten Berg, some Prussian infantry, led by a Captain von Busche, collected planks, tables, and anything that would serve for a temporary bridge, from the houses near the river, and succeeded in patching up the bridge of which the supports had been left sufficiently for troops to pass over, one or two at a time. A whole battalion having thus crossed to the Kissingen side, the passage of the stone bridge, on the defences of which an overpowering fire of artillery and musketry was opened, was at length forced, and the Prussians advanced into the town. But the Bavarian light infantry fought hard, and, while suffering heavily themselves, inflicted grievous loss on the Prussians. Three times did Wrangel's men force their way into the Kurgarten, and thrice did the riflemen holding it drive them back. A fourth assault succeeded; but not till the young lieutenant who commanded the Bavarians, with all his men, refusing quarter, had fallen on the places where they stood. At a little after three the whole town was carried. But although worsted, the Bavarians did not renounce the contest. Prince Charles brought up strong reinforcements from the encampments eastward of the town, and pressed fiercely on Wrangel as he endeavoured to deploy on either side of the road leading out to Winkels. The Prussians were brought to a stand—at one time even retreated—but fresh troops were brought up, and by nightfall, though at a heavy cost, the Bavarians were beaten back, and Prince Charles sullenly relinquished the strife.

When Prince Alexander turned to retreat on the 5th July, he might still have united with the 7th Corps (the Bavarians) by a flank march to Brückenau, and so been able to lend them a helping hand at Kissingen; but he appears to have considered the risk too great. He retired to Frankfort therefore, and on the 9th July concentrated his troops round that town. But the Prussians did not long leave him unmolested. On the day after the battle of Kissingen, July 11, General von Falkenstein dispatched General Göben against Frankfort, by way of Gmünden and Aschaffenburg; and about the same time he ordered General Beyer to march by the direct road from Fulda, through the defile of Gelnhausen, upon Hanau. These movements brought the Prussians for the first time into collision with the 8th Corps, a force, it will be remembered, little inferior in numbers to that which Falkenstein commanded. But the resistance which it offered to the Prussian advance was feeble and unskilful to the last degree; and the march of both Prussian columns upon Frankfort could scarcely have been easier, and attended with less peril to life, if a single regiment, instead of an army, had opposed them. General Beyer marched by Gelnhausen on Hanau, and thence to Frankfort, without meeting any opposition whatever, although the defile of the Kinzig presented an impediment which an energetic enemy could have rendered almost insurmountable. Göben encountered no opposition till he had reached the village of Laufach, between Gmünden and Aschaffenburg. Here was posted a force of 8,000 men, the troops of Hesse Darmstadt. These (July 13) attacked the Prussians with the greatest gallantry; but such was the ignorance of their officers, and the inexperience of the men themselves, that, after being exposed in masses to the deadly volleys of the needle-gun for some time, they were obliged to retreat in disorder, with a loss of 500 in killed and wounded, and 100 prisoners. The Prussian loss on this occasion did not exceed twenty men. Göben pushed on the next day to Aschaffenburg, defeated there (July 14) the Austrian brigade under Count Neipperg, which was attached to the 8th Corps, and drove it southward, with a loss of nearly 2,000 prisoners, besides many killed and wounded. The prisoners were nearly all Italians, who must have known that the Emperor of Austria had already ceded Venetia, their native country, to the French Emperor, that it might be transferred to Italy, and may naturally have felt little disposed to shed their blood in a quarrel with which they were now less concerned than ever. The amazed Prussians, upon forcing their way into the streets of Aschaffenburg, heard themselves greeted with shouts of "Evviva l'Italia!" "Evviva la Prussia;" and 1,500 Trevisan soldiers, belonging to the Austrian regiment "Bernhard," allowed themselves to be taken by Göben's Westphalians before the Main bridge. While the battle was raging at Aschaffenburg, Prince Alexander remained inactive with the mass of his army at Seligenstadt, a place some three miles distant. Helpless and hopeless, he saw the passage of the Main at Aschaffenburg wrested from him, and felt that he could no longer defend Frankfort. He accordingly evacuated

that city on the 15th, and on the next day the main body of the 8th Corps was in full march through the Odenwald, on its way to join the Bavarians near Würzburg.

The ancient city of Frankfort, rich with the associations and the historic memorials of a thousand years—which had witnessed the election of so many German emperors in the grand old days of the Reich, and whose republican freedom had survived the shocks of so many revolutions—now lay defenceless before a German conqueror, in whose eyes her glorious past was of little account in comparison with the vindictive pleasure that he felt in being able to avenge an insult offered to his pride. Some three months before, when the quarrel between the two Governments was becoming more and more bitter and dangerous, it was thought advisable that the contingents of Austrian and Prussian troops then in garrison at Frankfort should be withdrawn, lest in the prevailing political excitement the soldiers should come into hostile collision. The population of Frankfort, whether high or low, had always leaned towards the Austrian side. The Austrian statesmen, with their refined courtesy and dignified manners—the Austrian officers, with their ease and gaiety and social tact—suited the taste of the grand old imperial city far better than the rough abruptness and arrogant self-consciousness of the Prussians. Accordingly, when the Austrian troops took their departure, there was a general demonstration of affectionate regret and sympathy on the part of the Frankfort population. A great crowd accompanied them to the railway station; the men cheered, the ladies waved their handkerchiefs; mementoes were showered upon them, and tender farewells were exchanged. When the Prussians departed, some days later, it was amidst a blank and freezing silence, the contrast of which to the farewell given to the Austrians must certainly have been galling to Prussian pride.

And now the Prussians were entering the city as conquerors. About four o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th July, they marched into the place with all military precautions, a regiment of cuirassiers with drawn swords leading the way. The Frankfort battalion was drawn up to receive them, and went through the usual military formalities; but the Prussians took not the slightest notice of them. They posted two guns in the great square, and stacked their arms there and in the Zeil. Late at night they broke into groups, and went to the different houses, on which, without previous consultation with the municipality, they had been billeted, forcing their way in without ceremony wherever a recalcitrant householder was found. It was observed that especially large numbers of soldiers were billeted on the houses of those citizens who were known to be anti-Prussian in their politics. One of these, Herr Mumm, was required to lodge and feed 15 officers and 200 men! General Falkenstein took up his quarters in the town, having issued a proclamation announcing that, by orders of the King of Prussia, he had assumed the government of the imperial city, together with Nassau, and the parts of Bavaria that were in Prussian occupation. He at once imposed upon the citizens a war contribution of 7,000,000 gulden (about £600,000), besides 300 horses, and other contributions in kind. The Burgomaster Fellner and the Syndic Müller visited this modern Brennus, to endeavour to obtain some diminution of the impost; but they were only treated to a Prussian version of the classic declaration, "*Væ Victis.*" Falkenstein roughly told the burgomaster that he used the rights of conquest; and is said to have threatened that if his demands were not promptly complied with, the city should be given up to pillage.*

A melancholy incident happened on the following day. Falkenstein sent for Herr Fischer, the proprietor of the *Journal de Francfort*, a French paper published in Frankfort, well known for its consistent advocacy of the Austrian cause, and at first made overtures to him the object of which was to induce him to change his politics; but when Herr Fischer replied that he did not think it would be consistent with his honour to do so, the Governor overwhelmed the unfortunate man with such a torrent of menace and invective, that in his agitation and excitement he was attacked by a fit of apoplexy, and expired almost immediately.

On the 19th July, General Falkenstein was recalled, having been appointed to the important government of Bohemia. The unhappy citizens of Frankfort augured favourably for a less oppressive rule from the character for moderation possessed by the new Governor-General Manteuffel. He, however, acting doubtless under orders from Berlin, immediately imposed an additional war contribution on the city of 25,000,000 gulden. Frankfort had suffered much from the French in the wars which followed the French Revolution; but this was a point of rapacity which not Custine, nor Hoche, nor Davoust, nor any of the French commanders most notorious for the severity of their exactions, had ever come near to. The Frankfort capitalists, in their despair, appeared as suppliants at the door of every European Cabinet, imploring the intervention of foreign states to moderate the rapacity of the Prussians. For a time every effort was vain. General von Röder was appointed commandant of the city under Manteuffel, and Councillor von Diest civil commissary; and the political independence of Frankfort was rudely suppressed by the dissolution of the legislative and executive bodies. The citizens were then informed that unless the new impost was promptly paid, the plan of compulsory billeting (*Zwangseinquartierung*) would be resorted to. The unfortunate Burgomaster Fellner, who, as the intermediary between the new government and the citizens, had done his utmost to induce the former to listen to reason, and the latter to submit with a good grace to the inevitable, was driven to despair by a new demand, requiring him to furnish the commandant with a list of the principal citizens of Frankfort who had borne any part in the fallen government, showing the amount of property belonging to each. The object of this was to enable Von Röder to direct with greater precision the military execution which was about to take place. Fellner could not bring himself

* Malet, "Overthrow of the German Confederation," p. 259.

thus to act the jackal to the Prussian lion, and, sooner than do so, put an end to his existence on the night of the 24th July. The execution took place, and as many as fifty soldiers were in many cases billeted on an individual householder. Dreadful and distressing scenes are said to have occurred in consequence in Frankfort households, which Colonel Rüstow, though he had heard the particulars of them, declines to relate, lest they should prove to be exaggerated. In the end, some impression was made on the King of Prussia by the representations of the plundered citizens and the indignant comments of the European press. The twenty-five millions do not appear to have been exacted, in consideration of the destruction of the independence of Frankfort and its annexation to Prussia.

A few members of the Diet had continued to reside at Frankfort after the outbreak of hostilities, their chief employment being to draw up and publish elaborate protests against the conduct of Prussia. The approach of the Prussians compelled these protesters to leave Frankfort. Gathering together the archives of the Bund, they repaired to Augsburg, and caused the black, red, and gold flag of the Confederation to be hoisted over the well-known hotel with the sign of the *Drei Mohren* ("Three Moors").

At last, when it was too late for any useful purpose, Prince Alexander of Hesse effected a junction between the 8th Federal Corps and the Bavarians under Prince Charles. But the crushing disaster of Königgrätz had by this time taken all heartiness and hopefulness out of the operations of the friends of Austria. Nor was the Army of the Main the only Prussian force now advancing in Bavaria. The second reserve corps, numbering about 23,000 combatants, had been organised at Leipzig, and placed under the command of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin. Advancing into the north-east corner of Bavaria, it literally met with no resistance for the greater part of its march, in the course of which it penetrated into the heart of the kingdom. Manteuffel marched from Frankfort in pursuit of the 8th Corps on the 21st of July, defeated them in various unimportant actions on the line of the Tauber, and again in a more considerable combat at Gerscheim, and drove both them and the Bavarians behind the Main, at Würzburg. On the 29th, a flag of truce was sent from the Bavarian head-quarters to General Manteuffel, announcing that an armistice had been concluded between the Kings of Bavaria and Prussia, and hostilities came to an end.

It is now time to return to Italy, and to relate the military operations which were undertaken on this portion of the field of war. The Prussian Government, though repeatedly urged by La Marmora to conclude a military convention with the Italian plenipotentiary at Berlin, General Govone, whereby a joint plan of operations would have been agreed upon, had always evaded the subject. It seems that the great soldiers and strategists of Prussia had too little faith in the solidity of the Italian army, and its capacity to carry on war on the grand scale, to permit of their discussing their strategical plans with Italian officers as on equal terms. La Marmora had also begged that a Prussian general, if not Moltke himself, might be sent to Florence, in order that a common understanding might be arrived at on the military question; but this request had not been complied with. But in the month of May a somewhat mysterious personage, named Signor Bernhardi, about whom it could not be ascertained whether he was sent by the Prussian Government, or came in the capacity of historiographer to the King of Prussia, was brought to La Marmora's office by Count Usedom, the Prussian minister at Florence. La Marmora found to his amazement that this Bernhardi expected him to enter into a serious discussion of the Italian plan of campaign. He spread out a large map on the table, pointed to Bohemia, and explained the manner in which it was intended at Berlin to combine several movements of Prussian troops so as to effect a concentration about Pardubitz. La Marmora paid no great attention to what he said, not choosing to discuss military questions with a civilian, however intelligent he might be. He treated the subject with him "academically"—to use the Italian phrase—that is, purely as a matter of theory, without reference to actual intentions and circumstances. One question, however, he did put to Bernhardi, and that was, at what point it was desired at Berlin that the Prussian and Italian armies should meet, in case both should make a victorious advance into Austrian territory. Bernhardi replied, at Lintz. This was in accordance with a suggestion already made by Count Bismarck to Govone, when they were discussing military probabilities at Berlin. But, before the campaign actually commenced, the views of Prussia were communicated—fully enough, but through an unexpected channel—to the Italian General. On the 19th June, when La Marmora was at Cremona, having given marching orders to the different corps composing the Italian army, and having of course decided upon his plan of action, a note was brought to him from the Count Usedom. It was a missive, the wording of which needed and received great deliberation and care; for while, on the one hand, it was necessary to avoid as much as possible the appearance of dictating plans to an independent and high-spirited ally, it was, on the other hand, not in the Prussian character to leave in doubt, through indulgence in vague and complimentary language, the precise nature of the course which it was thought desirable for the Italians to adopt. It was a difficult piece of steering; and few who read the document without prejudice will deny that the Prussian diplomatist acquitted himself of his delicate task with consummate dexterity, and made his unpalatable communication as little offensive as the circumstances of the case permitted. He began by saying that the heavy sacrifices which the necessity of making war had imposed both on Prussia and Italy made it, in the opinion of Prussia, unavoidable that the confederates should carry on a "*guerre à fond*," and should push hostile operations to the utmost extremity, so as to place the enemy, if fortune favoured them, at their absolute mercy. Vienna, in short, should be the objective point which the armies of both Powers should place before their eyes. Prussia, for instance, should think nothing of the

obstacles which nature or art might oppose to her advance from Lintz on the west to Cracow on the east; she should, if successful, push resolutely on to Vienna. "As to the analogous operations of the Italian forces, the course preferred would not be that of laying siege to the Quadrilateral, but rather of traversing or turning it, in order to bring the enemy's army to a pitched battle. There can be little doubt, especially when we consider the numerical proportions of the combatants, that the Italian army will in a short time find itself in possession of the whole of Venetia, with the exception of Venice, Verona, and Mantua, the garrisons of which, it is true, would have to be paralysed by strong corps of observation. The Italian generals will undoubtedly be the best judges of the operations here indicated; however, if she is to act in union with Prussia, it will be necessary that Italy should not stop short at the northern boundary of Venetia; she will have to force her way towards the Danube, and effect a meeting with Prussia in the very heart of the imperial monarchy—in a word, she will have to march on Vienna. To secure the durable possession of Venetia, she must first have struck a blow to the heart of the Austrian power." Italy, however, might think the march on Vienna too perilous, the distance to which her army would have to remove from its resources too great. But it should be remembered that every mile which the Italians advanced into Austria would bring them nearer to the Prussians; "besides, there existed an infallible agency by means of which the efficacious co-operation of the two armies on common ground might be ensured." "The Prussian Government has recently caused the Hungarian question to be carefully studied; it has acquired the conviction that this country, if supported equally by Italy and Prussia, will in turn serve them as a rallying link and a strategic *appui*. For example, let a strong expedition be directed to the eastern coast of the Adriatic, which would not in any way weaken the principal army, *because it would be taken for the most part from the ranks of the volunteers, and placed under the orders of General Garibaldi.* According to all the information which has reached the Prussian Government, such an expedition would meet with a most cordial reception among the Slavonians and Hungarians; it would cover the flank of the army advancing on Vienna, and would open to it the co-operation and all the resources of those vast countries."

The Prussian plan, then, appears to have been this: that the main Italian army should march through or turn the Quadrilateral, leaving strong corps of observation to mask the fortresses, and should then cross the Alps into the German territories of Austria, somewhere to the north of Venice, and push forward towards Vienna. Meantime, an irregular and revolutionary force, under Garibaldi, landing on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, would advance into Hungary, excite the people to insurrection, and support the right flank of the regular army. La Marmora might well feel some surprise at the startling transformation which the views of the Prussian Government respecting the lawfulness of encouraging revolutionists had experienced. "In 1861," he says, "the Cabinet of Berlin reproved us severely for having profited by certain partial revolutions in Italy, our own house, in order to constitute our national unity: now, in 1866, it proposed that we should take in hand the business of suborning revolutions in a house that was not our own, because it suited the interests of Prussia." But our narrative has shown that on a much more recent occasion, no longer ago than January, 1866, Count Bismarck had addressed Austria in the language of grave rebuke, on account of her supposed inclination to favour revolutionary movements in Holstein. Yet here he was endeavouring with all his might to sow the seeds and reap the harvest of disloyalty and revolt, amid the vast non-German populations which had for centuries lived contentedly under the rule of the Austrian Kaisers!

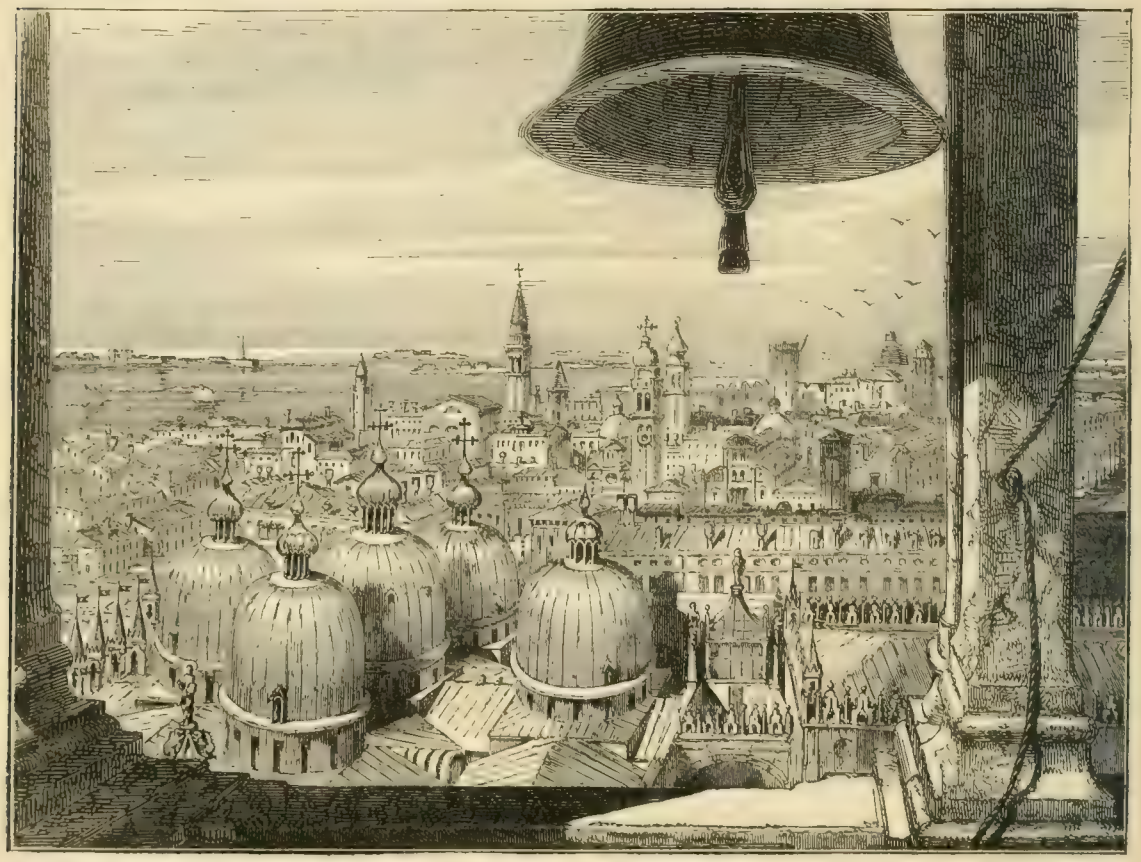
La Marmora might fairly urge that, whatever the merits of the Prussian plan, it was communicated to him at too late a period to be of any service. He wrote immediately to Jacini, the new Foreign Minister at Florence, saying that he had not time to answer Usedom's note; and that the truth was, that, if he did answer it, he should have to say various disagreeable things, which were better left unsaid. His own plan is said to have been to move the bulk of the Italian army, consisting of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Corps (each containing four strong divisions of 12,000 men each), across the Mincio, and upon the Adige direct; the movement being supported on the right by General Cialdini, who was to cross the Lower Po with his corps somewhere about Ferrara, and advance northwards, and on the left by Garibaldi and the volunteers, who were to operate against the Austrians in the region of Lake Garda, and endeavour to stir up an insurrection in the Tyrol.

On the 20th June, General La Marmora sent an officer of his staff to the Archduke Albrecht, announcing that the Italian army would commence hostilities on the 23rd. King Victor Emmanuel arrived at Goito (a small town on the Mincio, about fourteen miles below Peschiera) on the night of the 22nd; and before morning of the next day the whole of the 3rd Corps, and three divisions of the 1st Corps, forming a force of about 87,000 men, with 138 guns, were thrown across the Mincio at various points between Goito and Peschiera. The 1st Division of the 1st Corps, under General Pianelli, was left on the right bank of the Mincio, to observe the fortress of Peschiera.* La Marmora's information department appears to have been badly managed; for so little did he know of the intentions which were entertained at the Austrian head-quarters, and of the position of the several Austrian corps, that he had persuaded himself that the Archduke would not make a serious stand anywhere between the Mincio and the Adige, but would fall back and defend the passage of the latter river. Under this persuasion, he resolved—the troops under his command having taken up suitable positions in the course of the 23rd—to move forward to his left on the 24th, and take

* Some of our readers may need to be reminded that the famous Austrian "Quadrilateral," which it was said that the Emperor Napoleon, after Solferino, shrank from attacking, was composed of the fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua on the Mincio, and Verona and Legnano on the Adige.

up a position along the north-eastern face of the group of hills, of which Somma Campagna marks the extreme point to the eastward, with his right thrown back towards Villafranca and Mozzicane, places in the great sub-Alpine plain. From this position he might either have advanced north upon Pastrengo, if Garibaldi and his volunteers had gained any important successes on the Lake of Garda and about Riva, or he might have directed his march upon the Adige at some point below Verona, and endeavoured to cross there. The Archduke on his side resolved to seize the same group of hills for the following reasons. An officer of his staff, who was sent to Somma Campagna on the afternoon of the 23rd, reported that the neighbouring heights were not yet occupied by the Italians, but that heavy clouds of dust could be seen to the south in the direction of Villafranca, moving, as he thought, towards the Adige. The Archduke was confirmed by this intelligence in the opinion which he had previously formed, that the Italians, after crossing the Mincio, would move due east to the Adige at Albaredo, cross the river there, and then co-operate with Cialdini on the Lower Po. Instead of attempting to cross their path, he resolved to seize the hills about Somma Campagna and Custozza, and from that strong vantage-ground fall on their left wing as it was marching across the plains. His troops, which were mostly encamped near Verona, and at villages within ten miles of that fortress to the westward, were ordered to move westward and southward on the morning of the 24th June, so as to occupy all the chief points in the group of hills. Thus, through a double misconception—each general attributing to the other designs which only existed in his own imagination—the armies were moving on the morning of the 24th along lines which intersected each other, and a serious collision was inevitable.

To make our account of the battle which ensued at all intelligible, a somewhat minute description of the field is indispensable. The group of hills already mentioned is somewhat triangular in shape, the apex of the triangle being at Peschiera, at the foot of the Lake of Garda, the south-western point at Valeggio on the Mincio, and the north-eastern point at Somma Campagna, seven or eight miles from Verona. The base of the triangle extends in an E.N.E. direction from Valeggio to Somma Campagna, and it, as well as the two sides, may be roughly stated at between six and seven miles in length. The little river Tione, flowing through the triangle from north to south, divides it into two unequal portions, the larger of which is on the side next Valeggio. Just where the Tione emerges from the hills, on its left or eastern bank, stands the village of Custozza, from whose elevated mount the eye ranges southwards over the boundless plains in the direction of the Po. Custozza is about midway between



VIEW OF VENICE FROM THE CAMPANILE.

Valeggio and Somma Campagna. Running parallel with the base of the triangle, at the distance of three or four miles from it, is the high road leading from Goito through Villafranca (which is just opposite the hill of Custozza) to Verona.

Heavy rain fell on the night of the 23rd, which must have caused great discomfort to the raw Italian troops bivouacking east of the Mincio. The next morning they were moved forward, if Captain Hozier's information be trustworthy,* without having got their breakfast, without rations, and the infantry burdened with their heavy knapsacks, under the broiling midsummer sun of Italy. General La Marmora was so confident of the truth of his hypothesis respecting the Archduke's intentions, that he sent out no scouts or covering-parties, but moved forward as if no enemy were near. The division of Cerale, (1st Corps) forming the left wing, was near Alzarea—that is, near the northern face of the group of hills—the division of Prince Humbert, on the right, was well to the north-east of Villafranca, marching along the plains—when they unexpectedly encountered the vanguards of the Austrian corps, moving in the opposite direction.

The Austrian field army in Venetia, under the command of Archduke Albrecht, consisted of the 5th Corps, under Prince Lichtenstein; the 7th Corps, under Marshal Maroicic Madonna del Monte; the 9th Corps, under Marshal Hartung; a division of reserve infantry, and another division of reserve cavalry—forming a total of about 63,000 men, with 168 guns. Colonel Rüstow estimates the force of Italian troops actually brought into action on the 24th at about 90,000 men, with 192 guns; so that the disparity of numbers was nearly as three to two. The division of Prince Humbert on the extreme right, supported by that of Bixio, were engaged all day with the Austrian reserve cavalry near Villafranca, neither side gaining any decided advantage. The Italian infantry had frequently to form squares to repel the cavalry, and Prince Humbert had more than once to take

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*"Seven Weeks' War," Vol. II., p. 291.

refuge within a square during one of these charges. The heat of the day was very oppressive, and caused frequent pauses in the fighting all along the line. To the west of the Tione, Cerale's division of the 1st Corps fell in with the advance of the reserve division of Austrian infantry near Alzarea, about seven o'clock in the morning. Falling back upon Oliosi, Cerale held that village strongly, and for a long time the Austrians made no progress. But the Archduke detached Piret's brigade of the 5th Corps from the other side of the Tione to the assistance of the reserve infantry; and, after a stubborn resistance, in the course of which Cerale was wounded, and Villarey, one of his generals of brigade, killed, the Italians were driven out of Oliosi. They retired on the strong position of Monte Vento, and made a stand there for some time; but Durando, commanding the 1st Corps, was disabled by a wound, and about two o'clock the Austrians stormed Monte Vento. The division then fell back in good order upon Valeggio. The Austrians did not venture to pursue them much beyond Monte Vento, for their right flank was at this time menaced by Pianelli. That General, commanding the 1st Division of the 1st Corps, had been left, as has before been stated, on the right bank of the Mincio; but, observing how the battle was going, he crossed the river at Monzambano, sent part of his division against an Austrian force which had made a sally from Peschiera, and drove it back to the fortress, and with the remainder operated against the right flank of the troops which had beaten Cerale. Meantime Sirtori, commanding another division of the 1st Corps, had advanced slowly on Cerale's right to Santa Lucia on the Tione, and there taken up a position. He did nothing to help Cerale while the heavy fighting was going on at Oliosi and Monte Vento; and after the Italians had fallen back from the latter place, and the 5th Austrian Corps began to press him in front, Sirtori, on the ground that he was no longer supported on the left, led back his division to Valeggio. Thus, by three o'clock, the whole left of the Italian army was driven from the field.

On the other side of the Tione the battle raged more fiercely. General Cugia, commanding a division of the 3rd Corps, had advanced beyond Custozza, when he encountered the vanguard of the Austrian 9th Corps, under Marshal Hartung, about the same time that Prince Humbert, on his right, was attacked by the reserve cavalry. Cugia struggled gallantly to hold his ground, and for a long time the battle remained stationary around the villages of Monte Torre and Madonna della Croce. To the left of Cugia, La Marmora himself led the Division Brignone into the battle. The two brigades composing this division were named—the one the Sardinian, the other the Lombard Grenadiers; they were among the crack troops of the Italian army. They advanced to Monte Godio; but here they were attacked by the Brigade Sendler of the Austrian 7th Corps, which held this part of the enemy's line, between his 5th and his 9th Corps; and after both brigade-commanders, General Gozzani and Prince Amadeo, had been wounded, the Division Brignone abandoned Monte Godio, and fell back on Custozza. General Govone now brought up his division, and occupied Bagolino, a little in rear of Monte Godio. But he was here attacked, not only by the remainder of the 7th Austrian Corps, but also by a brigade of the 5th, which the retreat of Sirtori had left at liberty, and pushed back, after some hard fighting, from Bagolino. Cugia, his left being now exposed, fell back from Monte Torre, and about five o'clock the retreat of the Italian army became general. It was conducted, however, in perfectly good order, and the Austrians were too much exhausted to pursue with vigour. It was not till seven o'clock that the Austrians occupied the heights of Custozza, and pushed the Italian army completely off the hills. The retreat across the plains was covered by Bixio's division and the reserve cavalry.

During the latter half of the battle no Commander-in-Chief, if the current accounts may be trusted, directed the movements of the Italians. The generals of division retreated on their own responsibility, without having received orders. In the second part of General La Marmora's work, from which we have often quoted, an explanation and vindication of the author's military conduct, during and before the battle of Custozza, will doubtless be contained; till this appears, it seems only fair that we should suspend our judgment. According to the narrative of Colonel Rüstow (in which he is followed by Captain Hozier), La Marmora, after having led forward the Division Brignone, posted himself far in the rear, on the hill of La Gherla, whence he could see nothing. It is added that, about one o'clock, at the height of the conflict, he rode off to Goito (though he might just as well have sent an aide-de-camp with an order), to bring up the Divisions Angioletti and Longoni of the 2nd Corps; that, on arriving at Goito, he found nothing but a feeble vanguard, the main body of both divisions having, in defiance of orders, remained quietly at their quarters on the other side of the Mincio; finally, that he then gave up all for lost, and sent one officer to Valeggio with orders to secure the crossing of the river, and another to Custozza to collect exact information about the battle. Such a story sounds incredible, taken as a whole; yet there is no doubt that La Marmora did ride to Goito during the battle, and his full explanation, when it appears, will be read with interest.

The divisions of Generals Govone and Cugia retreated to Valeggio, that of Brignone to Molino di Volta, those of Bixio and Prince Humbert to Goito. The whole Italian army recrossed the Mincio in the course of the next day (June 25), and fell back from the frontier behind the line of the Oglio. The bridge at Valeggio was broken down to impede pursuit. The Archduke sent a few detachments of cavalry across the Mincio, which scoured the country unopposed as far as the Chiese; but it was soon evident that he had no intention of assuming the offensive, or of advancing in force into Lombardy.

The loss of the Austrians in the battle of Custozza amounted to 960 men killed, and 3,690 wounded, of whom 283 were officers. The missing were between 900 and 1,000—these were chiefly prisoners taken by the Division Pianelli. The heavy loss in officers is to be ascribed to the accurate firing of the Italian Bersaglieri. The Italian loss amounted, in killed and wounded, only to 720 of the

former, and 3,112 of the latter; but the list of missing amounted to 4,315, among whom were many wounded men, who were left on the field when the army retreated.

Colonel Rüstow considers that there was a general want of *toughness* about the Italian troops, although in the course of the battle they exhibited much dash and bravery; also that they had not the advantage of that thoroughly efficient officering which was so noticeable in the Prussian army; and that there was a want of inter-connection and prompt co-operation between the different parts of the line.

Cialdini, who was on the point of crossing the Lower Po, stopped his advance as soon as he heard of the disaster of Custozza, and fixed his head-quarters temporarily at Modena.

Garibaldi, with his volunteers—about 6,000 strong—accomplished nothing on the side of the Tyrol which could recall the memory of his former exploits. The nature of the materials which he had to discipline and make available was shown at the outset in a very characteristic way. The volunteers would not wait for the day on which the Italian commander had announced that hostilities would commence, but made a hostile incursion across the frontier on the previous day, June 22nd. Garibaldi's head-quarters were at Rocca d'Anfo, on the Lake of Idro. A sharp skirmish was fought on the 25th at the frontier bridge at Caffaro, a short distance from the northern end of the Lake of Idro, in which the Italians were beaten. They were again worsted at Monte Suello, near Bagolino, on Italian ground, on the 3rd July, the day of Königgrätz; in this affair Garibaldi was slightly wounded. Various slight skirmishes occurred on the frontier passes of the Tonal and the Stelvio, by which you cross from the head waters of the Oglio and the Adda into the Tyrol. On the whole, Garibaldi made no progress; and the Austrians, content with baffling his attempts, had no thought of taking the offensive. He had, it would seem, made a great miscalculation when he reckoned upon inoculating with revolutionary ideas the simple, loyal, religious nature of the Tyrolese peasant. Colonel Rüstow says that Garibaldi's main interest must have been to accustom his volunteers to stand fire, and to improve their organisation, especially by the elimination of worthless elements.

The disaster of Custozza, the full extent of which was for some time disguised by the Italian newspapers, and only gradually became known to the public, caused the withdrawal from La Marmora of the confidence both of the Government and the people. He was vehemently assailed on all sides, and had no choice but to send in his resignation. The chief command of the army was then given to General Cialdini. After Königgrätz, the Emperor of Austria ceded Venetia to the Emperor Napoleon, who accepted the transfer; and considering itself now free on the side of Italy, since it had nothing more to lose except the Trentino and Dalmatia, which, as events proved, the Tyrolese and the fleet were well able to guard, the Austrian Government recalled the 5th and the 9th Corps from Venetia to the defence of Vienna, now threatened by the advance of the Prussians. The Italians were now sure of Venetia; yet to obtain it in such a manner was galling to their pride, nor could they honourably desist from hostilities so long as the Prussian armies kept the field. Cialdini was accordingly ordered to cross the Po, and renew the invasion of Venetia. The passage was successfully effected near Massa on the 9th July, and Cialdini pressing forward occupied Rovigo and Monselice, and reached Padua on the 14th. His march was unopposed, for the Austrian force now remaining in Venetia, exclusive of the garrisons of the fortresses, was too weak to fight a battle, and it was no part of the policy of its commander to let the Italians win a cheap and easy victory. Meantime siege was laid to Borgoforte, a strong redoubt near the junction of the Mincio and the Po, by General Nunzianti. The batteries opened fire on the 17th, and the place was evacuated by the Austrians on the night of the 18th. As Cialdini advanced, the small Austrian field force, commanded by General Maroicic, continually retired, falling back successively behind the Piave, the Tagliamento, and the Isonzo. Udine was occupied by the Italians on the 24th July. A truce was concluded the next day, which was extended from week to week till the 12th August, when an armistice was agreed to, the line of the Indrio being fixed as the line of demarcation between the troops on either side.

The Italians had nourished the ardent hope that while Cialdini cut off Venice from succour on the land side, their iron-clad fleet might force its way into the lagoons, and compel Austria to relax her hold on the peerless Queen of the Adriatic. This hope was destined to be disappointed. By sea as well as by land defeat and disgrace were to await the Italian arms. Italy was to owe everything to the sword of Prussia and the patronage of France; nothing to her own exertions. A powerful fleet, including the ram *Affondatore*, eleven iron-clads, six or seven heavy wooden frigates, and several corvettes, had been fitted out at an expense which the disordered finances of the new kingdom could ill afford, and was believed to be capable of defeating with ease the fleet of Austria. Admiral Persano, who was in command, had distinguished himself on several previous occasions, and inspired his countrymen with entire confidence in his courage and skill. Sailing from Tarento, he concentrated the fleet at Ancona on the 25th June, and remained there for a long time inactive. A clamour was raised against him on this account, and he was at last positively ordered by the Minister of Marine to take his fleet to sea. A descent on Lissa was the enterprise fixed upon, for two principal reasons. The island of Lissa has excellent and roomy harbours, in which a fleet of iron-clads could lie far more commodiously than in the crowded port of Ancona; moreover, its reduction would be an important step towards the conquest of Dalmatia, which, as an ancient appendage to Venice, the Italians were bent upon appropriating as one of the trophies of the war. On the 16th July, Admiral Persano put to sea from Ancona, and steamed across the Adriatic to Lissa. The next three days were employed in useless and somewhat feeble endeavours to land a force on the island and silence the

batteries. The last attempt was made at daybreak on the 20th, and it was on the point of being abandoned when one of his corvettes brought to Persano the intelligence that the Austrian fleet was bearing down upon him. The Admiral then formed his ships in order of battle to the north of the island.

Admiral Tegethoff, the same brave sailor who distinguished himself in the naval action against the Danes off Heligoland, in 1864, had been for some time stationed at Fasana, in Istria, where he was in a position to protect Venice or Trieste if attacked, and close to the important arsenal of Pola. When he first heard that the Italian fleet was off Lissa, he believed the movement to be only a feint to draw him away from the coast of Istria; but when later advices convinced him that the attack on the island was serious, he resolved to sail to its assistance. The fleet with which he sailed from Fasana was in a high state of efficiency, and consisted of three divisions—iron-clads, wooden frigates, and wooden corvettes—seven of each; to these were added four swift dispatch-boats, or tenders, so that the aggregate included twenty-five vessels, with upwards of 500 guns. The Italian fleet was of much superior force; it consisted at the time of the engagement of thirty-three vessels, one of them being the formidable ram, *Affondatore*, from which great things were expected. Tegethoff, on nearing Lissa, disposed his fleet in three lines, each formed in the shape of a wedge, the apex of which was towards the enemy; the seven iron-clads formed the first wedge, the wooden frigates the second, and the corvettes the third. Like Nelson bearing down on the enemy at Trafalgar, the brave Tegethoff, in his flag-ship, the *Archduke Ferdinand Max*, assumed the post of danger and of glory at the apex of the leading division. The Italian fleet, when drawn up for battle, was arranged in four groups. Three of these, all heading eastward, contained three, four, and three iron-clads respectively. The leading group was commanded by Ribotty, the second by Persano himself, who had hoisted his flag on board the *Re d'Italia*, the third by Vacca. The wooden ships formed a fourth group in rear of the iron-clads. But before the battle began, Persano, without, it appears, communicating his intention to Vacca and Ribotty, quitted the *Re d'Italia* and went on board the *Affondatore*, which he ordered to be stationed on the side of the fleet remote from the advancing Austrians. A more unembarrassed direction of the movements of all his ships appears to have been Persano's object in this extraordinary step; but, besides that the position chosen seems to have been ill adapted for the purpose, the actual effect of the change was to leave the fleet without any direction whatever; for the *Re d'Italia*, to which every vessel in the fleet was looking for signals, made none, and those which proceeded from the *Affondatore* were not regarded. Tegethoff directed his iron-clads to steer, putting on all speed, so as to cut between the second and third groups of the Italian iron-clads. His own ship, the *Ferdinand Max*, admirably handled by his flag-captain, Max Baron von Sternek, "ran aboard, within the space of half an hour, three Sardinian iron-clads, of which two sustained heavy damages, the flag of one being captured, and the third, the *Re d'Italia*, one of the largest vessels in the Italian fleet, was run down and sunk within two minutes, with her whole crew of more than 600 men. All attempts to save the swimming men belonging to the *Re d'Italia* were obliged to be given up, as an attack made upon us from all quarters compelled us to confine our attention to our own safety." * The battle soon became general, and each iron-clad was fully engaged, in addition to working its heavy guns, in eluding the onsets of hostile ships, and watching for a favourable opportunity of ramming an enemy. The *Palestro*, which had come up to the assistance of the *Re d'Italia*, was herself attacked by three or four Austrian iron-clads at once; and having her rudder disabled, and being set on fire, she drifted out of the action to the southward, and presently blew up. Her whole ship's company, except sixteen men, were drowned; nor was a much larger proportion rescued of the crew of the *Re d'Italia*. Some of the Italian iron-clads, passing through the first Austrian line, engaged the wooden frigates, the chief of which was the *Kaiser*, commanded by Commodore Petz. The Austrian Admiral says of this portion of the contest: "The *melée* became general, and it is difficult to give particulars of it, as the vessels were cruising about under full steam, and it was often hard to distinguish friend from enemy, although the gala set of flags were hoisted on both sides."

The line-of-battle ship *Kaiser*—the flag-ship of the second division—was engaged with four iron-clads simultaneously. Commodore Petz, using his ship as a ram, ran aboard of one of his assailants while firing concentrated broadsides into the others, and this under the most trying circumstances; for at the same moment in which he struck the enemy, his foremast fell, crushed the funnel of the engine, and caused a good deal of confusion, without, however, seriously injuring any of the crew then on deck. The *Kaiser* lost 22 of her crew killed and 82 wounded. Her consorts in the wooden division suffered but little, some appearing to have escaped without a shot. As soon as he saw the critical position of his wooden vessels, Tegethoff, who had by this time disposed of the second and third divisions of the Italian iron-clads, steamed to their assistance, and the *Kaiser* was rescued from her numerous assailants and got safely into Lissa. All this time the group of wooden ships on the Italian side were looking on from a respectful distance; nor does the *Affondatore* appear to have taken any part in the action. After having lasted about four hours the battle gradually slackened; at two o'clock the firing was over; and Vacca, who supposed that the Admiral had gone down in the *Re d'Italia*, signalled to the remaining iron-clads to assemble, and, forming column, to edge off to the westward. Persano, however, now came up in the *Affondatore*, and, assuming the command, placed himself at the head of the column, and led the fleet out of action. He returned to Ancona, where, soon after, the *Affondatore* sank at her anchors. On the 21st July, the Austrian Admiral returned, without having lost a single vessel, to the channel of Fasana. The consequences of

* Admiral Tegethoff's Report.

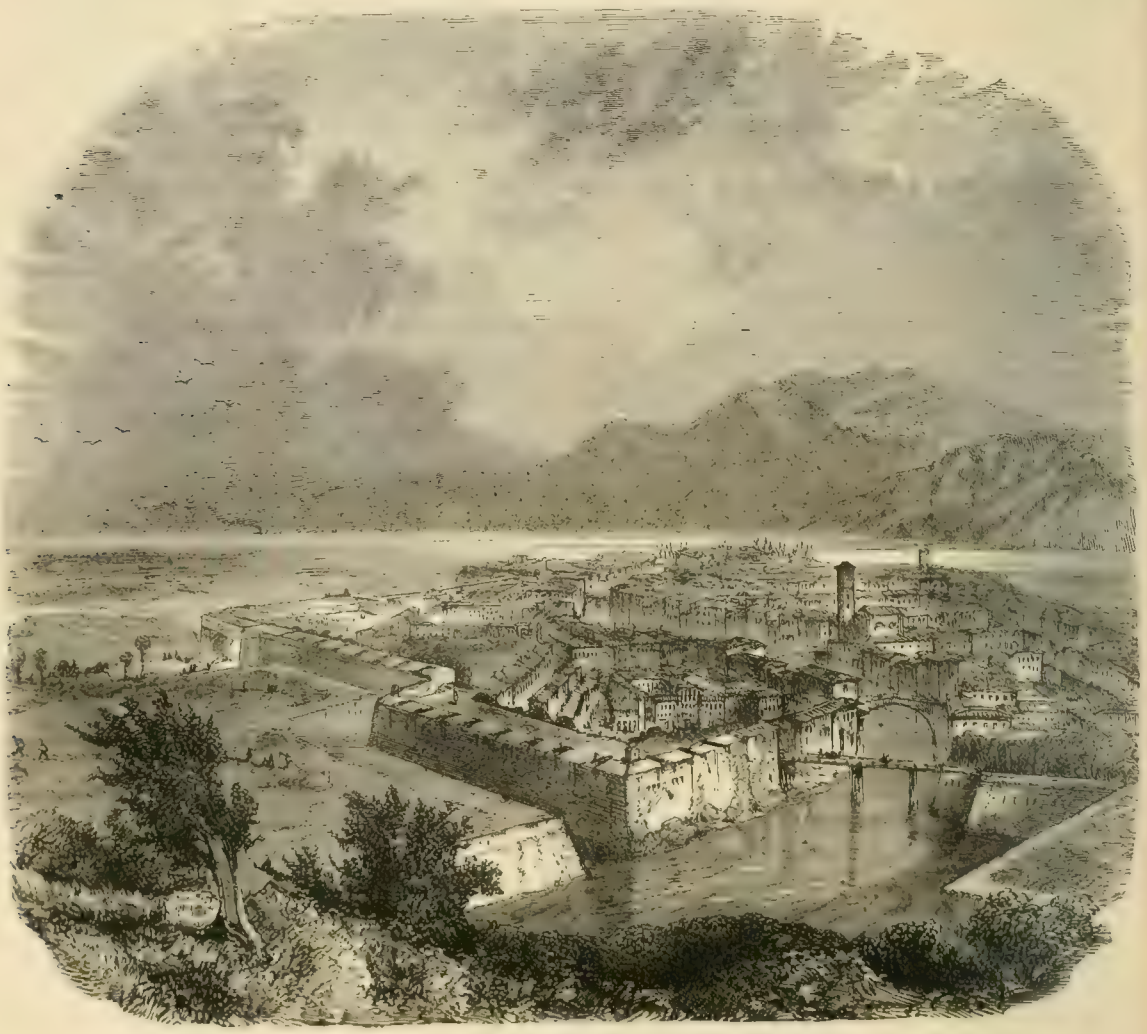
this signal defeat by sea were very humiliating to the Italians. All hope of attacking Venice on the sea side must now be given up, and with it the ambitious dream of possessing Dalmatia and Illyria. A still louder outcry arose against Persano, through the length and breadth of the Peninsula, than had been directed against La Marmora. He was tried by the Italian Senate; his defence of his conduct was declared to be unsatisfactory, and he was deprived of all command in the Italian navy.

Meantime the victorious career of Prussia was carrying her arms without a check to the banks of the Danube and under the walls of Vienna. Marshal Benedek, after having put the Elbe between the Prussians and his exhausted troops, had to decide instantly what was to be done. An armistice was thought of; and Von Gablenz was sent on a mission to the Prussian head-quarters to see if one could be obtained; but on this, and on a subsequent visit made with the same object, he failed. Benedek found that his army was so disorganised and disheartened by the great defeat of the 3rd, that it was idle to think of defending the line of the Elbe. He resolved, therefore, to retire within the lines of the fortress of Olmütz, and there re-form his broken and wasted ranks and recruit his dilapidated resources. The 10th Corps, upon which the heaviest loss had fallen in the battle, was sent by rail at once to Vienna. The rest of his army, on reaching the friendly shelter of the ramparts of Olmütz, was allowed a little respite. But the Marshal gave himself no rest, but laboured unceasingly to repair the effects of Königgrätz. Though past sixty years of age, he displayed a capacity for work, both in the saddle and at the desk, which would have put to shame many a younger man. He was sincerely respected by all his officers, and adored by his men; and in the camp no feelings were entertained towards him but those of compassion and sympathy. But the press and populace of Vienna clamoured vehemently for his dismissal from the post of Commander-in-Chief; and this was presently done, though not in such a manner as to disgrace him. The Archduke Albrecht, the victor of Custozza, was appointed to the command of the Austrian Army of the North, with General von John for his Chief of the Staff. Benedek was left in command at Olmütz, with orders to send all the corps lately under his command, as soon as they were ready for the field again, by rail to Vienna, there to be united under the Archduke for the defence of the capital.

The Prussians, after having seen the whole Austrian army retreating discomfited from the blood-stained hills along the Bistritz, bivouacked that night (July 3) on the field of battle. On the next day they marched no farther than to the bank of the Elbe, and on the 5th they crossed the river, the Crown Prince with the Second Army at Pardubitz, Prince Frederick Charles and Herwarth at Przelautsch, thus preserving the relative positions in which the armies fought at Königgratz—the Crown Prince holding the left wing, Prince Frederick Charles being in the centre, and Herwarth, with the Army of the Elbe, on the extreme right. The 6th July was a day of rest; next day the armies moved forward, Herwarth marching on Iglau, the First Army on Brünn, and the Crown Prince leading his army by roads midway between Brünn and Olmütz. Beyond a cavalry skirmish or two, no collision of any moment occurred till the First Army had reached and occupied Brünn, the capital of Moravia. This was on the 12th July. It was expected that the Austrians would make a stand here, but they did not do so. Meantime Prague, the ancient capital of Bohemia, which had stood many a siege in the olden time, and even in the last century, but the walls of which, in the absence of exterior forts, could make no resistance to rifled cannon, was occupied by a Prussian force on the 8th July. At Brünn the King of Prussia came to the front, and took up his quarters at the Rathhaus. On the 13th and 14th no forward movement was made, for M. Benedetti, the French Minister at Berlin, was at Brünn; and the presence of his unpretending black coat among the laced uniforms of the royal suite signified that France was using all her influence to bring about peace. Benedetti was closeted with Count Bismarck for some hours on the morning of the 14th July, in an upper room of the Rathhaus of Brünn; and it was generally supposed that they were discussing the conditions of an armistice. They did not at that time come to an agreement; Benedetti departed for Vienna, and the Prussians moved forward from Brünn on the 15th July. On the same day a part of the Crown Prince's army, under General Malotki, which had been sent to cut the railway from Olmütz to Vienna at Prerau, encountered an Austrian force, with a heavy artillery train accompanying it, on the road between Olmütz and Tobitschau. After a desultory action, in the course of which the eighteen guns composing the Austrian artillery train, being left for a time without an escort, were captured by the Prussian cavalry, the Austrians retreated eastward, and Prerau was occupied by the Crown Prince. Benedek, however, altering his line of march slightly, succeeded in bringing the remainder of his columns over the Carpathians into Hungary, and uniting them to the main army under the Archduke Albrecht, by way of Presburg. He had before sent about 40,000 men by rail direct to Vienna, but the line was cut at Lundenburg by the cavalry advance of the First Army, on the 15th July, and after that he could only expedite them by road in the ordinary way. Gathering together all the troops that could be had, the Archduke posted them along a line of some thirty miles in length, from Krems to Presburg, with the Danube in his rear and his centre resting on the fortifications of Florisdorf, close to Vienna.

Another battle lost—and with inferior numbers, inferior arms, and inferior strategy, the Austrians could not reasonably count on victory—must have laid Austria utterly prostrate at the feet of Prussia, and would probably have resulted, considering the difficult and exasperating constitutional questions at that time still unsettled between the Emperor's government and the subject kingdoms, in her dismemberment and political degradation. From this fate Austria was saved, not by the moderation of Prussia, but by the firm and friendly mediation of France. The Prussians, both officers and soldiers, were eager, according to the testimony of Captain Hozier, to march on to the

assault of Vienna; and the note of Count Usedom* is sufficient evidence that the Prussian Government desired to carry on a *guerre à fond*, and humble their enemy to the last extremity. But France, having accepted Venetia as a pledge that she would discharge the office of mediator, discharged it effectually. That description of mediation, to which Lord Russell was so much attached, which proclaimed beforehand that it would employ no other agency but "persuasion," did not commend itself to the French mind. Benedetti returned to Vienna, as we have seen, after the failure of the first attempt at an armistice; but he was soon back again at the Prussian head-quarters, bringing the assent of the Austrian Emperor to some modification of the terms of the proposed armistice which went near to complying with the demands of Prussia. It is absurd to suppose that Count Bismarck would have paid any attention to the pleadings of Benedetti had he not well understood that France was mediating sword in hand. On this point the Count's own frank declaration, made in the Prussian Lower House in the December following the war—though its immediate reference is to the question of Schleswig—does not permit us to remain in doubt. He said: "In July last, France was enabled, by the general situation of Europe, to urge her views more forcibly than before. I need not depict the situation of this country at the time I am speaking of. You all know what I mean. *Nobody could expect us to carry on two wars at the same time.* Peace with Austria had not yet been concluded; *were we to imperil the fruits of our glorious campaign by plunging headlong into hostilities with a new, a second enemy?* France, then, being called on by Austria to mediate between the contending parties, as a matter of course, did not omit to urge some wishes of her own upon us." Everything seems to show that Austria owed to France, at this critical moment, her continued existence as a great Power.



PESCHIERA.

But for the time the negotiations had failed; the First Army marched on from Brünn; the Second Army followed

*See page 233.

two or three marches behind; and Herwarth pressed on from Iglau to Znaym, and thence to Weikersdorff. Moltke had to form plans for the new development of the campaign on the banks of the Danube which appeared to be impending. Captain Hozier, who was with the Prussian army at the time, attached to the staff of Prince Frederick Charles, inserts here a graphic description of the great strategist, since then rendered far more illustrious by the military discomfiture of France, which we shall lay before our readers:—

"General von Moltke retired to his quarters, and was closeted with his maps, making new plans for the further progress of the campaign, and for the occupation of Vienna. This skilful strategist, who had been the chief director of the movements by which the three Prussian armies, starting from different points, were collected at the necessary hour on the field of Königgrätz, never, except at that battle, appeared in the front of the armies. Some distance in the rear, sitting calmly at his desk, he traced on the map the course of the troops, and, by means of the field telegraph, flashed his orders to the different generals in more immediate command with such skill and foresight that not a movement failed, and every combination was made at exactly the right moment. A quick, light-blue eye, a high forehead, and a well-set figure mark him an intellectual and energetic man; but, though quick in action, he is so prudent in discourse, and so guarded in his speech, that, from this quality, and his wide knowledge of European languages, he is known in the Prussian army as the man who is silent in seven tongues. Careful and laborious, he worked out with his own hand, and himself calculated, almost every detail of the operations in which he took Europe by surprise from the lightning rapidity of his strokes and the tremendous consequences of his dispositions, before which the Austrian army withered away almost before it was gathered together, and which have won for him from his countrymen the title of the first strategist in Europe."

PRAGUE.

On the 20th July, Herwarth's fore-posts were pushed on Stockerau, within fifteen miles of Vienna; and from the hills near Weikersdorf the Prussian soldiers caught sight of the glorious Dom-kirche, the Cathedral of St. Stephan, at Vienna. The magnificent valley of the Danube, then in the fulness of its rich summer beauty, seemed ready to fall a prize to the Prussian sword; already, at Blumenau near Presburg (July 22), a sharp action had been fought between the right wing of the Austrian army and the Franzecky division of the First Army, and that fair scene of peace and plenty might soon have been defaced by fire and bloodshed. But France

all this time was pressing her mediation with significant tenacity, and Austria was saved.

On the 17th July, the King of Prussia arrived at Nikolsburg, a place about forty miles to the north of Vienna, close to the frontier line of Moravia and Lower Austria. He took up his quarters in the old castle belonging to Prince Dietrichstein, and slept in the same room in which Napoleon I. had passed the night of the 9th December, 1805, after the battle of Austerlitz, and before his entry into Vienna. Benedetti was already at Nikolsburg, empowered by the Emperor of Austria to agree to an armistice of five days, nearly upon the conditions originally proposed by Prussia, viz., that Austria should withdraw all her troops, except those in garrisons, to the south of the Thaya; in other words, abandon all Moravia, except the fortress and entrenched camp of Olmütz, to the Prussians. The railway between Dresden and Prague, till now rendered unsafe through the proximity of the strong garrison of Theresienstadt, was to be used freely by Prussia during the armistice, for the purpose of victualling her armies. On these, besides several minor conditions which it is unnecessary to specify, an armistice was concluded at Nikolsburg, to take effect from noon on the 22nd July, and to last till noon on the 27th. It was well understood on both sides that this armistice was preparatory to negotiations for peace. These were conducted actively at Nikolsburg, Austria being represented by General Degenfeld and Count Carolyi; Prussia by General Moltke and Count Bismarck. Preliminaries of peace between the two Powers were signed on the 26th July. The terms agreed to were—That Austria should cease to be a member of the German Confederation; that she should pay a contribution of 40,000,000 thalers towards Prussia's expenses in the war; and that she should offer no opposition to the steps which Prussia might take with regard to Northern Germany. The principal measures thus sanctioned were—The annexation of Hanover, Hesse Cassel, Nassau, and the portion of Hesse Darmstadt which lies to the north of the Main; the concession to Prussia of the reversion of Brunswick on the death of the Duke then living, who was without issue; the entry of Saxony into the new North-German Confederation about to be formed; and the grant to Prussia of the supreme military and diplomatic leadership in that Confederation. The Prussian armies were to be withdrawn beyond the Thaya on the 2nd August, but were to occupy Bohemia and Moravia till the conclusion of the final treaty of peace, and to hold Austrian Silesia until the war indemnity was paid. It was with great difficulty that the Emperor Francis Joseph wrung from the King of Prussia his consent to the continued independence of Saxony. But the little kingdom and its monarch had stood so nobly by Austria during the war, that honour demanded of the Emperor that he should not permit them to be sacrificed, even though, by insisting, he risked the re-opening of hostilities. Prague was the place fixed upon at which the negotiations for the treaty of peace should be conducted.

After the peace preliminaries had been signed, the Austrian commanders seemed for the first time to rouse themselves from the supineness and stupefaction into which the rapid succession of their country's disasters had thrown them. Now for the first time a serious attack was made on the long line of the Prussian communications through Bohemia. Not having heard that peace had been agreed to, the garrison of Theresienstadt sallied from the fortress on the 28th July, destroyed the railway bridge over the Moldau at Kralup, north of Prague, broke the telegraph wires, and captured two Prussian officers, two officials, and fifty soldiers. An attack was made in similar ignorance during the armistice on a park of reserve artillery at Znaym, and did some damage. A little more of this kind of activity, while the Army of Silesia was winding in long snake-like columns, encumbered with its trains, through the mountain passes, would have been seasonably employed; now it came too late.

A grand review of the soldiers of the First Army was held by the King of Prussia (July 31) on the great plain called the Marchfeld, within fifteen miles of Vienna. Captain Hozier describes the scene with the vividness and enthusiasm which are natural in a military eye-witness. The King rode along the line, greeted by the cheers of the troops, and by the strains of the Prussian national hymn, struck up by all the bands in succession. Then came the marching past; after which the King called round him the commanding officers, and addressed a few words to them. With this speech the history of the War of 1866 may be considered to be closed; we shall therefore give it entire:—

"Gentlemen,—I cannot speak to all the soldiers under your command—they are too many; but to you, for all, I must express my thanks for the conduct and behaviour of this army during the campaign, which your exertions have brought to such a glorious conclusion. I shall not enter into the details of the gallant conduct of your troops at the battle of Königgrätz, where for hours you stood under the whole artillery fire of the Austrian army, and resisted successfully all the attempts of the enemy to crush you, and thus break the centre of our line of battle. I cannot speak as I should wish of Sichrow,* München-grätz, Podoll, and Gitschin. I can but embrace my nephew, your commander, as the representative of you all. I can but tell you that I thank you, and that your King and your Fatherland feel that you have nobly done your duty. I am sure there is nothing I could say which could be more pleasing to Prussian soldiers."

On the next day the First Army broke up from its encampment on the Marchfeld, and proceeded by leisurely marches to Prague, where it remained till after the signature of the treaty. By the middle of September there was not a Prussian soldier left on Austrian ground.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Treaty of Prague: Articles respecting Italy, Saxony, and the South-German States—Harsh Terms imposed on Bavaria—Treaties with Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse Darmstadt: Secret Treaties between Prussia and these States; not divulged till 1867—Summary of Prussian Acquisitions in con-

* The action at Liebenau is here referred to.

sequence of the War—Treaty establishing the North-German Confederation: Population of the States composing it—Deputation from Hanover to the King of Prussia to petition against annexation: He rejects their prayer—Formal annexation of Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia in disregard of the Treaty of Prague—Treaty between Austria and Italy—Austria will not yield the Trentino—Surrender of the Iron Crown—Voting in Venetia for annexation to Italy—The Emperor Napoleon asks for a strip of German territory: It is refused—French Circular of September 16—Resignation of M. Drouyn de Lhuys—Execution of the September Convention at Rome—The Pope's Speech to General Montebello—Military Revolt in Spain: It is suppressed—Revolution at Bucharest: Prince Couza expelled: Prince Charles of Hohenzollern elected Hospodar—America: Prostrate Condition of the South: Discord between the President and the Congress: Measures framed to humble the classes formerly Dominant at the South: Constitutional Amendments: Civil Rights Bill: Re-admission of Tennessee into the Union.

THE definitive treaty of peace between Austria and Prussia was signed at Prague on the 23rd August. Austria was represented in the negotiation by Baron Brenner, and Prussia by Baron Werther, Bismarck having been obliged to return to Berlin to be present at the opening of the Chambers. In substance the treaty did little more than put into precise and legal form the stipulations agreed to at Nikolsburg. The article respecting Venetia declared that, "inasmuch as His Majesty the Emperor of the French, by his authorised emissary to His Majesty the King of Prussia, officially declared, at Nikolsburg on the 29th of the same month of July, 'that, as far as the Emperor's Government is concerned, Venice is acquired for Italy, to be given up to her at the peace,' His Majesty the Emperor of Austria on his part conforms to this declaration, and gives his consent to the union of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom with the kingdom of Italy, without imposing any other condition than the liquidation of those debts which have been acknowledged charges on the territories now resigned in conformity with the Treaty of Zurich." The fifth article transferred to Prussia all the rights which Austria had acquired in the Elbe duchies under the Treaty of Vienna; but the influence of the French Emperor, who would not miss what seemed to him so good an opportunity for the application of his favourite principle of the popular vote, obtained the addition of a clause, providing that "the people of the northern district of Schleswig, if by free vote they express a wish to be united to Denmark, should be ceded to Denmark accordingly." With regard to Saxony, the King of Prussia declared himself willing (Article VI.), "at the desire of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria," to allow the territory of that kingdom to remain within its existing limits, reserving to himself the right of settling in a separate treaty the share to be contributed by Saxony towards the expenses of the war, and the position which it should eventually hold within the North-German Confederation. This separate treaty was not concluded till the 21st October of the same year. Under it Saxony retains little more than a nominal independence. She agreed to pay a net war contribution of 9,000,000 thalers, to give up all her telegraphs to Prussia, and to enter the North-German Confederation; her troops were to form an integral portion of the North-German army, under the supreme command of the King of Prussia; Königstein, her strongest fortress, was to be given up to Prussia, and Dresden to be held by a garrison half Prussian, half Saxon. While Prussia was stipulating for the cessation of all common interests between her and Austria, and for the exclusion of the latter from Germany, the question naturally rose: What relations are to subsist hereafter between Prussia and the other South-German states—such as Bavaria and Baden—which are neither to join the North-German Confederation, nor yet to be excluded altogether from Germany? This question was answered in the fourth article of the treaty, in which the Emperor of Austria, after promising to recognise the North-German Confederation which Prussia was about to form, "declares his consent that the German states situated to the south of the line of the Main should unite in a league, the national connection of which with the North-German Bund is reserved for a further agreement between both parties, and which will have an international independent existence." The Treaty of Prague further settled that from the war indemnity of 40,000,000 thalers which Austria had agreed to pay, a sum of 15,000,000 thalers should be deducted on account of war expenses claimed by the Emperor from the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and a further sum of 5,000,000 thalers on account of the maintenance of the Prussian troops in the Austrian states which they occupied till the conclusion of peace. The remaining net indemnity of 20,000,000 thalers was to be paid within three weeks of the exchange of ratifications. It is curious that this sum amounts to £3,000,000 of English money; almost the exact sum which England, after no defeat of Königgrätz, allowed herself to be mulcted of in order to assuage the irritation of public feeling in America. The ratifications of the treaty were exchanged at Prague on the 29th August.

The war was over, but the task of establishing the new internal relations which were henceforth to prevail in Germany remained. Armistices were agreed to on the 2nd of August between Prussia, on the one hand, and Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg, and Hesse Darmstadt, on the other, to last till the 22nd inst. At first Bavaria was very roughly dealt with. The Bavarian ambassador, Baron von der Pfordten, was some days at Nikolsburg before he could obtain an audience of Count Bismarck. At last, July 27, he obtained a few minutes' conversation with the Prussian Minister, who curtly stated as the terms of peace, the cession of all Bavarian territory north of the Main to Prussia, the cession of the Bavarian Palatinate to Hesse Darmstadt, and the payment of a war indemnity. Von der Pfordten pleaded that he had received no instructions to treat of the cession of territory, and tried hard to obtain easier terms; but the Prussian plenipotentiaries, Bismarck and Moltke, were inexorable; and when the Bavarian envoy refused to sign these preliminaries, orders were immediately telegraphed to General Manteuffel to press the war in Bavaria. During the day tidings reached Nikolsburg of the uninterrupted progress of the Prussian arms in Bavaria, and of the feebleness of the resistance everywhere; no ray of hope, no prospect of succour, could be discerned; the old Bund had

crumbled to pieces beyond hope of restoration; and longer holding out would but result in saddling Bavaria with a heavier contribution. Von der Pfordten yielded, and signified before evening his acquiescence in the terms proposed. Orders were then sent to Manteuffel to stay all hostile operations, and the preliminaries of peace were signed. But the final treaty of peace, signed at Berlin on the 22nd August, was less onerous for Bavaria than the preliminaries; it imposed, indeed, a contribution of 30,000,000 gulden; abolished shipping dues on the Rhine and Main, where those rivers were under Bavarian jurisdiction; and transferred all the telegraph lines north of the Main to Prussian control; but it required no such cessions of territory as were exacted by the preliminaries. The causes of this apparent lenity, which to those acquainted with the Prussian character must have appeared inexplicable, will be explained presently. The treaty with Wurtemberg, signed on the 13th August, imposed a war indemnity of 8,000,000 florins on that kingdom, and provided for its re-entry into the Zollverein. A similar treaty with Baden, signed on the 17th August, burdened the Grand Duchy with a war indemnity of 6,000,000 gulden. Peace with Hesse Darmstadt was only concluded on the 3rd September. Great resentment was felt in Prussia against the Grand Duke, who had been throughout a staunch friend to Austria. On the other hand, the Court of Russia, for family reasons, intervened with urgency on behalf both of Wurtemberg and of Hesse Darmstadt; and the terms imposed on these states were consequently more lenient than had been expected. Darmstadt was required to give up Hesse Homburg and certain other portions of its territory to Prussia; it was, however, indemnified to a considerable extent at the cost of what had been the independent states of Hesse Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort; the general effect being to consolidate and render more compact the territories both of Prussia and of Darmstadt, where they were conterminous. Hesse Darmstadt, moreover, though, in respect of that portion of her territories which lay south of the Main, she was a South-German state, agreed to enter the North-German Confederation. With regard to the little principality of Hohenzollern, the cradle of the royal house of Prussia, which, enclosed as it is within the territory of Wurtemberg, the troops of that kingdom had easily overrun during the war, its restitution was so completely taken for granted that, in the treaty with Wurtemberg, Prussia disdained to make the slightest mention of it.

Besides the public treaties with the states of South Germany which have been just described, Prussia concluded with them at the same time certain secret articles, which were not divulged until long afterwards. According to these, Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg severally entered into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Prussia, with guarantee of their respective territories, and the concession of the supreme command in time of war to the King of Prussia. Count Bismarck knew that he had been playing a perilous game; he had mortified and exasperated the French Emperor, immediately after the close of the war, by refusing to cede to him a foot of German territory (a refusal on which we shall have more to say presently); French vanity had been wounded by the victories—French jealousy had been aroused by the aggrandisement—of Prussia. The whole North-German Confederation did but represent a population of 25,000,000; if Germany was to be safe against France, she must be able to dispose, at need, of the military resources of a population of at least equal magnitude. Weighing all these things with that profound forecast which characterised him, Count Bismarck would seem to have purposely imposed at first harsh conditions on Bavaria, in order that he might obtain, as the price of their subsequent remission, the adhesion of that kingdom to an arrangement which would bring its excellent soldiers into line with those of Prussia. Upon all these South-German states he is said to have skilfully brought to bear an argument derived from the recent demand of France for German territory—a demand which, he said, would infallibly be renewed; which it would be difficult under all circumstances to resist; and which, if it had to be conceded, could hardly be satisfied except at the expense of one or other of them. Isolated, they could not resist dismemberment; united with Prussia, and mutually guaranteeing each other's territories, they were safe.

These secret treaties between Prussia and the South-German states first came to light in April of the following year. Count Beust, who was then the Austrian Premier, commenting on the disclosure in his despatches to Austrian representatives at foreign Courts, remarks that Austria will make no complaint and ask for no explanations; at the same time, with much dry significance, he directs their attention to the fact, that the Prussian Government had actually concluded these treaties with the South-German states *before* it signed the Treaty of Prague, the fourth article of which is by them rendered null and meaningless. The Count justly points out that an *offensive* alliance between two states forces the weaker of the two to endorse the foreign policy and follow in the wake of the stronger, and practically destroys the independence of the former.

A French writer thus sums up the final results of the war, so far as Prussia was concerned:—"Entire supremacy in North Germany; the military direction of the South at once, and its direction in economic affairs prepared for the future; Austria overthrown, excluded from the German body politic, decisively weakened, an exclusive supremacy thus ensured over the whole of Germany—such were the political advantages. Hanover, Hesse Cassel, Nassau, Frankfort, and certain minor territories, in all 1,300 square (German) miles [about 32,000 square miles English], and 4,500,000 inhabitants annexed to the monarchy, its total population augmented by one-fifth, and raised to 24,000,000 souls; 61,000,000 thalers* paid as war indemnities, military ports, an opening for maritime development, a continuous, compact, coherent territory—such were the material advantages which were joined, for Prussia, to the prestige of extraordinary successes, pro-

* About 228,000,000 francs; but, according to Rüstow, the amount was only 171,000,000 francs.

pared with such consummate ability, and used with such prompt and unscrupulous decision."*

We have spoken of the treaties with South Germany; but the comprehensive Treaty of Confederation, by which Prussia welded together the Powers of North Germany for common political and military purposes, has still to be described. In August, in view of the speedy assembling of a North-German Parliament, the Governments of Prussia, Mecklenburg Schwerin, Mecklenburg Strelitz, Saxe Weimar, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Saxe Altenburg, Saxe Coburg-Gotha, Anhalt, Schwarzburg Sondershausen, Schwarzburg Rodolstadt, Waldeck, Reuss (of the younger line), Schaumburg Lippe, Lippe, Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, concluded an offensive and defensive treaty for the maintenance of the independence and integrity, as well as of the internal and external security of their states, and undertook a common defence of their territory. In the pact then drawn up it was stipulated that the aims of the new Confederation should be defined by a Confederate Constitution on the basis of the Prussian outlines of the 10th June, 1866,† and that in the making of this constitution a common Parliament should co-operate. In the spectacle of Count Bismarck thus quietly proceeding—after having humbled a great empire and shattered Germany in pieces—to take up again "the Prussian outlines of the 10th June," and work them out as if nothing had happened, there is seen, it must be confessed, a colossal strength, a moral grandeur, which appeal wonderfully to the imagination. It was further provided that the troops of the Confederates were to be under the supreme command of the King of Prussia, and that the various Governments were to take the necessary steps for the election of deputies to sit in the common Parliament. Every North-German citizen who should have attained the age of twenty-five was to be entitled to vote, and deputies were to be elected in the ratio of one to every 100,000 of the population.

The only states north of the Main which, after the conclusion of this treaty, had not joined the North-German Confederation were Reuss (of the older line), Saxe Meiningen, and Saxony. But the Princess Caroline, Regent of Reuss, concluded a similar treaty with Prussia soon afterwards. Duke Bernhard of Saxe Meiningen disapproved of the new order of things; but as it was impossible for him to stand alone in his opposition, he abdicated (September 20), and the new Duke, George, gave in his adhesion to the Confederation. Saxony, as we have seen, entered the Confederation under its treaty with Prussia of the 21st October. Lastly, Hesse Darmstadt acceded to the Confederation, in respect of the portion of its territory situated north of the Main, by its treaty with Prussia of the 3rd September. With these accessions, the total population of the states composing the North-German Confederation was raised to about 29,000,000.

In spite of the brilliant success of Count Bismarck's policy, the party of retrenchment and reform in the Prussian Chambers continued to exercise a jealous control over the national expenditure, however powerless they were to direct the national policy. Soon after the peace, a Loan Bill was introduced into the Lower House, the object of which was to enable the Government to borrow 60,000,000 thalers; but the Chamber refused to sanction more than 40,000,000 thalers. In the debate on this question, Count Bismarck used some remarkable words. "The financial question," he said, "is the chief point; and if the right moment be allowed to pass, the accomplishment of Prussia's aims may be deferred for years, and her very existence again endangered. Money must be at the disposal of the Government. *We must have our hands on our swords, and our purses well filled.*" There can be no doubt that these words refer to France. The shadow of a yet more tremendous struggle than that from which his country had just emerged seems already to be passing over the mind of the Prussian statesman.

In the beginning of September, a deputation from Hanover obtained an interview with the King of Prussia, in the vain hope of inducing the monarch to refrain from destroying the independence of their country. The address which they presented contained the following passage:—"It cannot be agreeable to your Majesty to dethrone a prince whose dynasty has been connected with the country for nearly a thousand years, and who, equally with your Majesty, wears his crown by the grace of God; to dethrone him simply because, taking a different view of the Federal law, up to that time valid, to the view entertained by your Majesty's advisers, he considered himself legally prevented from unhesitatingly adopting your Majesty's German policy, and thus, by an unfortunate concatenation of circumstances, was ultimately forced to employ his army against your Majesty's troops, whom they had previously never opposed, but by whose side they had often victoriously fought in joyful brotherhood of arms."

The King's reply, though it ended with asserting "necessity—the tyrant's plea"—for the annexation of Hanover, was, in its tone, far from unfeeling or ungenerous. He said that he should have held the Hanoverians in less esteem if they had not adopted some such step to testify their faithful attachment to their hereditary dynasty, so closely allied in blood to his own. He claimed the speedy and signal overthrow of Austria as a "visible interposition of Providence in favour of Prussia." Nor was he insensible to the gravity of what he was doing. "Notwithstanding the wonderful successes which have given me the right of freely deciding upon the course I should adopt, it did not require either addresses or deputations to make me aware of the importance of the measure which you desire to see withdrawn. Nevertheless, I again offer you my thanks. We have frankly said to each other what we think; and I prefer that, because it holds out a hope of a better understanding in future. The most careful consideration, which has been painful because of my relationship to the House of Hanover, imposes annexation upon me as a duty. I owe it to my people, to compensate it for the immense sacrifices it has made; and, therefore,

* "Annuaire des Deux Mondes, 1866-7." † See page 2 7.

I am bound to render impossible in the future any recurrence of danger from the hostile attitude of Hanover."

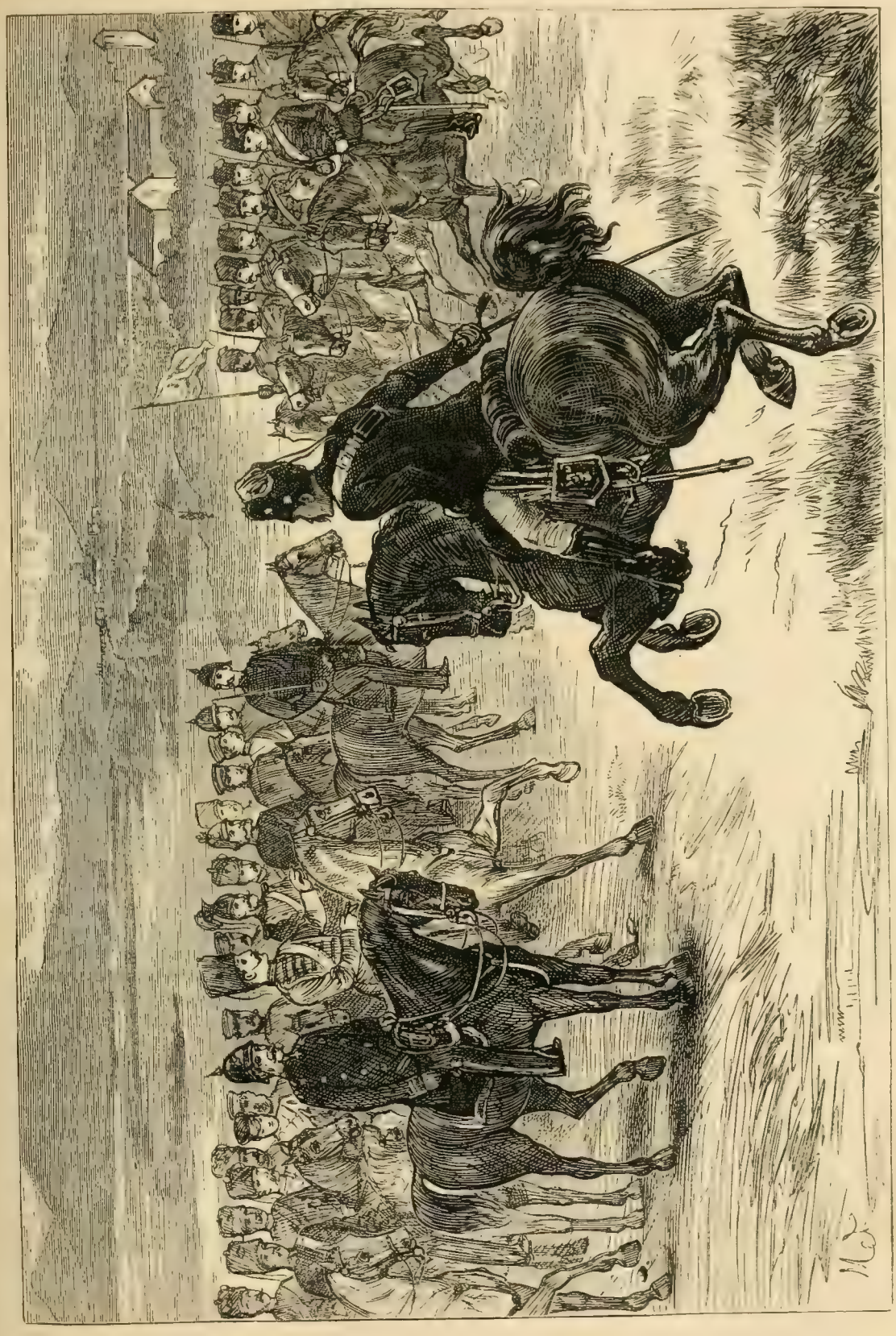
The annexation accordingly took place. The dethroned King George addressed a proclamation to his former subjects, releasing them from their allegiance to him, "under reserve of all his rights," and "with the reserve that such duties shall revive, and become obligatory, at any time when King George V., or one of his lawful successors, shall resume the exercise of the government of the kingdom." On the 2nd October, he addressed a formal protest against the annexation to all the Cabinets of Europe.

A bill was also introduced in the Prussian Chambers about the same time for the formal annexation to Prussia of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, "except a portion to be agreed upon hereafter by a contract with the Grand Duke of Oldenburg." This reservation must have been insisted upon by Russia, the imperial family of which is nearly allied to the House of Oldenburg. In bringing forward this measure, Count Bismarck was wholly silent as to Article 5 of the Treaty of Prague, which provided that the inhabitants of Northern Schleswig should be invited to signify by vote their political preference; and that if they expressed by their votes the wish to be re-united to Denmark, that wish should be carried out. Up to the present time (1873) this article of the Treaty of Prague has remained inoperative.

The Italians had tried hard to gain a footing in the Trentino while the war lasted, being under the impression that, when the peace came, territory would be awarded to the belligerent Powers on the principle of *uti possidetis*. But their troops—whether regulars or volunteers—penetrated but a little way, and captured no place of importance. The negotiations for the peace were carried on at Vienna. Italian diplomatists are famous for their subtlety and address; but in the present case the uniform ill-success of the Italian arms paralysed their diplomacy, and Austria refused to cede one foot of territory beyond what she had already ceded to France. The Italian plenipotentiary was urgent that at least Riva, at the northern end of the Lake of Garda, might be ceded to Italy, which already owned nine-tenths of the shores of the lake; and Count Mensdorff, as if tired by his pertinacity, consented to sell Riva—a town of 5,000 inhabitants—for the sum of 10,000,000 florins! The offer was not accepted.

After much discussion, the treaty between Austria and Italy was signed on the 3rd October. Italy was to assume a portion of the debt attaching to the ceded territories,

GENERAL VON MOLTKE.



REVIEW OF PRUSSIAN TROOPS.

and to receive them from the hand of France, as arranged by the Austro-French Treaty concluded at Vienna on the 24th August. Accordingly, Peschiera was handed over by the French Commissioner, on the 10th October, to the Italian municipality. Venice was evacuated by the Austrians on the 19th instant, amid marks of respect from the crowd. On the 11th, General Menabrea, the Italian negotiator at Vienna, received from Count Mensdorff the far-famed iron crown of Lombardy.

The French Emperor, while handing over Venetia to Italy, was resolved that so good an opportunity for a *plébiscite* on the Napoleonic model should not be lost. He wrote thus to the King of Italy on the 11th August: "Your Majesty knows that I accepted the offer of Venetia in order to preserve it from all devastation, and prevent a useless effusion of blood. My purpose always has been to restore it to itself, so that Italy should be free from the Alps to the Adriatic. Mistress of her own destinies, Venetia will soon be able to express her will by universal suffrage." The Italian Government probably thought this a superfluous formality; nevertheless, it was necessary to comply. The voting took place about the end of October; 641,758 votes were given in favour of the incorporation of Venetia with Italy, and 69 against it.

For the French Emperor, in spite of the efficacy of the French intervention in favour of Austria, the events of this year must have been full of secret mortification. In Mexico, the empire which he had built up at such a heavy cost was crumbling to pieces; and he did not feel himself strong enough on the throne—nor was he, in fact, gifted with sufficient strength of moral and intellectual fibre—to persevere in the enterprise against the ill-will of the American Government, and the carpings of the opposition at home. He made up his mind to withdraw the French troops from Mexico, and get out of the affair with as little loss of credit as possible. We reserve, however, for the present, an examination of the state of affairs in Mexico in 1866, that we may exhibit a complete and connected narrative of the course and fate of that unfortunate empire, when we have to speak of its collapse. In spite of checks and disappointments, Napoleon still wore a bold front, and in his public utterances continued to assume the oracular and impassible character which had so long imposed on the world. In replying (March 22, 1866) to the address of the Corps Legislatif, the Emperor said: "Fifteen years ago, when nominal chief of the state, without effective power, and without support in the Chamber, but strong in my conscience and in the suffrages which had elected me, I ventured to declare that France would not perish in my hands. *I have kept my word.*" What hardihood! thus to refer to the dark deed of treachery and violence by which he had risen to power, as if it ought to be only a subject of pride for him, and of congratulation for France. Within five years after the boast was uttered France was to "perish in his hands," as nearly as a great nation can perish.

In the sitting of the Corps Legislatif on the 12th June, an important letter from the Emperor to M. Drouyn de Lhuys was read, in which it was declared that France would only require an extension of her frontiers, in the event of the map of Europe being altered to the profit of a great Power, and of the bordering provinces expressing by a formal and free vote their desire for annexation. The last clause was a judicious reservation, particularly as the doctrine of the popular sovereignty, expressed through *plébiscites*, was not at all consonant to Prussian ideas, so that there was no chance of Rhine Prussia, or any part of it, being allowed the opportunity, supposing it had desired it, of voting for annexation to France. However, notwithstanding the imperial declaration, the map of Europe *was* altered to the profit of a great Power, and France obtained no extension of territory. Soon after the close of the Austro-Prussian War, the Emperor asked from the Prussian Government the concession of a small strip of territory to the extreme south of her Rhenish provinces, including the valuable coal-field in the neighbourhood of Saarbruck and Saarlouis. Count Bismarck met the request with a decided refusal, on the ground that the state of national feeling in Germany rendered the cession of a single foot of German territory to a foreign Power an impossible proceeding. The Emperor's mortification must have been extreme; he concealed it, however, and nothing can be more hopeful or optimistic than the tone of the circular which he caused to be sent on the 16th September to the French diplomatic agents abroad. Its object was to convince the nation and all the world that France had not been humiliated, nor disappointed, nor disagreeably surprised, by the late events; on the contrary, that she was perfectly satisfied with what had happened. The formation of the Holy Alliance fifty years before might indeed have been called a menace for France; at that time the chief Powers of Europe were banded together for the attainment of their own purposes, and she could get no allies. But the day of Holy Alliances was gone by; every nation was now free to choose its allies according to its political preferences. No principle dear to France had been outraged by what had happened in Germany. That very principle of nationality, by understanding and promoting which Prussia had risen to greatness, was a French principle. It would be found that the first Napoleon had caused two hundred and fifty-three independent states to disappear in Germany, and had founded, in germ, the nationality and kingdom of Italy. As to annexations, France desired none in which the sympathy of the populations annexed did not go with her—in which they had not the same customs, the same national spirit with herself. From the elevated point of view occupied by the French Government, "the horizon appeared to be cleared of all menacing eventualities;" great and anxious questions had been settled without too violent shocks, and without the dangerous co-operation of revolutionary passions. "A peace which reposes upon such bases will be a durable peace." Yet at this very time, if M. Rouher spoke the truth in the address which he presented to Napoleon III. in the name of the Senate on the 16th July, 1870,* the

* M. Rouher said, "Your Majesty was able to wait, but has occupied the last four years in perfecting the armament and organisation of the army."

Emperor had begun to make preparations for a great and decisive war with Prussia.

About this time M. Drouyn de Lhuys resigned his portfolio as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and was succeeded by the Marquis de Moustier. It was generally believed that M. Drouyn de Lhuys did not approve of the tone of indifference assumed by the Emperor with regard to the Prussian annexations; and also that he felt no confidence that, under the Convention of September, the Pope and the Papal territory would long be secure from attack.

That convention, however, was gradually carried into effect. The Italian capital was transferred to Florence about the end of 1865, and the French troops began to be withdrawn from Rome in the early months of 1866. Meantime what was called the Antibes Legion was organised—a body of men, 1,200 strong, under the command of a French general, enlisted in France for the service and protection of the Pope. This force embarked at Antibes for Civita Vecchia on the 13th September; the men being distinctly informed before they went that, although serving under the Pope's colours, they would not cease to be French soldiers. When, in December, 1866, the last troops of the French garrison were taking their departure, their commander, General Montebello, addressed His Holiness in a short farewell speech, the point of which lay in the expression, that the Emperor, though withdrawing his troops, "left at Rome the protection of France." The Pope made a remarkable reply, from which it was evident that he augured no good from the new arrangement. "Revolution may come," he said; "I am weak; I have no resource on earth. But I tranquillise myself by confiding in a power which will give me the strength I need. That power is God. It is He who sustains me. Go, my children, depart with my benediction, with my love. If you see the Emperor, tell him that I pray for him every day. . . . But, if I pray for him, he on his side should do something, since he bears the title of Most Christian, and since France is the eldest daughter of the Church." On the 11th December, the French flag was hauled down at the Castle of St. Angelo, and the Pontifical standard hoisted in its place.

The tranquillity of Spain during this year was only disturbed by an unimportant military rising, headed by General Don Juan Prim. In January, Marshal O'Donnell was in power, having, as the representative of the Liberal Union party, succeeded Narvarz at the head of the Administration in the summer of 1865. On the 2nd January, Prim raised the standard of insurrection at Aranjuez and Ocaña. It is not easy to determine his precise motives; but, so far as appears, he wished to terminate the long exclusion from power of the Progresista party to which he belonged, by simply substituting himself for O'Donnell as the chief of the Government. But O'Donnell was vigilant. Prim could only induce a few squadrons of cavalry to follow him; and, after keeping the field for fifteen days, he gave up the enterprise and took refuge in Portugal.

A revolution, resulting in the subversion of the Government, occurred this year in the Danubian principalities. Prince Couza, who had been elected Hospodar of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, had, in the seven years which followed, by gross mismanagement and arbitrary measures, estranged the whole Rouman population from his government. In February, 1866, the whole country rose against him; not even the army would support him; he was compelled to abdicate, and surrender himself a prisoner. Soon afterwards he was released, and allowed to depart unharmed. The Chambers, after a vain attempt to induce the Count of Flanders, brother of the King of the Belgians, to accept the post of Hospodar, offered it to Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, a cousin of the King of Prussia. The Prince appearing to be not adverse, the question of his election was submitted to the votes of the population. The result was that Prince Charles was unanimously chosen Hospodar, and the election was afterwards recognised by the Porte, and by all the European Powers.

In America the South lay prostrate and exhausted; but while the aversion to the Federal Government and to the North remained in undiminished strength, the decision of the war had been so conclusive that no one dreamed of renewing the contest. A difference of opinion arose between the President and the Congress as to the manner in which the central government should deal with the states lately in revolt. The President, who was a native of Tennessee, and therefore more disposed to feel for the humbled South than the stern, unsympathising men of New England could be, deemed that when the people of the Southern States expressed, through their legislatures, their conviction that secession was no longer an open question, when they accepted their defeat, and petitioned to be re-admitted into the Union on the same terms as before, it was the duty of Congress to admit them without hesitation. But the Republican majority in the Congress viewed the matter in a very different light. They held the Southern people to have been guilty of a great crime, and were resolved that their past behaviour should not be lightly condoned. The prodigal son was not to be taken back until he had been sufficiently humiliated and punished. Having this aim in view, they framed with great skill a series of measures calculated to keep the Southern, late slave-holding, aristocracy in a condition of political feebleness for many years. The state governments of the South continued to be elected, and to manage the non-Federal affairs of their respective states, as before the war. But Congress, in spite of the urgent and impassioned remonstrances of the President, refused to admit to seats within its walls representatives from any state lately in revolt, until such state should have been formally and statutably re-admitted into the Union. So long as this exclusion lasted, the Southern States were despotically governed from Washington in regard to all those matters which the Constitution exempted from state control—such as the army and navy, representation in foreign countries, the post-office, the tariff, &c. From this state of vassalage any Southern state would naturally desire to be relieved with the least possible delay; but when it applied to Congress for re-admission into the Union, it found that re-admission would only be granted upon certain conditions. In the first place, it was re-

quired to accept the constitutional amendment passed in the previous year (1865), abolishing slavery throughout the Union. This, however, was not a provision that would cause any difficulty; the impossibility of continuing the system of slavery after the war was as clearly seen in the South as in the North. Secondly, the state must accept another constitutional amendment, the Act for which passed Congress in the session of 1866, which had the effect of altering the basis of representation in the Southern States, and reducing the number of their representatives in the Lower House of Congress, by providing that "whenever the elective franchise should be denied or abridged in any state on account of race or colour, all persons of such race or colour should be excluded from the basis of representation." While slavery existed, the slaves had been allowed to count, in reckoning the basis of representation, as 5 to 3 relatively to white men; thus, in computing the number of members that South Carolina was entitled, in respect of her population, to send to the House of Representatives, 100,000 slaves were regarded as equivalent to 60,000 white men. The effect of the adoption of this amendment was, that whereas, according to the old basis of representation, fourteen slave-holding states sent seventy-six members to Congress, they would hereafter (unless they extended the elective franchise to the negroes) send only fifty-two members.

Still the object of the Republicans was not attained; the amendment just described, to say nothing of the irresistible march of events, did indeed transfer the political centre of gravity in the Union from the states south to the states north of Washington; but the Republicans could not think the cause of the Union safe unless the centre of gravity were correspondingly disturbed in the political system of each separate state. Two measures seemed to them to be especially adapted to accomplish their purpose—the extension of the suffrage to the blacks, and an unsparing exclusion from place and power of those who had been the leaders of the Southern people in the late civil war. Whatever vindictive feeling was nourished in the breasts of Northern men against the aristocracy of the South, must have received an exquisite gratification in the framing and passing of a measure, the effect of which was to make the proud gentlemen of the Carolinas politically subject to their own quondam slaves. Such a measure was the Civil Rights Bill, vetoed by President Johnson, but passed over his veto by more than the requisite two-thirds majority in both branches of the Legislature in April, 1866. The Civil Rights Bill placed the newly-emancipated slaves on the same footing as the white population in regard to all civil rights, among which rights that of voting was, of course, included. President Johnson might well ask, in a message sent down to Congress, whether it could "reasonably be supposed that four millions of negroes who had just emerged from slavery possessed the necessary qualifications entitling them to all the privileges of citizenship, while intelligent foreigners undergo five years' probation before becoming citizens?" The Republicans knew as well as the President that the negroes were not fit to exercise the franchise, and that to give it to them was to ensure that the Southern States should be badly and corruptly governed for many years to come. But such considerations appear to have troubled them little in comparison with the two political objects which the bill was meant to secure—one, that Northern men, brought into office by the negro vote, should exclude the natural leaders of society at the South from all share in the government of their own states; the other, that military occupation of the states lately in revolt, with the heavy cost and scandal to the democratic principle therein involved, might be rendered unnecessary, the friends and creatures of the North being placed in power by the negro vote, while a show of democratic government still remained. Where the negro vote was not strong enough to produce this result, direct exclusion from power of those who had been lately "rebels"—that is, of the whole white population in most cases, with the exception of a few spies and cowards—was resorted to. Thus, when Tennessee was re-admitted into the Union, in the course of this year, it was on the following conditions. She was to maintain her existing constitution, *exclude rebels from suffrage and office for a certain time*, ignore the rebel debt, and make no payment for emancipated slaves.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Parliamentary Reform—Mr. Disraeli's Resolutions: The Government Explanation of them—The Secret History of the Proceedings of the Government—Sir John Pakington's Revelations—Secession of three Cabinet Ministers—Ministerial change of front—Meeting of Conservatives—Mr. Disraeli's Speech in the House—"Personal Rating"—Mr. Gladstone's exposure of the Ministerial Statistics—Attitude of the Liberals—The Second Reading—Meeting at Mr. Gladstone's House—Mr. Coleridge's "Instruction"—The "Tea Room Cabal"—The Bill in Committee—Mr. Gladstone's Defeat—Concessions of the Government—The Dual Vote, &c.—The Compound Householder—Continued Debates and Divisions—Mr. Hodgkinson's Amendment: Accepted by the Government—The Third Reading—Violent Attacks by Lord Cranborne and Mr. Lowe—The Bill in the House of Lords—The Lords' Amendments: Their Reception by the Commons—Final Passing of the Bill—Triumphant Position of Mr. Disraeli.

ON the 11th of February, 1867, in pursuance of the pledges given by the new Ministry in their various speeches before the beginning of the session, the House of Commons was once more invited to consider the question of Reform, under the guidance, however, of Mr. Disraeli, instead of Mr. Gladstone. The Conservative party naturally felt somewhat strange to the work; they had turned out the Liberal Government upon various pleas, all of which they were to abandon, more or less completely, before the close of the session of '67; they had no such traditional or inherited policy to guide them in framing a popular Reform Bill as the Liberals had; and they had a dread of the Opposition, which, considering their own conduct towards the defeated Reform Bill of the preceding year, was, perhaps, not unreasonable. Still the fact, that the whole question had been already fully canvassed and discussed,—that the House had become familiarised with the details as well as the general principles of Reform,—and that its members had, one and all, with more or less sincerity, it is true, pledged themselves

to Reform in some shape or other, was in their favour. When the *pros* and *cons* of the situation are considered, the course adopted by Mr. Disraeli, in introducing the subject, seems, at first sight, both natural and ingenious. "We desire no longer," said the Conservatives, "to risk the settlement of the whole question upon a question of detail; the House is pledged to Reform; let us then, instead of dictating to it a definite policy, instead of bringing in a bill of our own immediately, endeavour to ascertain the general sense of the House upon disputed points before framing it, that we may not frame it in the dark, and meet the common fate of those Ministries which have hitherto dealt with the subject." This was the meaning of Mr. Disraeli's famous Resolutions, which he explained to the House in his opening speech. In this speech, throughout ingeniously indefinite, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer provided such men as Mr. Lowe, possessing a keen sense of humour, with ample food for ridicule. In the first place, said Mr. Disraeli, let us lay aside party strife and passions in the consideration of this great subject. "Parliamentary Reform ought no longer to be a question involving the fate of Ministries." It was as if he had said, "No doubt *we* have turned *you* out upon this question; last year we held no such doctrine with regard to you; but we implore you do not retaliate upon us. Now that we have got in, let us stay in, and treat us kindly." Mr. Disraeli proceeded to carry his appeal *ad misericordiam* still further. "The position of the House of Commons," he said, "with regard to this question of a Parliamentary Reform Bill, is different from that which exists between the House and all other great questions which are introduced and initiated in this House by a body of men who are in the possession of office, or are candidates for office. The House of Commons has incurred a peculiar responsibility in this matter of Reform; and is it not wise to consider whether it could not pursue a course which, while not relieving the Government from its due share of responsibility, would ensure them against a repetition of former mishaps? We presume to recommend to the House that before we introduce a bill, we may be permitted, upon its main principles, and upon other points of great and paramount importance, to ask the opinion of the House, and see whether they will sanction the course which we recommend." The opinion of the House was to be asked by means of resolutions, which Mr. Disraeli proceeded to lay upon the table. After the resolutions had been sufficiently debated, the Government promised to bring forward a bill embodying the general opinion of the House, so far as the discussions on the resolutions should have enabled them to ascertain it. Mr. Gladstone, in answer to Mr. Disraeli, reproached the Government with wishing to shift the whole responsibility in the matter from their own shoulders to those of the House. The principle of Ministerial responsibility was one sanctioned by long usage, and was not to be lightly abandoned. With regard to the resolutions themselves, though at first sight he disliked the plan, he was willing to give them a fair trial, provided they were not mere vague preliminary declarations which it would be of no practical advantage to discuss. The resolutions appeared in the papers next day, and produced general disappointment. It was felt that the Government, in spite of all their protestations, were really "angling for a policy," and that they were treating neither the House nor the nation straightforwardly. The resolutions were as follows:—

1. "That the number of electors for counties and boroughs in England and Wales ought to be increased.

2. "That such increase may best be effected by both reducing the value of the qualifying tenement in counties and boroughs, and by adding other franchises not dependent on such value.

3. "That while it is desirable that a more direct representation should be given to the labouring class, it is contrary to the constitution of this realm to give to any one class or interest a predominating power over the rest of the community.

4. "That the occupation franchise in counties and boroughs *shall be based upon the principle of rating.*"

It will be remembered that it was upon this very question of rating, as against rental, that the Russell Ministry had been thrown out of office in the preceding year. After Lord Dunkellin's amendment, the Conservatives were bound to make the principle of rating a part of any scheme brought forward by them. How much they were obliged to modify it before the end of the matter, and how amply justified Mr. Gladstone's arguments against it were proved to be, will be seen hereafter.

5. "That the principle of plurality of votes, if adopted by Parliament, would facilitate the settlement of the borough franchise on an extensive basis.

6. "That it is expedient to revise the existing distribution of seats.

7. "That in such revision it is not expedient that any borough now represented in Parliament should be wholly disfranchised.

8. "That in revising the existing distribution of seats, this House will acknowledge, as its main consideration, the expediency of supplying representation to places not at present represented, and which may be considered entitled to that privilege.

9. "That it is expedient that provision should be made for the better prevention of bribery and corruption at elections.

10. "That it is expedient that the system of registration of voters in counties should be assimilated as far as possible to that which prevails in boroughs.

11. "That it shall be open to every parliamentary elector, if he thinks fit, to record his vote by means of a polling paper, duly signed and authenticated.

12. "That provision be made for diminishing the distance which voters have to travel for the purpose of recording their votes, so that no expenditure for such purpose shall hereafter be legal.

13. "That a humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to issue a Royal Commission to form and submit to the consideration of Parliament a scheme for new and enlarged boundaries of the existing parliamentary boroughs where the population extends beyond the limits now assigned to such boroughs; and to fix, subject to the decision of

Parliament, the boundaries of such other other boroughs as Parliament may deem fit to be represented in this House."

The House and the country were naturally dissatisfied with such vague statements as these, and between the 11th and the 25th February, when Mr. Disraeli promised something more definite, many attempts were made to induce the Government to declare themselves more plainly. "The Resolutions of the Government," said Mr. Lowe, later on, borrowing a happy illustration from the "Vicar of Wakefield," "have no more to do with the plan of the Government than Squire Thornhill's three famous postulates had to do with the argument he had with Moses Primrose, when, in order to controvert the right of the clergy to tithes, he laid down the principles —that a whole is greater than its part; that whatever is, is; and that three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles." However, Mr. Disraeli kept his secret, in spite of attacks from Mr. Ayrton and arguments from Mr. Gladstone, till the night of the 25th, when he rose to explain the resolutions, and to suggest certain constructions of them on the part of the Government; a very different thing, it will be understood, from bringing in a bill by which the framers of it are bound in the main to stand or fall. In the first place, then, Government proposed to create four new franchises—an educational franchise, to include persons who had taken a university degree, ministers of religion, and others; a savings-bank franchise; a franchise dependent upon the possession of £50 in the public funds; and a fourth dependent upon the payment of £1 yearly in direct taxation. By these means the Government calculated that about 82,000 persons would be enfranchised.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON.

In boroughs the occupier's qualification was to be reduced to £6 rateable value, and in counties to £20 rateable value—reductions which it was supposed would

admit about 220,000 new voters. With regard to the redistribution of seats, four boroughs, convicted of extensive corruption, and returning seven members between them, were to be wholly disfranchised; and in addition to these seven members, Mr. Disraeli appealed "to the patriotism of the smaller boroughs" to provide him with twenty-three more, by means of partial disfranchisement. The thirty seats thus obtained were to be divided as follows:—Fifteen new seats were to be given to counties, fourteen to boroughs, an additional member was to be given to the Tower Hamlets, and one member to the London University. The points of likeness and unlikeness between this scheme and that of the Liberals in 1866 will be easily perceived by any one who takes the trouble to glance back over the latter.

This meagre and unsatisfactory measure, however, was short-lived; and the secret history of it, as it was afterwards told by various members of the Government, affords an amusing insight into the mysteries of Cabinet Councils. The fact was that before the beginning of the session, and during the time that the thirteen resolutions were lying on the table of the House, *two* Reform schemes were under the consideration of the Government, "one of which," said Lord Derby, "was more extensive than the other." When it was seen that the House would have nothing to say to the resolutions, and that a bill must be brought in without delay, it became necessary to choose between these two schemes. At a Cabinet meeting on Saturday, February 23, the more extensive one, based upon household suffrage, guarded by various precautions, was, as it was supposed, unanimously adopted, and Mr. Disraeli was commissioned to explain it to the House of Commons on the following Monday, the 25th. The rest of the story may be told in Sir John Pakington's words.

LORD CRANBORNE (AFTERWARDS MARQUIS OF SALISBURY).

"You all know," he said, addressing his constituents at Droitwich, "that, on the 23rd February, a Cabinet Council decided on the Reform Bill which was to be proposed to Parliament. On Monday the 25th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Lord Derby was to address the whole Conservative party in Downing Street. At half-past four in the afternoon of that day—I mention the hour because it is important—the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to explain the Reform Bill in the House of Commons. When the Cabinet Council rose on the previous Saturday, it was my belief that we were a unanimous

Cabinet on the Reform Bill then determined upon (Lord Derby, however, afterwards stated that General Peel, one of the three seceding ministers, had some time before the Cabinet of the 23rd expressed his strong objections to the Reform Bill then adopted, but had consented to waive his objections for the sake of the unity of the Ministry). As soon as the Council concluded, Lord Derby went to Windsor to communicate with Her Majesty on the Reform Bill, and I heard no more of the subject till the Monday morning. On the Monday, between eleven and twelve o'clock, I received an urgent summons to attend Lord Derby's house at half-past twelve o'clock, on important business. At that hour I reached Lord Derby's house, but found there only three or four members of the Cabinet. No such summons had been anticipated, and consequently some of the ministers were at their private houses, some at their offices, and it was nearly half-past one before the members of the Cabinet could be brought together. As each dropped in, the question was put, "What is the matter? Why are we convened?" and as they successively came in, they were informed that Lord Cranborne, Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel had seceded, objecting to the details of the bill which we thought they had adopted on the Saturday. Imagine the difficulty and embarrassment in which the Ministry found themselves placed. It was then past two o'clock. Lord Derby was to address the Conservative party at half-past two; at half-past four Mr. Disraeli was to unfold the Reform scheme (adopted on the previous Saturday) before the House of Commons. Literally, we had not half an hour—we had not more than ten minutes—to make up our minds as to what course the Ministry were to adopt. The public knows the rest. We determined to propose, *not* the bill agreed to on the Saturday, but an alternative measure, which we had contemplated in the event of our large and liberal scheme being rejected by the House of Commons. Whether, if the Ministry had had an hour for consideration, we should have taken that course was, perhaps, a question. But we had not that hour, and were driven to decide upon a line of definite action within the limits of little more than ten minutes."

At two o'clock, then, the change of front was determined on, for the sake of keeping the Ministry together, and propitiating the seceding members; and at half-past four Mr. Disraeli rose in his place in the House of Commons, furnished with arguments and statistics wholly different from those which five or six hours before he had intended to make use of. A notable instance of that ready ability which has seldom or never deserted him throughout his political career.

It was soon felt, however, by the Ministry, that this condition of things was unsound, and could not last. The measure explained on the 25th satisfied neither Conservatives nor Liberals. A large meeting of Liberals, held at Mr. Gladstone's house, decisively condemned it; while from their own friends and supporters the Government received strong and numerous protests against it. What was to be done? Lord Derby once more called his Government together, and they agreed to retrace their steps, even at the cost of the three objecting ministers. "To save the ship of Reform, the captain and crew gallantly sacrificed three Jonahs to their own safety." Upon the 4th of March, Lord Derby, in the House of Lords, and Mr. Disraeli, in the Commons, announced the resignation of Lord Cranborne, Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel, the withdrawal of the measure proposed on the 25th, and the adoption by the Government of a far more liberal policy than that represented. Both in the House and in the country there were naturally some rather free criticisms passed upon a Government who, three weeks before the announcement of a Reform Bill brought forward by them, had not come to an agreement upon its most essential provisions, and upon a sudden emergency, and to keep their members together, adopted and brought forward a makeshift measure, which their own sense of expediency, no less than public opinion, afterwards obliged them to withdraw. General Peel's explanation of his resignation of office, in the House of Commons, on the 5th of March, may be quoted as an interesting expression of the real feeling of the older Conservatives with regard to Reform. Had he considered the Government pledged to Reform, he said, when he was offered a place in it in the preceding year, he should certainly not have joined it. But no pledge was required of him, and he was informed of no definite plan of action on their part. As time went on he became convinced, like the rest of his colleagues, that Reform in some shape was inevitable; but he had strong opinions of his own as to the lawful extent of Reform; and when the resolutions were drawn up, the fifth resolution made him begin to doubt. After Mr. Disraeli's speech on the 11th of February, he saw plainly that the tendency of the Government was towards a far more liberal Reform policy than he was himself prepared to support. As long, however, as he imagined himself to be the only objector in the Cabinet, he consented to waive his objections—at least, temporarily; but when he found that Lord Cranborne and Lord Carnarvon, after a careful examination of the figures, had come to the same conclusion, and felt the same fear as himself, he at once decided to withdraw from the Ministry rather than have anything to do with passing what he could not but look upon as a measure of household suffrage.

"It was on February the 16th," said Lord Cranborne, "that I first heard of the proposition (household suffrage, guarded by various conditions) which I believe has now received the formal sanction of Her Majesty's Government. I then stated at once that it was a proposition which, to my mind, was inadmissible. I believed at the time that it was abandoned; but on the following Tuesday, the 19th I think, the proposition was revived, and revived with the statement of certain statistics. . . . After we separated on Saturday the 23rd, I naturally gave myself up to the investigation of those figures. The position was one of extreme difficulty. The materials which I had were, in my opinion, exceedingly scanty. The time I had for decision was forty-eight hours. On the Sunday evening I came to the conclusion, that although the figures on the whole had a fair seeming, and although it appeared, when stated in block, that upon them the proposed reduction of the franchise might be safely

adopted; yet it appeared to me that, with respect to a very large number of boroughs, they would scarcely operate practically as anything else than as household suffrage."

In these marchings and counter-marchings of the Government much valuable time had been thrown away. "No less than six weeks of the session," said Lord Grey, "have been wasted before any step whatever has been taken." The Conservative leaders, however, vehemently protested that it was no fault of theirs; and now that the confession had been made, and the three refractory colleagues got rid of, affairs did at length assume a business-like aspect. "It is our business now," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "to bring forward, as soon as we possibly can, the measure of Parliamentary Reform which, after such difficulties and such sacrifices, it will be my duty to introduce to the House. Sir, the House need not fear that there will be any evasion, any equivocation, any vacillation, or any hesitation in that measure."

In the interval between these Ministerial explanations and the production of the real Reform Bill in Parliament various great meetings of their supporters were held by the leaders of both parties. At a meeting held in Downing Street on the 15th, Lord Derby explained to 195 members of the Conservative party the distinctive features of the proposed bill. Startling as the contemplated changes in the franchise must have seemed to every Conservative present, only one dissenting voice was heard—that of Sir William Heathcote, who declared, in strong terms, that he wholly disapproved of the measure, and that he believed, if carried out, it would destroy the influence of rank, property, and education throughout the country by the mere force of numbers. The scheme, of which only a few fragments were as yet generally known, was given to the public on the 18th of March, when Mr. Disraeli described it at great length in the House. And although the measure at first proposed was so greatly altered in its passage through Parliament, that by the time it had become part of the law of England its original projectors must have had some difficulty in recognising it as theirs, it is worth while to take careful note of its various provisions as they were originally drawn up, that the action of the two great parties engaged throughout the subsequent struggle may be the more plainly understood.

The first quarter of Mr. Disraeli's speech was taken up by a review of the past history of the question—an old and well-known story, somewhat impatiently listened to by the House. He picked the various Reform schemes of his predecessors to pieces, and finally declared that the principle at the bottom of them all—the principle of value, regulated whether by rental or rating—had been proved by long experience to be untenable and unpractical, and the Government were now about to abandon it altogether. The rental standard, indeed, had been put out of the question by the vote on Lord Dunkellin's amendment in the preceding summer. "The House," said Mr. Disraeli, "in one of the largest divisions which ever took place within these walls, asserted a principle with regard to the borough franchise which was carried by a majority. That principle was that the borough franchise should be founded on rating. . . . I take it for granted that if ever there was a decision of the House of Commons which meant something, it was that decision which determined the fate of the Ministry; and if anything ever had the character of authority in this House, it was the vote arrived at on that occasion. The House, I assume, meant by the decision then arrived at, that the person who was to be entrusted with a vote to elect members of Parliament should be one with respect to whom there should be some guarantee and security for the regularity of his life and the general trustworthiness of his conduct; and *the House thought that the fact of a man being rated to the relief of the poor, and being able to pay his rates, gave that fair assurance which the State had a right to require.*"

Behind this last declaration, so cleverly fathered upon the House, it was immediately felt, lurked household suffrage. Nor was Mr. Disraeli slow to disclose his secret. The very next paragraph of his speech announced that, in the opinion of the Government, any attempt to unite the principle of value with the principle of rating, any such solution as a £6 or £5 rating franchise, would be wholly unsatisfactory. "The moment we endeavoured to control the operation of the principle of rating by a standard of value disturbing elements appeared, which promised no prospect of solution and gave no chance of permanency. We then proposed to ourselves to examine the whole question of occupation in boroughs, and see what would be the effect of the application of the principle of genuine rating, *without reference to value.*" In the boroughs of England and Wales, Mr. Disraeli went on to say, there are at present 1,367,000 male householders, of whom 644,000 are qualified to vote, leaving 723,000 unqualified. Now, if we examine these 723,000, we shall find that 237,000 of them are rated to the poor and pay their rates. So that if the law were changed in such a manner as to make the borough franchise dependent upon the payment of rates only, unrestricted by any standard of value, these 237,000 would be at once qualified to vote, making, with the 644,000 already qualified, 881,000 persons in the English and Welsh boroughs in possession of the franchise. There would still remain 486,000, belonging mostly to the irregular and debatable class of compound householders—householders paying their rates, not personally, but through their landlords. Now, as the Government thought that the franchise ought to be based upon a *personal* payment of rates, it became a great question as to what was to be done with these 486,000 compound householders. "Ought the compound householders to have a vote?" *As* a compound householder the Government thought he ought *not* to have a vote. But he was not to be left altogether in the cold. Ample opportunities were to be afforded him for raising himself out of the anomalous position to which the Small Tenements Acts had consigned him. Let him only enter his name upon the rate-book, and claim to pay his rates personally; and having fulfilled the constitutional condition required, he would at once succeed to the constitutional privilege connected with it. It had been said that the working classes did not care enough about the suffrage to take so much

trouble to obtain it. "That, however," said Mr. Disraeli, oracularly, "is not the opinion of Her Majesty's Government." Thus 723,000 additional persons might, if they wished, obtain the franchise under the new bill. To these were to be added all those who paid 20s. a year in direct taxes, whether compound householders or not; while, to prevent the working classes from swamping the constituencies and nullifying the influence of the middle and upper classes, the Government brought forward the curious expedient of dual voting. "Every person," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "who pays £1 direct taxation, and who enjoys the franchise which depends upon the payment of direct taxation, if he is also a householder and pays his rates, may exercise his suffrage in respect of both qualifications." In simpler words, a householder might have two votes—one for the yearly payment of £1 in imperial taxes, and one for the personal payment of rates. Now, the persons who would have been benefited by this dual vote would have been all, or nearly all, householders at a rental of £20 and upwards, so that the direct taxes qualification would have enfranchised hardly any new *voters*, while it would added considerably to the number of *votes* possessed by the wealthier classes of the constituency. "This," it has been said, "as far as the rest of the electors (of the poorer classes) were concerned, would have had a disfranchising effect, by reducing their votes to one half their relative value."

The dual vote, however, provoked such hot opposition that, as will shortly be seen, the Government eventually withdrew it. The direct taxes qualification, Mr. Disraeli calculated, would add more than 200,000 to the constituency; and the three other "fancy franchises," as they were called—the education franchise, the funded property franchise, and the savings bank franchise —another 105,000. In all, the Government held out the splendid promise of an addition of more than 1,000,000 voters to the borough constituency. In counties the franchise would be lowered to £15 rateable value —a reduction which would enfranchise about 171,000 additional voters; while the four lateral franchises mentioned above would bring the number of new county voters up to about 330,000. With regard to the redistribution of seats, the Government had substantially the same proposals to make as those originally described to the House on the 25th of February. Mr. Disraeli, however, vigorously defended them from the charge of inadequacy which had been brought against them in the interval. Neither the Government nor the country, he said, were prepared to go through the agitating labour of constructing a new electoral map of England; and this being the case, all that would be done would be to seize opportunities as they arose of remedying grievances and removing inequalities by some such moderate means as those proposed in the bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer concluded his speech as follows:—"It may be said that this bill, in providing a system of checks and counterpoises, tends still further to strengthen the barriers of class. If there are checks and counterpoises in our scheme, we live under a Constitution of which we boast that it is a Constitution of checks and counterpoises. If the measure bears some reference to existing classes in this country, why should we conceal from ourselves, or omit from our discussions, the fact that this country is a country of classes, and a country of classes it will ever remain? What we desire to do is, to give every one who is worthy of it a fair share in the government of the country by means of the elective franchise; but, at the same time, we have been equally anxious to maintain the character of the House, to make propositions in harmony with the circumstances of the country, to prevent a preponderance of any class, and to give a representation to the nation."

Alas! for Mr. Disraeli's figures when they came to be handled by Mr. Gladstone. Instead of 237,000, it was stoutly maintained by Mr. Gladstone that scarcely 144,000 would be admitted to the franchise by extending it to all who personally paid their rates. And as to the facilities to be offered in such tempting profusion to the compound householder for obtaining a vote, they amounted to this—that he was to have the privilege of paying over again that which he had already paid. It was difficult to believe that he would ever avail himself of this privilege to any great extent. Practically, the bill did nothing for the compound householder; so that, while it would introduce household suffrage—nay, universal suffrage—into villages and country towns where there was no system of compounding for rates, in large towns, like Leeds, with a population of a quarter of a million, where the majority of the inhabitants were compound householders, its effect would be little or nothing. Comparing the case of Leeds with that of Thetford, Mr. Gladstone said: "In the borough of Thetford the bill of the right hon. gentleman will go to establish something very close upon universal suffrage. Thetford is a village, or, rather, an assemblage of villages constituting a rural district; it is, strictly speaking, no borough at all. There is a population of 4,200, of whom 829, or one in five, are male occupiers. That proportion is close upon universal suffrage. *And the same proportion throughout England would give a constituency of* FOUR MILLIONS, which I imagine would entirely close the mouth of Mr. Beales. An immense proportion of the people of Thetford are the mere peasantry of the country, and by that I mean they are unskilled labourers. . . . Nothing can be more preposterous than that you should say to a peasant, or common hodman, or day labourer, earning 1s. 6d. or 2s. a day, in a town where there is no composition in force, 'You shall have your franchise for nothing, and be put on the register without knowing it;' while in great communities, such as the vast parishes and boroughs of London, and many other towns of the country, you absolutely fine, both in time and money, or both, the compound householder."

In fact, the results of the bill, had it been passed as it was originally drawn up, would have been almost grotesque. In Hull, for instance, where the Small Tenements Act is almost universally enforced, the number of *personally* rated occupiers under the £10 rental who would have been enfranchised by the bill would have been 64 out of a population of 104,873; while in the small

borough of Thirsk, where the system of compounding for rates was *not* in use, 684 would have obtained the franchise as personal ratepayers. In Brighton, where compound householders abound, the bill would have enfranchised 14 out of every 10,000 occupiers under the £10 line; while in York it would have enfranchised 100 out of every 1,000. The enfranchising effect of the bill would have been between "six and seven times as great in the boroughs not under Rating Acts as in the others."

It is more than probable that in framing their measure the Conservative Government foresaw none of these anomalies, and that they were revealed to them and impressed upon them in the course of debate. There was, in fact, no adequate knowledge among them of the working of those complicated details of rating machinery upon which they made the whole effect of their bill ultimately depend.

With regard to the secondary franchises—the direct taxes franchise, the education franchise, &c.—Mr. Gladstone contended that the figures quoted by Mr. Disraeli were wholly erroneous and visionary, and that the new voters it was supposed they would admit were no more substantial than Falstaff's men in buckram. For himself, he had no belief in the principle of rating as a bulwark of the Constitution; and to base the possession of the franchise upon the personal payment of rates, he thought fundamentally wrong. To the proposition of dual voting as a safeguard of household suffrage, he declared himself inflexibly opposed. It could only serve as a gigantic instrument of fraud, and was nothing less than a proclamation of a war of classes. And where was the lodger franchise, so highly praised by the Conservatives in 1859, and which all the world had expected to find in the bill? If that were added, and the so-called safeguards of dual voting and personal payment of rates done away with, the Liberal party would accept the bill as a whole.

A short debate followed, in which Mr. Lowe reappeared, to do battle as warmly against the Reform Bill of the Conservatives as he had formerly waged it against that of the Liberals. Mr. Lowe had been duped; but he was not yet prepared to confess it. Later on, when concession after concession had been made by the Government, and a far more Radical measure than any Liberal Ministry had ever dreamt of was on the point of becoming law, Mr. Lowe did indeed make ample and public confession of his mistake, and loud and bitter were the expressions of his wrath and mortification. But at this stage of the matter the "Cave" had still some confidence in Conservative principles and time-honoured Conservative traditions, and refused to believe that the party they had helped to put into power would ever betray them so completely as was afterwards actually the case. They disliked the bill, and said so; but for some little time they trusted to the genuine Conservative influence still existing behind the Ministerial benches for its modification. Lord Cranborne, a seceder from the Tories, as Mr. Lowe had been from the Liberals, made a short but energetic attack upon the bill on this occasion. "If the Conservative party accept the bill," he said, "they will be committing political suicide: household suffrage, pure and simple, will be the result of it, for no one can put any faith in the proposed safeguards; and, after their conduct last year, it is not the Conservatives who should pass a measure of household suffrage."

During the interval between the introduction of the bill and the motion for the second reading, an important meeting of the Liberal party was held at Mr. Gladstone's house on March 21st, to consider whether opposition should be offered to the second reading. Mr. Gladstone said, "Since the printing of the Government bill, having applied myself day and night to the study of it, I have not the smallest doubt in my own mind that the wiser course of the two would be to oppose the bill on the second reading." He thought, however, "that the general disposition of the meeting would not bear him out in that course;" and to maintain the unity of the party, he was willing to sacrifice his own personal opinion. "If ministers were content to abandon the dual voting, and to equalise the privileges and facilities of the enfranchised in all cases, however the qualification arose, then the measure might be made acceptable. If they would not concede these points, then he thought that the Liberals should not permit the measure to go into committee." It was already evident that both sides had made up their minds to pass some kind of Reform Bill during the session, and that both were prepared to make concessions rather than offer to the country once more the pitiable spectacle of a great measure of necessary Reform overthrown by party spirit and party warfare. Still the Liberals were determined to wrest certain points from the Government; and in his speech on the second reading (March 25), Mr. Gladstone thus summed up the defects in the bill, which must, he said, be amended before the Liberals could give in their adhesion to it:—

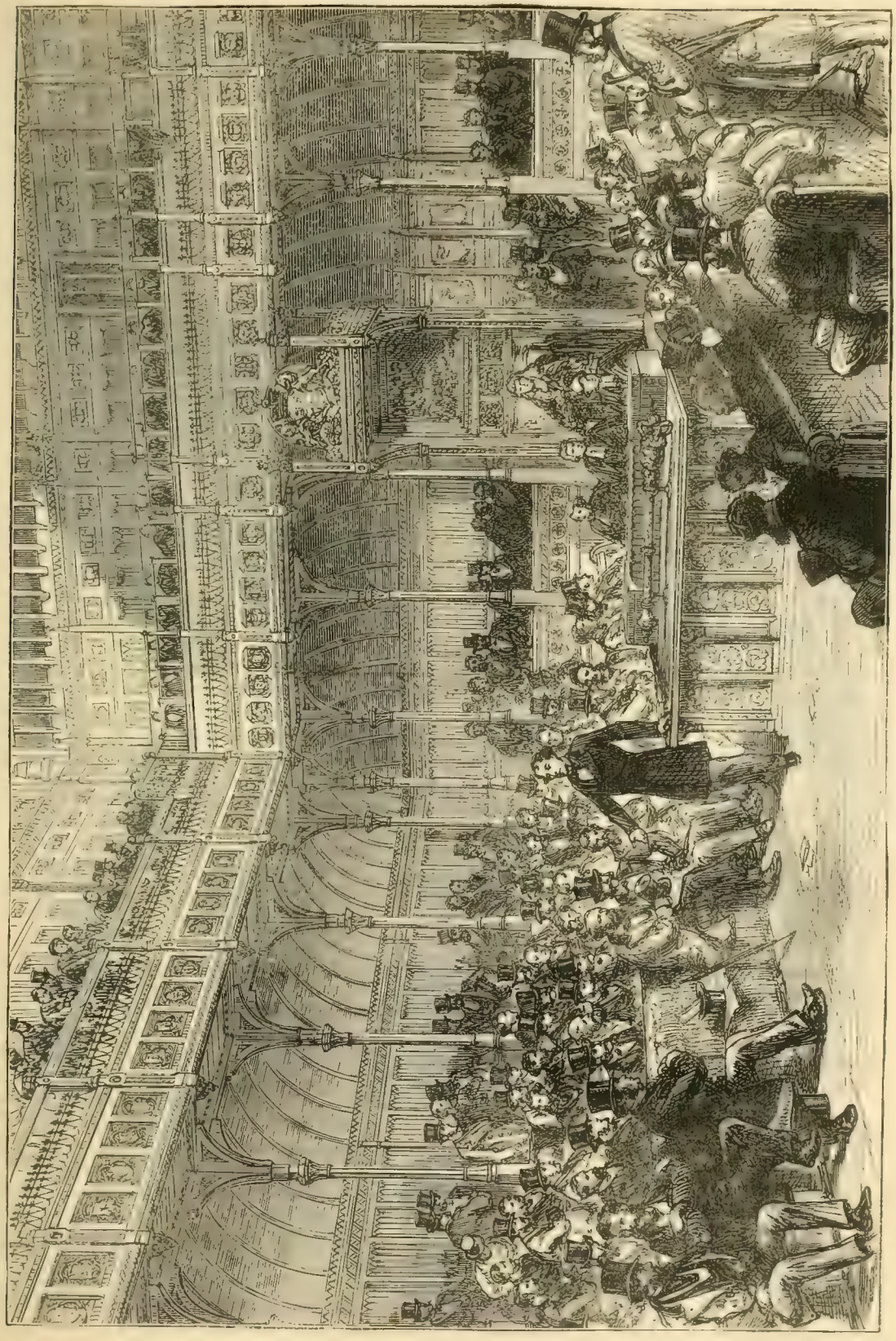
1. Omission of a lodger franchise. 2. Omission of provisions against traffic in votes of householders of the lowest class, by corrupt payment of their rates. 3. Disqualifications of compound householders under the *existing* law. 4. Additional disqualifications of compound householders under the *proposed* law. 5. The franchise founded on direct taxation. 6. The dual vote. 7. The inadequate distribution of seats. 8. The inadequate reduction of the franchise in counties. 9. Voting papers. 10. Collateral or special franchises. *Every one* of these ten points, except the second, were finally settled more or less in accordance with the demands of the Liberals,—a fact which in itself is an instructive comment on the experiment of "government by minorities," which Mr. Disraeli was making with such great success.

In contradistinction to Lord Cranborne, Mr. Gladstone maintained that while the bill *seemed* on the face of it to be a measure of household suffrage, it was in reality nothing of the kind; every concession in it was balanced by a corresponding restriction, and what it gave with one hand it took away with the other. For the dual vote he had nothing but hard words: "At the head of the list stand those favoured children of fortune—those select human beings made of finer clay than the rest of their

fellow-subjects—who are to be endowed with dual votes. Upon that dual vote I shall not trouble the House, for I think that my doing so would be a waste of time." And, indeed, the general opinion of the House had already pronounced so decidedly against it, that no purpose would have been served by discussing it at length. Mr. Gladstone went on to declaim afresh against the fine which the bill would inflict upon the compound householder before he could obtain his vote. Sir William Clay's Act in 1857 had enabled compound householders *above* the £10 rental line to place their names upon the register, provided they paid the *reduced* rate or composition paid by their landlords. Why should compound householders *below* the £10 line be obliged by the present bill to pay the *full* rateable value of their houses, while their richer neighbours were allowed a reduction of twenty-five or thirty per cent.?

Then followed an elaborate and masterly examination of the probable results of the bill, if passed in its original form. Making use of some important statistics, the return of which had been lately moved for by Mr. Hunt, he attacked the bill as one that would "flood some towns with thousands of voters, and only add a few in other towns." We have already given some instances of these inequalities of operation; but a few more quoted by Mr. Gladstone may be added. In Abingdon, a town under the Small Tenements Act, 35 would have been qualified as personal ratepayers, while 574 compound householders would have been excluded (assuming, as the Liberals very rightly assumed throughout, that the "facilities" offered to the compound householder for obtaining a vote were no facilities at all, but rather penalties imposed upon the attainment of it; and that, therefore, practically, the bill excluded him from the franchise). In Carlisle, 406 would have been qualified, and 3,571 excluded; in Evesham there would have been 40 qualified, and 464 excluded, and so on. In boroughs under the Rating Acts, the whole number qualified would have been 25,064, while 139,377 would have been excluded. The effect of these figures was still further increased when Mr. Gladstone went on to consider the case of towns not under the Rating Acts. In these, he said, the franchise

MR. GATHORNE HARDY, M.P.



MR. DISRAELI INTRODUCING THE REFORM BILL.

would be most lavishly, and, he thought, imprudently, extended. The constituency of Oldham, for instance, possessing at present 3,300 voters, would be increased to 11,800; Sheffield, with 10,000 voters, would rise to 28,000; and Stockport, with 1,600, to 7,200. After reading a long series of these damaging statistics, Mr. Gladstone might well ask, "Is it possible that any one on the Treasury benches can get up in his place, and recommend those clauses respecting the compound householder with all their anomalies?" Men, however, were not lacking to defend them, and to defend them with ability and vigour. Mr. Gathorne Hardy, then Commissioner of the Poor Laws, after a graceful tribute to the power of Mr. Gladstone's speech, made out, perhaps, the best case for the Ministerial measure that had yet been made out. He denied that the bill was a Household Suffrage Bill; the proper name for it was a Rating Franchise Bill; and so far from excluding anybody, as Mr. Gladstone had tried to prove, it opened the franchise to every one who chose to claim it. And as to the "fine" which it was said would be imposed upon the compound householder by the bill, he could recover whatever rates he paid from the landlord—a statement in support of which Mr. Hardy quoted an Act of Queen Victoria, allowing "any occupier paying any rate or rates in respect of any tenement where the owner is rated to the same, to deduct from his rent or recover from his landlord the amount so paid." The Act, however, did not really bear out Mr. Hardy's argument, since it only enabled the tenant to *recover* the reduced rate, while the bill obliged him to *pay* the full rate before obtaining his vote. The personal payment of rates, and the two years' residence clause, were, he admitted, meant as safeguards and limitations; but he believed them to be just and reasonable, and such as would be approved by the country.

The debate was vigorously kept up—the Ministry being only represented by Mr. Gathorne Hardy and Mr. Disraeli, and supporters and opponents of the bill being found promiscuously on both sides of the House. In truth, people had not yet got over their surprise, and neither Liberals nor Conservatives quite knew what to think of a measure so Liberal at heart, though cased with Conservative safeguards, brought in by a Conservative Government. Thus the enthusiastic young Liberals, like Lord Amberley, joined with the county Tories, like Mr. Lowther, in opposing the bill; while here and there a voice came from the Liberal ranks applauding it as better than nothing, or even from the Conservative benches, as in the case of Mr. Banks Stanhope, the member for Lincolnshire, applauding and approving. It was only towards the end of the debate, when Mr. Bright spoke, and Mr. Disraeli made answer on the whole case, that the country began clearly to see which way things were going. Mr. Bright was in a happy vein; he mixed in an effective way solid criticism on the details of the bill with sarcastic descriptions of its framers, and earnest denunciation of what he called the "deception and disappointment" of which it bore the marks. He regarded the bill as really equivalent to a measure for £8 suffrage, and therefore less thorough than the bill of the previous year. It was too much inclined to a "set off"—the enfranchising of higher class voters to counteract the lower, which, of course, would not be the removal of the real grievance which the workmen felt. "I complain of this bill," he said, "that, in regard to the working class, there is in it nothing clear, there is nothing generous, there is nothing statesman-like. I believe that if the House were to pass it, there would be universal dissatisfaction throughout the country." Then, after protesting that he would be the first person in the House to support a "fair and honest measure" of Reform, Mr. Bright went on: "I will be no party to any bill which would cheat the great body of my countrymen of the possession of that power in the House on which they have set their hearts; and which, as I believe, by the Constitution of this country, they may most justly claim."

When Mr. Disraeli rose to end the debate, the House clearly saw that, though he was supporting his bill most strenuously, he was really speaking in the spirit of his own resolutions. Those, it will be remembered, had been brought forward early in the session with the avowed purpose of "feeling" or "taking the sense of" the House. Mr. Disraeli made no secret then of his readiness to do as he was bid by the majority; and now, though he pretended to make a secret of it, the same readiness was to be detected in his speech. There was a vast amount of epigram directed at Mr. Gladstone; but Mr. Disraeli, in taking up the amendments indicated by him, confessed that "if satisfactory arguments were brought forward in committee," no doubt the House would adopt them; and the House might adopt them, he implied, without endangering the Government bill. One after another the objections of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright were taken up, roughly handled, and referred to the committee. The lodger franchise—of that Mr. Disraeli claimed himself to be the father—he was not personally opposed to it; it might be left to the committee. The compound householder amendment—why was it that Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone, in schemes of their own, had wished to keep up the distinction between classes of ratepayers, and now wished to abolish those distinctions? Yet that amendment might be referred to the committee. In the same way with the amendment about voting papers, about the qualification of residence, about the county franchise, about redistribution of seats. On one and all of these points Mr. Disraeli's watchword was "elasticity." The bill's chief merit was that it was elastic, whereas Mr. Gladstone's £5 rating bill would have been rigid and hard. This bill, he said, was so drawn as to secure the "fitness and variety" which was to become security against democracy. Then Mr. Disraeli ended, saying that it was the one wish of the Government to cooperate with the House in settling this question once for all. Till the settlement was arrived at they would not desert their posts. Any concessions, he implied, any withdrawal of obnoxious clauses or substitution of amending clauses, would be consented to. The Government, the House, the country, only asked for one thing—settlement. The bill must be passed at any cost; no personal feeling should make the Government either

withdraw it or resign until it had been passed. "Pass the bill," he concluded, "and then change the Ministry if you please."

A speech of which this was the tone very naturally disarmed the Opposition. Mr. Gladstone might, with little difficulty, have defeated the second reading if he had chosen, but the Government gave him no excuse for so doing. Mr. Disraeli had literally made him a present of the bill, on condition that when he had altered it at his pleasure, he was to return it to the original owners for them to present to the country. So, as far as the Liberal party were concerned, there was nothing to be done except to pass the second reading, and to wait for the committee to put the bill into satisfactory shape. The only danger was lest the Conservative rank and file, irritated by their leader's tone of concession, should mutiny. There was no mutiny, however, though there was some murmuring, and the bill was read a second time on the 26th of March, without a division.

The committee was fixed for the 8th April. On the 1st, Mr. Disraeli made the first of his promised concessions; he announced that the Government were prepared to withdraw the clause relating to the dual vote. That removed one of the bugbears of the Liberal party, and left them to direct their interest to the interminable and vexatious question of the compound householder. The exact position of this person under the Small Tenements Act has already been sufficiently described; and it will be remembered that his enfranchisement had supplied Mr. Gladstone with one of his principal themes in the early stages of the bill. The acceptance of a rating franchise at once raised the compound householder to a position of public interest, almost of notoriety. It was felt that the character of the bill, as a popular measure, depended mainly on his admission to the suffrage. The enormous number of small occupiers who "compounded" for their rates—amounting, it was confidently said, to two-thirds of the occupiers under £10—was a fact which showed the importance of the question. Before the end of the session the compound householder was destined, not only to be the watchword of parties, but to cause a serious, almost fatal, split in the Liberal Opposition; and to compel the Government, as the only way out of the difficulty which he caused, positively to abolish him altogether. The compound householder rose first into prominence at a large meeting of Liberal members, held at Mr. Gladstone's house on the 5th of April. There it was agreed that the point in the Government bill which lay most open to attacks from the Liberals, now that the dual vote had been withdrawn, was this point of the personal payment of rates. Without amendment on this head, it was thought, the Government bill was illusory; it gave with one hand what it took away with the other. Mr. Gladstone recurred to what he had himself said earlier in the session—that there should properly be a "hard and fast line," below which occupiers should neither pay rates nor exercise the suffrage. This was, in fact, a proposal for a £5 rating franchise; for the abolition of all distinctions between persons who paid their rates directly and those who paid them through their landlord; and for the relief of all those who occupied tenements at less than £5 rateable value from the liability to be rated at all. With a view to carrying his view, he proposed that Mr. John Duke Coleridge, member for Exeter, should move an instruction to the committee in the following words:—"That it be an instruction to the committee that they have power to alter the law of rating; and to provide that in every parliamentary borough the occupiers of tenements below a given rateable value be relieved from liability to personal rating, with a view to fix a line for the borough franchise, at and above which all occupiers shall be entered on the rate-book, and shall have equal facilities for the enjoyment of such franchise as a residential occupation franchise."

At the meeting where this line of action was planned there was some criticism, but little open dissent from the course. During the three days, however, which were to elapse before the proposal of Mr. Coleridge's amendment an ominous change took place in the position of affairs. Mr. Disraeli had promised he would not resign, and that he would not withdraw the bill; but he had not promised that he would not dissolve Parliament, supposing the conduct of the Opposition were to drive him that way. Now, the threat of a dissolution is always a terrible threat to many members. Only a small proportion of sitting members are at any time quite sure of their seats at a new election; and to the rest a dissolution means either the loss of a place in Parliament, or the wear and tear of a contest and a great expenditure of money. Hence, when the word "dissolution" began to be whispered, the Opposition began to disunite. A meeting of dissatisfied members took place in the tea-room of the House of Commons, transformed for the moment into a new cave of Adullam; and a cabal was formed for breaking up the plans of the Liberals in reference to Mr. Coleridge's instruction. Forty-eight members of the Liberal party agreed to vote against the amendment, and a deputation waited upon Mr. Gladstone to inform him of their decision. In the face of such a defection it was, of course, impossible to proceed. Forty-eight members means ninety-six votes on a division—a number sufficient to destroy any parliamentary majority. Mr. Coleridge practically withdrew his instruction, reserving his right to proceed on the subject of it in committee; Mr. Gladstone began to feel that, as concerned really Liberal amendments, his hands were not so free as he had hoped; and the Government faced the committee with new strength and satisfaction. Mr. Gladstone, however, was not satisfied with the result of the tea-room cabal; for much of the discontent which had promoted it had been directed towards the "hard and fast line" of the £5 rating franchise. It was resolved, therefore, to divide upon a different amendment—one which should relieve the compound householder from the disabling clauses of the bill, but which should still keep to the original basis of household rating suffrage. Mr. Gladstone's amendment inserted in the restrictive clause the words "whether he in person, or his landlord, be rated to the relief of the poor;" and the arguments which, with his usual force, he urged upon the House in its support were, first, that the houses below £10 rental which compounded

for their rates were two-thirds of the whole number of such houses, and that therefore a bill which excluded compounding householders from the franchise was an illusion; and secondly, that the case standing so, the "settlement" for which the Government was clamouring would not be attained unless the bill were amended. "Agitation will begin," he said, "as soon as the true character of the bill is seen, and will never cease until the last vestige of such restrictive legislation is swept away."

The debate on Mr. Gladstone's amendment occupied two nights, and was chiefly valuable as showing the extraordinary difference of opinion which prevailed among the supporters of the bill, and the equally different points of view from which members were found to oppose it. Such different men as Sir William Heathcote, the Tory member for Oxford University, and Mr. Coleridge, the Liberal member for Exeter, joined to support the amendment; such different men as Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Gathorne Hardy joined to oppose it. The truth is, that the subject of rating, viewed statistically, is so extremely complicated that hardly any members of the House, except Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, were masters of its details; and on a question of statistics, where details are doubtful, men wholly agreed on points of principle will take opposite sides. Such men as Sir W. Heathcote supported Mr. Gladstone because they thought the success of his amendments would lead to the adoption of a £5 rating suffrage; men like Mr. Coleridge, on the other hand, supported him because they thought the restrictions laid down in the bill were inconsiderate and unwise. Lord Cranborne supported the amendment strongly, because, as he said, "the only reason why a Reform Bill was desirable was that it would quell agitation; and because, unless the personal rating scheme was altered, agitation would simply be increased in every parish which was under the Small Tenements Act." Now, as has been said, the Small Tenements Act was an Act which vestries might or might not adopt, at their pleasure; and, again, it might be adopted for a time and then dropped by a vestry. In other words, according to Mr. Disraeli's bill, it lay with the vestry of each parliamentary borough to enfranchise or disfranchise a large number of voters at its pleasure. This giving of excessive political power to the vestries is what Mr. Gladstone thought so monstrous; but the Government was resolved, and the principle of personal rating was strongly supported by the Ministerial speakers. Mr. Hardy said: "We say that the rate-book should be the register. The right hon. gentleman has certainly not provided for that in his amendments. He maintains that, though the landlord pays the rates, the tenant shall have the vote. We say, on the other hand, that as the payment of rates induces an interest in local affairs, the man who pays his rates is more likely to be educated and take an interest in the concerns of his country."

When the division came, the Government triumphed. The numbers were found to be—For the amendment, 289; against, 310. Majority for the Government, 21. This was an important majority, and, as the division lists showed, it implied far more unanimity among the Conservatives (in spite of the defection of Sir W. Heathcote and Lord Cranborne) than among the Liberals. Twenty-five of the old "Adullamite" party voted with Mr. Disraeli—a fact sufficiently indicating the opinion which was held as to the tendency of the amendment. The Adullamites voted for the original bill because they wanted the compound householder—the dangerous being who occupied a house below £10 annual rent—to be kept without his vote.

The immediate effect of this division was to draw from Mr. Gladstone an important statement of policy. He wrote a letter to Mr. R. W. Crawford, member for the City of London, to say that he felt it useless to proceed personally with the other amendments standing in his name. He was compelled to own that the Liberals who thought together on the question of Reform were not a majority, but a minority, "and they have not the power they were supposed to possess of limiting or directing the action of the Administration, or of shaping the provisions of the Reform Bill. Still," Mr. Gladstone went on, "having regard to the support which my proposal with respect to personal rating received from so large a number of Liberal members, I am not less willing than heretofore to remain at the service of the party to which they belong; and when any suitable occasion shall arise, if it shall be their wish, I shall be prepared again to attempt concerted action upon this or any other subject for the public good. . . . I shall not proceed with the amendments now on the paper in my name, nor give notice of other amendments such as I had contemplated; but I shall gladly accompany others in voting against any attempt, from whatever quarter, to limit still further the scanty modicum of enfranchisement proposed by the Government, or in improving, when it may be practicable, the provisions of the bill." A letter which showed that Mr. Gladstone was disheartened; but his discouragement only increased the zeal of the reforming party throughout the kingdom. The House broke up for the Easter holidays immediately after the vote; and during the recess meetings were held at every important town in England, and at many in Scotland, to express confidence in Mr. Gladstone, and to encourage him and his followers in their attempts to liberalise the bill. The number, enthusiasm, and unanimity of these meetings had, in all probability, much to do with Mr. Disraeli's subsequent concessions.

When the House met again, the first important act of the committee was to accept Mr. Ayrton's amendment, substituting one year for two years as the period of residence necessary for borough voters. There seems to have been a general idea in the House that to require two years' residence in a borough before a man could be entitled to vote in an election of members of Parliament was vexatious; and in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Government, Mr. Ayrton's amendment was carried by the large majority of 81. A majority as large as this is never, however, so much to be dreaded by a Government as one a fourth of its size. To a majority of eighty—that is, supposing it is only an accidental majority, and not a habitual one—any Government may with

decency bow. A defeat by eighty votes on a point of detail never turns out a Ministry; and, accordingly, Mr. Disraeli stated on the next day that he and his colleagues "deferred to the opinion of the House." Then came Mr. Hibbert's notice to amend the bill, by allowing all compound householders who chose to pay personally to pay reduced rates—a proposal which became celebrated, from the conduct of the Government "whip" with regard to it. It came out in the course of the debate—Mr. Bernal Osborne revealed it—that the whip, Colonel Taylor, had undertaken, "as a gentleman and a man of honour, to press upon the Cabinet the desirability of adopting Mr. Hibbert's amendment;" and also that Colonel Taylor had stated to Mr. Dillwyn, a Liberal member, that "he believed Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli to be personally in favour of accepting it." That is to say, just before a division, the Government whip entered into negotiations with some of the enemy's forces, and endeavoured to win them over to his side by a statement—afterwards disavowed on authority—of the opinions of his chief. The episode affords an interesting comment upon the manœuvres of party government.

The debate on Mr. Hibbert's motion turned on the question—Whether, supposing a compound householder wanted a vote (which, according to the bill, would require him to pay his rates personally), he should be compelled to pay as much as other non-compounding householders, or whether the same amount should be accepted from him personally as had been accepted previously from his landlord on his account? Mr. Disraeli aimed not only at making him pay the full rate, but even at repealing a section of Sir William Clay's Act (14 and 15 Vict., c. 14) which had defined certain electoral rights of householders above £10. That Act had allowed non-rated occupiers—compounders above £10—to claim to be rated, in order to be put upon the register of voters, and had declared them liable *only for the reduced or commuted rate.* Under that Act, according to Mr. Bright, electoral rights were guaranteed to not less than 94,000 persons; and Mr. Disraeli's proposal, to say nothing of its immediate effect in excluding *new* voters, simply amounted to a proposal either to disfranchise these 94,000 altogether, or to make them pay higher rates than they had previously paid. We can understand the spirit in which Mr. Bright spoke of this as an "audacious proposal." Still, audacious or not, the proposal of the Government for the time succeeded. The division was taken on the question, whether the borough voter should be rated as an "ordinary occupier," always and without exception, and the Government had a very great majority with them, affirming that he should. The numbers were—Ayes, 322; Noes, 256. Majority for the Government, 66. A majority of 66 declared that if the compound householder desired his vote, he must make an immense sacrifice, and pay what, in most cases, must have amounted to an impossible sum for the privilege. "We will not," said the House of Commons on May 9th—"we will not have household suffrage if we can help it."

Eight days afterwards they had changed their minds. Another amendment was proposed in the meantime, and Mr. Hardy, in the debate which followed, gave an artless explanation of what the Government intended by their emphatic cry of "personal payment." He said: "The Government insisted upon the personal payment of rates. But the bill had not the phrase, 'personal payment of rates.' That was a description rather of the Government's intention. The bill required that a man should be *responsible for* his rates. It was necessary, in order to come within the provisions of the bill, that a man should have his name upon the rate-book, and be personally responsible."

But Mr. Hardy forgot, in stating this as the essential principle of the bill, that he was only stating what was already law. He forgot that the Small Tenements Act provided that rates assessed upon the landlord are recoverable, not only by distraint upon the landlord's goods, but by distraint upon the *occupier's*, "in the same way as if the rates were assessed on such occupiers." That is to say, the occupier was, and always had been, "responsible for his rates." The compound householder was as much responsible as the non-compounding householder. Mr. Disraeli's bill, if this was its foundation, was founded upon an illusion. Ministerialists and Opposition were fighting about a phantom. This fact seems to have suddenly broken upon the minds of the House of Commons between the 13th and the 17th of May. On the latter day, Mr. Hodgkinson, member for Newark, moved the insertion of the following words; which Mr. Disraeli afterwards calmly called, "not an amendment, but a proviso:"—"Provided always that, except as hereinafter provided, no person other than the occupier shall, after the passing of this Act, be rated to parochial rates in respect of premises occupied by him within the limits of a parliamentary borough, all Acts to the contrary notwithstanding."

This was to cut the Gordian knot, to solve the insoluble problem, to take away the matter of contention in a moment, by the short step of abolishing the compound householder altogether. It had been shown, in the course of previous debates, first, how illusory was the test of "personal payment;" and secondly, how uneven was the working of the Act, which *allowed*, but did not *compel*, the parish authorities to place the names of compounders on the register of voters. The electoral returns showed that while (for instance) in Clerkenwell it was the practice to put compounders' names on the register, in the next group of parishes—the Holborn Union—no compounder was ever put on the register. Mr. Disraeli, it is true, had in his paradoxical way asserted, early in the session, that irregularities like this were advantageous; but he had begun to change his opinion. Mr. Hodgkinson brought forward his amendment, the effect of which clearly would be to make all occupiers of tenements personal ratepayers, and therefore, according to the bill, voters. In other words, household suffrage pure and simple was offered to the acceptance of the House. Mr. Gladstone saw the importance of the moment: he saw that the question lay between "an extension of the franchise, limited, unequal, equivocal, and dangerous," accompanied with certain social and economical advantages,

and "an extension of the franchise which was liberal, which was perfectly equal," without those social and economical advantages. As the leader of the Liberal party, he chose the "lesser evil," he preferred the liberal extension, and he was willing to sacrifice the convenience of compounding. That was only to be expected from the Liberal leader; but what was the amazement of the House when Mr. Disraeli, by a sudden *coup de théâtre*, rose to accept Mr. Hodgkinson's amendment likewise! Nay, he rose not only to accept the amendment, but to greet it with strong welcome and approval. Not only, he said, was Mr. Hodgkinson's amendment not opposed to the principles upon which the bill of the Government is founded; but "if the policy recommended by the clause should be brought into action, it would enforce the policy which we recommend, give strength to the principles which we have been impressing on the House as those which are the best foundations for the franchise, and give completeness to the measure which we have introduced." It is true that, on the 9th of May, eight days before, Mr. Disraeli had declared that the advice of those who wished to supersede or repeal the Rating Acts was "*rash counsel.*" It is true that, on the 13th, only four days before, Mr. Disraeli had branded with two names, which immediately became famous—"obsolete incendiaries," and "spouters of stale sedition"—a deputation of 360 gentlemen, headed by seventeen members of Parliament, which had waited on Mr. Gladstone, with a view to remove the disqualification laid by the bill on the lower class of ratepayers. It is true that, on the morning of the 17th, the Government "whip" had sent out a circular to the Conservatives, asking their attendance at the House, plainly with the intention of opposing Mr. Hodgkinson's amendment. These facts, however, were nothing to Mr. Disraeli. He was bent on a *coup*, and he made it. The bill was entirely transformed in a single evening; and the Government, through their Chancellor of the Exchequer, vowed that they had all along been meaning to produce the transformation scene themselves. To show the importance of the change, it is enough to say that the total number of new voters which the original bill would have made was 118,400, and that the number of new voters added by the bill, *plus* Mr. Hodgkinson's amendment, was 427,000. Nothing more is needed to show that the compound householder was a person of importance, and that it was only natural that his destiny should be a matter of interest to both sides of the House.

The concession made by Mr. Disraeli was not accepted without a protest on the part of some of his own followers, and a still louder protest on the part of the consistent anti-reformers, Lord Cranborne and Mr. Lowe. Lord Cranborne insisted upon at least an adjournment, that the House might not vote blindfold; and Mr. Lowe spent the three days' recess in preparing a new philippic. Both sides of the House came in for their share of reproof from this impartial censor; both alike, he said, were weary of the subject of Reform, and willing to adopt any solution of the question; both were afraid of a dissolution; both alike were miserably anxious not to give offence to the classes about to be enfranchised. He declared that no great number of members really and honestly either desired or approved the change about to be made. Which party in the House, save and except a few of the extreme Liberals below the gangway, really wanted household suffrage and the enfranchisement of the new voters? The question had changed since last year. "The question now is not—what is the opinion of the *élite* of the working classes? but—what is the opinion of the unskilled labour class? For instance, in the borough which I represent you will, I rather think, give us some Wiltshire labourers with 8s. a week wages. Will any gentleman favour me with a précis of the politics of these men?" It was like 1866 over again; but Mr. Lowe was powerless to change the intentions of the House. The amendment was adopted without a division on May 20, though Mr. Disraeli attempted, a short time afterwards, to tone it down and practically to replace what it had abolished, by making it optional to continue the compounding system. The attempt, doubtless suggested to him by some timid follower, was unsuccessful; and the law came to be that "no owner of a dwelling in a parish, either wholly or partially within a borough, is to be henceforth rated to the poor rate instead of the occupier." In this way the vexed question of "personal rating" was solved, and household suffrage in its simple form was established in the boroughs.

With regard to the county franchise, the history of the bill was not so full of incident. The original proposal of the Government had been to give the franchise to "rated occupiers of premises of any tenure within the county of the rateable value of fifteen pounds and upwards;" the words "any tenure" referring to the various modes—freehold, copyhold, leasehold, annual tenancy, &c.—on which premises may be held. There were also various "fancy franchises" proposed in the counties as in the boroughs, but these were very soon withdrawn. The substantial proposal of the Government was modified in various ways. On Mr. Colvile's motion, the franchise was extended to *copyhold* tenants of premises of the value of £5 per annum—that is, to such persons as, without being freeholders, were practically the owners of their dwellings; and very soon afterwards the Government acceded to the proposal of Mr. Hussey Vivian to extend the franchise to "leaseholders under sixty years' leases of lands worth £5 a year." Finally, Mr. Locke King proposed to substitute £10 for £15 as the figure down to which county occupiers were to have a vote; and though he did not press his motion, he obtained from the Government the concession of reducing the figure from £15 to £12. The numbers of voters enfranchised by the Act may be gathered from the following figures, quoted by Mr. Homersham Cox from the Electoral Returns:—

Male occupiers at	£12 and under £50	...	240,277
,,	£15 and under £50	...	186,392
,,	£50 and upwards	...	155,847

We have no precise data for deciding how many of the newly-enfranchised occupiers claimed their right to vote, but something may be inferred from analogy. Out of

the number of £50 occupiers, the whole number on the register of electors was 116,860—that is, about 75 per cent. of the whole. Supposing the same proportion to hold in the case of new voters, we have a total number of new voters of about 180,000 under the £12 occupiers' clause. If the original proposal of the Government for a £15 franchise had been carried, the number would have been about 140,000. Hence we may assume that Mr. Locke King's motion extracted from Mr. Disraeli a concession of 40,000 voters. And, taking the whole number of county voters on the register in 1867, we find it was 542,633. To this were added, as we said, 180,000 £12 occupiers, and a certain unknown number of £5 leaseholders and copyholders—a number, probably, not much more than 20,000. The total number of new voters in the counties is therefore about four-elevenths, or rather more than one-third, of the number already existing; while, as we have seen, the number of new voters in the boroughs (450,000) was nearly equal to the whole number of old voters.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.

We have already spoken at some length about the second part of the bill—that part which related to the redistribution of seats. This part, as we have said, was very roughly handled during the early stages of the bill, and the treatment it received in committee was equally severe. But when all was done there still remained much that failed to satisfy the reforming party in the country.

The Government proposed to deal with thirty new seats—namely, with the seven provided for them by the total disfranchisement of Lancaster, Reigate, Great Yarmouth, and Totnes, and the twenty-three from the same number of small boroughs which were to lose one of their two members. This number was soon enlarged. On May 31, Mr. Laing, member for the Wick Boroughs, moved that "no borough which had a less population than 10,000 at the census of 1861 shall return more than one member to Parliament."

This motion, which gave thirty-eight seats to the House in place of twenty-three, was carried by a great majority (306 to 179), though the Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed it. There, however, the House seemed inclined to stop in the process of disfranchisement. Mr. Serjeant

Gaselee's motion to extend the principle of Mr. Laing's amendment, by wholly depriving towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants of their member, was not carried.

Mr. Disraeli's treatment of the delicate task of redistribution was this. He proposed to give twenty-five seats to the counties, two new members being given to each of the following: Cheshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Essex, West Kent, North Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Somersetshire, Staffordshire, East Surrey, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, and one new seat being given to South Lancashire. A member a-piece was to be given to thirteen large manufacturing or commercial towns, till now unrepresented: Barnsley, Burnley, Dewsbury, Darlington, Gravesend, Hartlepool, Keighley, Luton, Middlesborough, St. Helens, Stalybridge, Stockton, and Wednesbury. Chelsea and Hackney were to be constituted boroughs, each with two members. Salford and Merthyr Tydfil were each to return two instead of one. The Universities of London and Durham were to combine to return one member.

This scheme was far from satisfying the reforming party. It enfranchised a certain number of new towns, and its county redistribution in some cases gave a more direct voice to the industrial population; but it left the great manufacturing towns of Birmingham, Manchester, and the rest exactly where they were, and it retained what was thought to be too much power in the hands of the small boroughs. A few years afterwards Mr. Disraeli had discovered that the main strength of the Liberal party lay in the small boroughs, the large towns and the counties being in the main Conservative. That at least was the doctrine he expounded on the occasion of his visit to Glasgow, to deliver his speech as Lord Rector of the University; but in 1867 his opinion and that of his adherents in the House can hardly have agreed with it. He declined the proposal of Mr. Laing to give a third member to the six great manufacturing and commercial towns—Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Bristol; and again he opposed Mr. Hadfield's and Mr. Berkeley's proposal in favour of Sheffield and Bristol. And when he assented to Mr. Horsfall's motion to give a third member to Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, it was only on condition that the members given to them should be taken away from some of the other towns which the Government admitted to have claims for increased representation.

The final state of the representation of counties and boroughs is well exhibited in the following table, which we borrow from Mr. Cox's valuable book:—

	Population 1861.	Number of Representatives.
Counties, exclusive of boroughs	11,266,000	187
19 boroughs with pop. above 100,000	4,669,000	46
19 boroughs with pop. between 100,000 and 50,000	1,385,000	36
51 boroughs with pop. between 50,000 and 20,000	1,567,000	77
49 boroughs with pop. between 20,000 and 10,000	692,000	81
68 boroughs with pop. under 10,000	420,000	68

Or, to look at the figures differently, if we compare the representation of the towns with a population under 20,000 with those whose population is above that line, we discover that 89 boroughs with an aggregate population of 7,641,000 have 159 members, and 168 boroughs with an aggregate population of 1,112,000 have 149 members. A sufficiently startling discrepancy! The small boroughs, with about one-seventh of the population of the large boroughs, have all but as many members as they. Or, lastly, to select one more set of figures, we find that while the average representation in the boroughs of more than 100,000 inhabitants is one member for 101,000 persons, in the 68 boroughs below 10,000 the representation is one member for about 7,000 persons. It is not surprising that much criticism was passed upon this feature of the Government bill, though it must be confessed that the criticism was chiefly outside the walls of Parliament. Ministers and Opposition have a common interest, and are warned by a common experience, in questions of redistribution. The issue is too personal for any reform to be very thorough. No minister could expect his followers to vote directly for their own political extinction; still less could a leader of Opposition in a case where a successful vote must lead to a dissolution, and that to a confronting of the members for the assailed boroughs with their angry constituents. On the whole, whatever was the opinion out-of-doors—and that, of course, varied with the local circumstances of the critics—Parliament itself was fairly satisfied with the redistribution scheme.

The remaining time during which the bill was in committee was occupied with a discussion of the complicated question of boundaries. It was necessary, in order to give completeness to the bill, to examine the boundaries of existing boroughs and counties, as well as to determine those of the new boroughs created by the bill. For this purpose, after much debating on minute points connected with the rights conferred by different kinds of ownership in boroughs and counties, a parliamentary commission was appointed "to inquire into the boundaries of all the boroughs of England and Wales, with a view to ascertain whether the boundaries were to be enlarged;" to investigate also the local conditions of the new boroughs, and to ascertain what alterations should be made in the divisions of counties. The report of the Boundary Commissioners was to be laid before Parliament, and, till its adoption, provisional regulations were made on the points in question. At last, at the end of a long and weary session, the moment arrived—the "supreme and solemn moment," as Mr. Beresford Hope described it—when the Reform Bill was to be read a third time. It was the evening of the 15th July. During four months the bill had occupied the exclusive attention of the House of Commons, the partial attention of the House of Lords, the unvaried interest of the country and the press. The principles, and even the details, of Reform had at last become familiar, not only to the working man who was about to be enfranchised, but to the Conservative member who was about to enfranchise him. Everybody's mind was made up; the doubtful points of residence, of personal rating, of dual voting, of household suffrage, were settled at last—so far, at least, as the House of Commons was concerned. Mr. Disraeli's success was at hand. But,

first of all, although no more divisions were to be faced, and although the passing of the bill was certain, the Government knew that it was not to escape a whipping from exasperated enemies and candid friends. In the presence of a crowded House—the galleries filled with ladies, peers, and strangers—Lord Cranborne rose to deliver his soul. From the day when he had resigned office, and refused to work with Mr. Disraeli, the rooted antipathy between the late Secretary for India and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been growing in strength. The aristocratic English blood of the heir of the Cecils could never brook the success of the man whom he always regarded as, at best, a resident alien; his rigid uprightness was always offended by the over-versatility of his late colleague; his bitter temper was outraged by the triumph of a minister who, however stinging he might be to his enemies, made friends, and kept them, by his power of ready sympathy and self-obliteration. Throughout this year and the next, anonymous articles appeared in the Conservative periodicals, laden with venom, and aimed at Mr. Disraeli; and Mr. Disraeli himself charged Lord Cranborne with their authorship, and was not contradicted. But none of those articles exceeded in savageness the speech which Lord Cranborne delivered on the third reading of the bill. In incisive language, and with the slow measured action to which his tall figure so readily lends itself, he deliberately charged the Tory leaders with a betrayal of their trust. He ridiculed the idea of the bill being called "a Conservative triumph." "The real parent of the bill, as we are about to pass it," he said, "is not the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Disraeli), but the member for South Lancashire (Mr. Gladstone)." The bill which had been offered to the House in March was wholly unlike the bill which was now waiting its final approval. The "checks and counterpoises," of which Mr. Disraeli had spoken so confidently, were gone. Mr. Gladstone had demanded ten alterations in the bill, and had carried nine of them—the lodger franchise, the abolition of the compound householder, the provision against traffic in votes, the abolition of the "taxing franchise," the omission of the dual vote, enlarged redistribution of seats, reduced county franchise, the omission of voting-papers, of the educational, and of the savings bank franchise. "If the omission of these clauses, and the adoption of the principles of Mr. Bright, be a triumph, then the Conservative party has never in the whole course of its history won a triumph so signal as this." Then, in words of profound seriousness, he went on: "I desire to protest, in the most earnest language which I am capable of using, against the political morality on which the manœuvres of this year have been based. If you borrow your political ethics from the ethics of the political adventurer, you may depend upon it the whole of your representative institutions will crumble beneath your feet. . . . Even if I deemed this measure to be most advantageous, I still should deeply regret that the position of the Executive should have been so degraded as it has been in the present session. I should deeply regret to find that the House of Commons has applauded a policy of legerdemain; and I should, above all things, regret that this great gift to the people—if gift you think it—should have been purchased at the cost of a political betrayal which has no parallel in our parliamentary annals."

This, from a seceding Conservative, from one who, even in opposition, retained the confidence of the Conservative back benches, was severe; and no less severe was the language of Mr. Lowe, who spoke immediately after. If Lord Cranborne was bitter because he, and genuine Conservatives with him, had been sacrificed to keep, as he said, "political adventurers" in office, Mr. Lowe was furious because he had succeeded in turning out the Liberal Government in 1866 only to make way for a more revolutionary Tory Government in 1867. "Was it to be conceived," he said, "that right honourable gentlemen, who had given no indications of the extreme facility of changing their opinions and lending themselves to the arts of treachery, would, for the sake of keeping a few of them in office for a short time and giving some small patronage to half a dozen lawyers, have been prepared to sacrifice all the principles, all the convictions, all the traditions of their lives; while others were prepared to turn round upon their order and the institutions of their country, merely for the purpose of sitting behind these right honourable gentlemen, and hearing, with the knowledge that it is all true, language such as that the noble lord (Cranborne) has used to-night?" However, Mr. Lowe had, in the midst of his wrath, what may be called "lucid intervals" of foresight and practical reflection upon the consequences of the bill. Every one admitted that it was to pass; every one admitted that its effect would be striking and immediate. What, then, ought to be the attitude of Parliament and public opinion? Clearly, to soften "the blow which had been levelled at our ancient institutions" as much as possible. "We must," said Mr. Lowe, in an afterwards famous epigram —"we must persuade our masters to learn their letters." That is to say, education on a wide and national plan must at once begin to be the concern of Parliament. As Mr. Bernal Osborne expressed it in the same debate, "the cry must in future be, not 'register, register,' but 'educate, educate;' for it would be highly dangerous to Americanise our institutions without raising our education up to the standard of America." But Mr. Lowe had little time to spare for the future; the present was too galling to him. He compared the defeat of the anti-Reformers by Mr. Disraeli to the "rout of Chæronea, fatal to liberty," when King Philip of Macedon crushed, once for all, Athenian independence. Athenian art embodied the sense of Athenian defeat in the statue of a prostrate lion; "and O!" said Mr. Lowe, "that some one would do the same for us! O that a man would rise in order that he might set forth in words that could not die, the shame, the rage, the scorn, the indignation, and the despair with which this measure is viewed by every cultivated Englishman who is not a slave to the trammels of party, or who is not dazzled by the glare of a temporary and ignoble success."

Several other speeches followed, none of them very complimentary to the Government, and Mr. Disraeli was not happy in his attempt to answer them. He had to

perform the impossible task of showing that the Conservative party had in this measure acted in a purely Conservative spirit, and in a manner consistent with previous professions. Instead of taking up the tenable ground, that the Conservative party had seen good cause, on an examination of figures and facts, to change their old opinions, he boldly asserted that the old opinions remained unchanged and were embodied in this bill. With a noble audacity he declared that even in 1859—the year when Lord Derby's first Reform Bill was projected—"the Cabinet was unanimous . . . that if we attempted to reduce the borough qualification which then existed, we must have recourse to household suffrage;" an assertion which it is sufficient to say was flatly contradicted soon afterwards by Lord Carnarvon in the House of Lords. But neither questionable paradoxes on Mr. Disraeli's part, nor fierce invective on Mr. Lowe's, had any influence on the success of the bill. When the Speaker put the momentous words from the chair, "That this bill do now pass," only one obstinate voice cried "no;" and a shout of "aye," audible far beyond the limits of the House, gave Mr. Disraeli the happy assurance that his bill had passed the Commons.

The bill had passed the Commons, but it was not yet law. It is the peculiarity of bills passed by the Conservative party in the Commons, in spite of Conservative traditions, that the Lords are apt, if not to reject them, at least to accept them unwillingly. An aristocratic body is always attached to its own order, but it is notoriously unwilling to submit to leaders in the same way that a popular body submits. It has immense respect for personal character; but it does not allow that respect to lead it to disregard its own convictions. It is deferential, but not obedient. Hence, when Lord Derby rose to move the second reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords on July 22—exactly a week after it had left the Commons—he found his own party by no means so manageable as Mr. Disraeli had found them in the Lower House. The debate was long, the speeches able. Almost all the prominent debaters on both sides of the House took part in the discussion; in the end the second reading passed without a division, and yet the speeches were very nearly unanimous in disapproving of the measure. Lord Cairns, indeed, approved the bill warmly, and made no secret of his hopes from "the *residuum*." "We know that on most subjects there is a considerable difference of opinion between what are called the higher artisan class and those below them," said he; that is, we know that there is a gulf fixed between the bricklayer and the bricklayer's labourer. Lord Cairns appealed, in the name of the Conservatives, from the bricklayer to the bricklayer's labourer. This, he said, was the distinction between the bill of 1866 and the present bill: the line of £7 rental would let in the "higher artisan class" only—a class presumed to be hostile to Conservatism; and household rating suffrage would let in the "class below them"—a class easily manageable at election times. This dangerous argument was, however, not generally supported in the House. Lord Shaftesbury, whose judgment on matters of fact connected with the working classes commands universal respect, said: "To proceed as is done by this bill, to lift by the sudden jerk of an Act of Parliament the whole residuum of society up to the level of the honest, thrifty working-man, is, I believe, distasteful to the working-men themselves. I am sure it dishonours the suffrage." And again: "The bill leads us to the Tarpeian Rock, and throws us over like criminals." This was in the debate raised by Lord Grey's amendment, which was to the effect that "the Representation of the People Bill does not appear to the House to be calculated, in its present shape, to effect a permanent settlement of this important question, or to promote the future good government of the country." Lord Grey, however, did not mean to oppose the second reading, but only to show to the Commons what the Lords considered to be weak points in their bill; and in the end, finding that the common opinion of the House accepted the bill as inevitable, he withdrew his amendment—not, however, before Lord Carnarvon, one of the seceding ministers, had spoken in words which almost echoed the furious charges of Lord Cranborne and Mr. Lowe in the other House. Speaking of Mr. Disraeli's assertion, to which we have already referred, that household suffrage had been the secret doctrine of the Conservatives ever since 1859, he said: "My lords, whatever others may say or may do, and though I stand alone, a mere unit, I repudiate and protest against this assertion. I protest against it, not only as being inconsistent with fact, but as being a gross and palpable insult to my understanding. My lords, I am not a convert to this new faith, and I will not stultify by any act or word of mine my own course of action. I will not stultify the very existence of the Conservative party; for if this indeed were so—if household suffrage really be the secret faith of Conservative Cabinets and the Conservative party—if during the time we have been opposing successive Reform Bills as they were introduced; if, whilst last year we denounced a £7 rental franchise as leading directly and immediately to revolution, we all the while cherished the hope of uniform household suffrage—why, my lords, I would heap ashes on my head, and would acknowledge, with all humility, and yet with all sincerity, that the whole life of the great party to which I thought I had the honour to belong was nothing but an organised hypocrisy."

In the end, four important amendments were proposed by the Lords, who showed a very different attitude from that which their fathers had shown in 1832. There was throughout the whole of the speeches of the peers a note of sadness and dissatisfaction; but none thought seriously of rejecting the bill altogether. And the amendments, important in themselves, did not touch the household suffrage, which was the bugbear of the bill, and did not even attempt to restore the compound householder for the purpose of robbing household suffrage of its sting. The important amendments were: (1) To raise the qualification for lodgers to £15, instead of £10—proposed by Lord Cairns; (2) To restore £10, instead of £5, as the copyhold qualification in counties—proposed by Lord Harrowby; (3) To secure a representation of minorities in the "three-cornered constituencies"—proposed by Lord Cairns; (4) To

allow the employment of voting-papers at elections—proposed by the Marquis of Salisbury. Of these, the first was passed by a majority of 121 to 89; the second by a majority of 119 to 56. Both these decisions were, however, finally reversed by the Commons by large majorities; nor was the amendment allowing the use of voting-papers any more successful. The Lords, with a good grace, submitted to the correction, and the bill remained, in those respects, the same as it had been when it originally passed the House of Commons.

With regard to Lord Cairns's more successful amendment relating to the rights of minorities, a little more may be said. It was not a new idea; the claims of minorities to a voice in affairs had long been felt to be a serious question by political theorists, especially Mr. Mill and Mr. Thomas Hare; and Mr. Lowe had attempted, earlier in the session, to get those claims recognised in the bill by the introduction of some clauses resembling those of Lord Cairns. Lord Cairns proposed, "That at a contested election for any county or borough, no person shall vote for more than two candidates"—adding, a short time afterwards, that in elections for the City of London, where four members are returned, no one should vote for more than three candidates. This amendment, the object of which was to enable the minority in the boroughs of Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham, in the City of London, and in certain counties, to "lump" their votes on one candidate, and so secure his return, was carried by a large majority—142 to 91. When the amendment came down to the Commons, after the amended bill had been read a third time in the House of Lords, it was warmly debated. Mr. Lowe's previous motion, to allow any elector to have as many votes as there were vacant seats, *and to give all his votes to one candidate if he chose*, had been rejected by a majority of 141; but now the opinion of many members had changed. The debate was carried on quite independently of the ordinary party divisions; instead, the division seemed to be between those who wished in all cases to follow the outlines of English political precedent, and those who believed that those precedents were sometimes clumsy and inconvenient. For once, the House enjoyed the unusual sight of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Bright all taking one side on a contested question; the principal supporters of the other side being Mr. Mill and Mr. Lowe. Strange to say, the accustomed leaders of the House failed to carry their views into effect. The amendment was passed by a majority of 253 to 204.

It is enough to add, that on the Report being presented to the Lords, that House agreed to the corrections of the House of Commons, and was content to have carried one of its four amendments. On August 15, 1867, the Royal Assent was given to the "Representation of the People Act;" and for a time at least the Reform question was settled.

Lord Derby ushered the bill out of the House on the third reading with words which immediately became famous: "No doubt we are making a great experiment, and *taking a leap in the dark*." That, indeed, was the feeling of many of the Conservatives, and even of many of the moderate Liberals; and few of the cartoons of *Punch* have been more effective than that which, illustrating the Prime Minister's words, represented him as a steeple-chaser, charging with shut eyes at a fence of portentous thickness, beyond which lay an unknown country. But another of *Punch's* cartoons gave the honour of the bill to its real author. On the walls of the Royal Academy had hung in that year's exhibition a wonderful picture by a new artist—Mr. Poynter's "Israel in Egypt." It showed the mighty form of the Sphinx, the mysterious Egyptian monster which still remains half buried in sand in the Theban Desert, dragged upon a car to its place by a thousand toiling Israelitish slaves. The spectator, as he gazed upon the picture, could almost hear the crack of the slavedriver's whip, and the groan of the miserable wretch who fell under the wheels; the crowd of bending forms seemed alive, the car seemed moving. This was the picture which *Punch* parodied. To a place in the Temple of Success and Fame a car was moving, dragged by straining multitudes; the multitudes bore the well-known likeness of the members of the English House of Commons, and the figure on the car wore the mysterious, Sphinx-like, Oriental features of Mr. Disraeli! "Israel in Egypt" became "Disraeli in Triumph;" the slaves bending beneath the weight, and torn by the merciless lash of necessity, were Her Majesty's Ministers and the blind, dazed, unwilling, but yet obedient members of the Conservative party.

CHAPTER XXV.

Continued Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland—Debates on Irish Questions—The Oaths and Offices Bill—Mr. Bruce's Bill on National Education—Extension of the Factory Acts—The Right of Meeting in the Metropolitan Parks: Mr. Walpole's Proclamation: Meeting of Reformers in Hyde Park—Fenian Rising in Ireland—Preparations for a Fenian Attack upon Chester Castle—Fenian Attack upon a Police-van at Manchester: Murder of Sergeant Brett: Trial of the Prisoners: Execution of three of the Murderers—Explosion at the Clerkenwell House of Detention—Investigation into the Proceedings of Trades Unions at Sheffield.

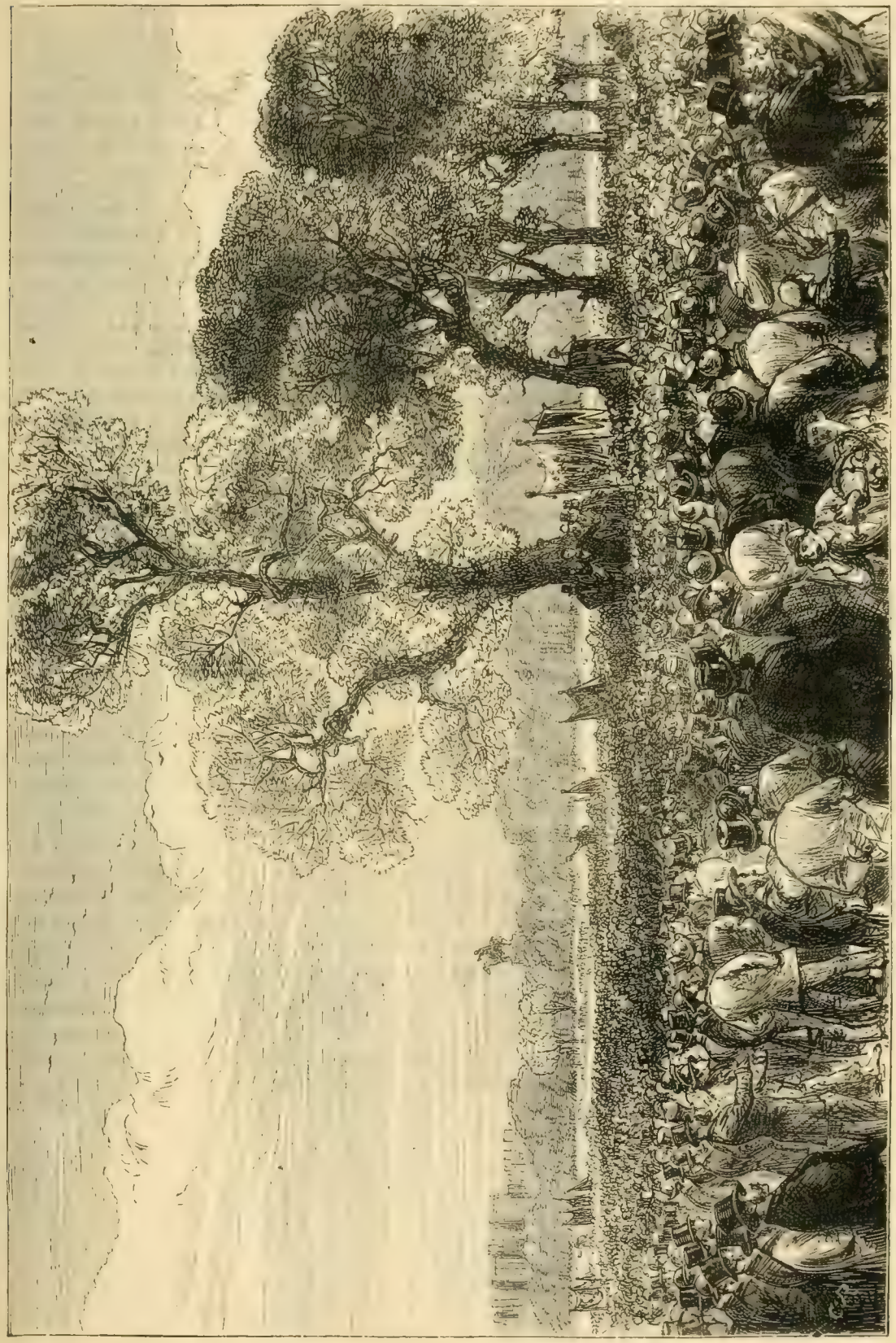
PARLIAMENTARY Reform occupied nearly all the time of the House of Commons during the first of the two sessions of 1867; but still on the "off days" there were several important discussions and some important legislation. The Reform Bill only applied to England and Wales, and in the unquiet state of Ireland the Government did not propose to make any alterations in the electoral law of that country. To Scotland they wished to apply a measure very similar to the English one—only differing from it, in fact, so far as the exigencies of Scotch law required. Household suffrage in its simple form in the boroughs, in the counties a reduction of the qualification like that effected in England, and a moderate redistribution of seats, were the main features of the Government measure. It was not, however, carried during this year, from want of time.

Although Ireland had not assumed that prominence in the debates of Parliament which she held in 1869 and 1870, there were "Irish debates" in plenty; and political

prophets saw clearly that Ireland was to be the immediate question for the first Reformed Parliament to grapple with. First came the proposal of Lord Naas, unfortunately rendered necessary, for the continued suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant explained that he had hoped to be able to dispense with these extraordinary powers, but that fresh signs of activity had appeared among the disaffected population. When the mysterious "invasion" of Chester Corpus Act. The Queen's Speech at the beginning of the session had "trusted that Parliament might be enabled to dispense with the continuance of any exceptional legislation" for Ireland, and yet the continuance was twice asked for. This was generally felt to be an instance of a want of foresight on the part of the Ministry; though Lord Naas announced that the disturbances in Ireland were caused by the resolutions adopted at a Fenian meeting held at New York in

LORD CARNARVON.
(*From a Photograph, by kind permission of the London Stereoscopic Company.*)

happened (an event to be immediately described), a simultaneous attempt at a rising was made at Cahirciveen, in the county of Kerry; and symptoms of revolt made themselves apparent in some of the large towns. He, therefore, with great regret, asked for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for three months longer; and the gravity of the emergency was shown by the fact, that the seconder of the motion was Sir John Gray. The suspension was allowed by the House, and also by the House of Lords; but it was with considerable alarm that, three months later, the country heard that the Government had found it necessary to apply again to Parliament for a further suspension of the Habeas January, when an attempt at insurrection was decreed. The debate which took place on Lord Naas making his second proposal called forth a great deal of that fund of contradictory opinion on Irish questions which was so richly exhibited in the debates of two years later. The request of the Government was, however, granted without difficulty. Bills tending to the prevention of discontent, as well as to its cure, were also discussed during the session, but they only served to show what was afterwards proved by Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, namely, that the question of Irish remedies was far too complicated, far too debateable, to be disposed of in a casual debate or two thrown in amidst a busy session. No motions of



MEETING OF REFORMERS IN HYDE PARK.

private members, such as was that of Sir Colman O'Loghlen, no ministerial afterthoughts, like the bill of Lord Naas for "promoting the improvement of land by tenants," could solve the Land question; and the House showed its sense of this by allowing those measures to drop after short discussions. In the same way with the Irish Church question. Sir John Gray brought it forward on the 7th of May, in the thick of the Reform campaign, and, of course, his motion—"That the House would on a future day resolve itself into a committee to consider the temporalities and privileges of the Established Church of Ireland"—had no chance of success at such a time. It drew, however, from Mr. Gladstone another of those emphatic statements of disapproval of the existing Establishment which, begun in 1865, had cost him his seat for Oxford University, and which ended in 1869, when he carried disestablishment. In the House of Lords, Lord Russell moved for a Royal Commission to inquire into the revenues of the Established Church of Ireland, and his motion was agreed to. The investigations made by the commissioners appointed in consequence of this motion formed the basis of the action of the Liberal Government two years later.

Other subjects which occupied the attention of Parliament during the year were, besides the various points of foreign policy which will be spoken of in another place, Church Rates, Religious Tests in the Universities, Religious Disabilities on various offices in Ireland, Increase of the Episcopate, National Education, the Factory Acts and their possible extension, the Agricultural Gangs, and the Right of Meeting in the London Parks. In the second and extraordinary session of Parliament, which was called together in the autumn to vote supplies for the Abyssinian expedition, a few other matters were brought forward; but the principal concern of that short session was the subject which had called the House together. That, however, is a matter that may fairly be left until we come to speak of the year 1868, when the whole story of the causes, circumstances, and results of the expedition may be told in detail. On the other questions which we have mentioned, very little actual legislation was achieved, but the tendency of future legislation was foreshadowed. The Oaths and Offices Bill had for its object the removal of the restriction which prevents a Roman Catholic from being Lord Lieutenant or Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and of various small disabilities, relics of the old penal laws, which Roman Catholics still suffered in Ireland. The bill was passed after some discussion. Mr. Coleridge's bill for abolishing religious tests required from members of Oxford University in taking certain degrees and in being elected to certain offices, was not so fortunate. The House of Lords rejected it after it had been passed by the Commons—and passed in an extended form, applying to Cambridge as well as to Oxford. The Lords seem to have thought that their concessions on the subject of Reform were as much as could be expected from them in one session. Nor did they accept with any unanimity Lord Lyttleton's bill for extending the Episcopate; and the bill had to be withdrawn. National Education was approached, but no more, in a bill which was brought in by Mr. Bruce, then a prominent member of the Opposition, but formerly Vice-President of the Council in Lord Russell's Ministry, and afterwards well known as Home Secretary in Mr. Gladstone's. Mr. Bruce based his bill upon many of the same statistics that afterwards lent strength to Mr. Forster's advocacy of a similar proposal—as, for instance, where he showed that in the diocese of London, containing 361,000 children who ought to be at school, only 182,000 (almost exactly one half) were actually at school. The bill was in some points singularly like Mr. Forster's bill of 1870, and in many points unlike it; it showed the same favour to the local system, and proposed the appointment of "school committees" with the functions, or nearly the functions, of the school boards afterwards established; and it showed the same regard for religious education. It was not proposed with any intention of being carried into law; it was only an instance of the common parliamentary device of inviting a Government to declare itself, and of showing to the Opposition, in case of an unsatisfactory Government answer, what the tactics of their own leaders would be if they were to be restored to power. Other measures, which especially concerned the wage-earning classes, and which were carried into law, were measures for extending the operation of the Factory Acts to certain occupations not included in them, and thus increasing the protection afforded to women and children in the great towns; and also strong legislative restrictions upon what is known as the "gang system." This last, which prevails especially in the eastern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, &c., is the system by which children of both sexes are gathered together in gangs by a contractor, or "ganger," and let out to the farmers to work in the fields at weeding or sowing. It is obvious that a system of this kind is full of danger, both to the physical and the moral well-being of the children. Too often the contractors were hard men, whose one object was to make as much money as possible out of their gangs; and for this they would overwork the children's bodies and leave them morally uncared-for. An Act was passed applying the same principles to the agricultural gangs as had been applied to the factories, and asserting the right of Parliament to protect the children and limit the powers of the gang-masters. It laid down hours beyond which it was unlawful for the children to work, and imposed other restrictions on the employment of girls. It worked well even at first; and later on, when supplemented by the Elementary Education Act of 1870, it put it still more out of the power of parents to sell their children's whole time, to give them up body and soul, to the weary drudgery of farm labour.

The time of Parliament was further occupied with discussions on that very modern difficulty, the Right of Meeting in the Metropolitan Parks. The way in which, in 1866, the populace and Mr. Beales took this question into their own hands and marched into Hyde Park across the ruins of the railings has already been recorded; and it has been said how keenly Mr. Secretary Walpole felt the distress of the situation. Again in this year the Reform League was active. The conduct of the Govern-

ment with regard to Reform had not, at least early in the session, pleased the ardent Reformers; they distrusted Mr. Disraeli's obscure eloquence, they thought the "system of checks and counterpoises" was far too clever to be satisfactory. Accordingly, it was resolved by the leaders of the League to hold another meeting in the Park, on the 6th of May. But on the 1st of May the following proclamation appeared:—

"Whereas it has been publicly announced that a meeting will be held in Hyde Park, on Monday, the 6th day of May, for the purpose of political discussion; and whereas the use of the Park for the purpose of holding such meeting is not permitted, and interferes with the object for which Her Majesty has been pleased to open the Park for the general enjoyment of her people: now all persons are hereby warned and admonished to abstain from attending, aiding, or taking part in any such meeting, or from entering the Park with a view to attend, aid, or take part in any such meeting. S. H. WALPOLE.

"Home Office, Whitehall, May 1, 1867."

This was an instance of the "spirit of conciliation and compromise" of which English statesmen are so fond, but which succeeds so poorly in times of high excitement. The Government intended to leave the Park gates open, and not to attempt to disperse the meeting by force, and yet it "admonished" people not to attend. Of course, the proclamation excited much discussion in Parliament; and Mr. Bright made an energetic statement of his belief that the parks were "public places," and an energetic protest against the proposal to swear in special constables—a measure which, he said, always tends to promote class hostility, and to create breaches between the divisions of the people. With this declaration of "the Tribune" to back them, the Reform League carried out its plan in the face of the Government admonition. Seventy thousand persons formed the audience of the speakers in the Park; a hundred thousand more, drawn partly by real interest in Reform, and partly by curiosity, filled the approaches and the open spaces; and "the Ring" was filled with the carriages of rich people, who had come to look on. There was absolutely no disturbance. The O'Donoghue, Mr. Beales, Colonel Dickson, Mr. Odger, Mr. Lucraft, and other well-known Reformers, took the lead and made the speeches, and the meeting quietly dispersed at dusk, with no occasion for the 5,000 police and the soldiers who were in readiness close by to come in and restore order. But the Government felt that they had received a check. Mr. Walpole resigned, "in consequence of the onerous duties imposed upon him," and his place was filled by a man of less susceptibility and more energy—Mr. Gathorne Hardy. He made many attempts during the remainder of the session to pass a Government bill abolishing the right of public meeting in the parks, but without success. The Reform Bill occupied too exclusively the time of the House; and it was felt that there was a certain invidiousness in passing a measure which would seem to be directly aimed at the prominent Reformers at the very time when their demand for Reform was being granted. Immediately after the passing of the Representation of the People Act, Parliament was prorogued; but before the year was over it was convoked again for an extraordinary session, to be described when we come to speak of the Abyssinian War.

The first occurrences outside Parliament that demand our attention are those connected with the Fenian outbreak, which this year were marked by a rare audacity, and occasioned great alarm in the public mind and severe retributive measures. We have already said that in February a rising took place in the county of Kerry. In December, a martello tower near Cork was attacked, and the arms carried away; and in more places than one gunsmiths' shops were broken into and robbed of their contents. But the alarm caused by these outbreaks on Irish soil was as nothing compared with that caused by certain outbreaks of Fenianism in England. The first of these was a supposed attempt to take Chester Castle, and make off with the arms and ammunition contained in it. Chester Castle, as is well known, is a mediæval fortress; and in 1867 it was used as a garrison for a small number of troops, and a storehouse for arms. As was afterwards discovered, a meeting had been held in New York early in the year, in which it had been decided to attempt a rising in Ireland; and a band of fifty was sent over in detachments to the United Kingdom to organise the rising. A central "Directory" of fifteen members was understood to be established in London, and branch directories were placed in many of the great towns. In obedience to orders from these authorities, a movement was made upon Chester on February 11th. The Castle contained at the time 9,000 stand of Enfield rifles, 4,000 swords, 900,000 rounds of ammunition, and some arms belonging to the militia; and the only guard consisted of a handful of men belonging to the 54th Regiment. During the night of the 10th, information was given to the Chester authorities by the Liverpool police that an ex-officer in the American service—himself a Fenian—had come to them, and made known the Fenian design, which was to assemble in large numbers in Chester the next day, seize the Castle, carry off the arms, break the telegraph wires, and tear up the rails on the railway, and themselves escape, *via* Holyhead, to Ireland with their booty. Very early in the morning the information began to be verified, and large numbers of young men, apparently of the artisan or labouring class, kept arriving by every train from Manchester, Liverpool, Stalybridge, Preston, and other manufacturing towns. Meanwhile, the civil and military authorities of Chester were actively employed; telegrams were passing between them and the Assistant Adjutant-General at Manchester, and the Government and the Commander-in-Chief were also kept informed. Early in the morning the volunteers were called out; and Mr. Walpole having telegraphed instructions that they ought not to be employed *as soldiers* in putting down a riot, but that they might *as individuals* assist the authorities, and even, if necessary, use their arms, they were sworn in as special constables. Still the invaders kept massing in the town. For some reason, though their errand was very well known, they were not arrested in detachments in the places from which they started, but were allowed to come to Chester unimpeded. By five o'clock the strangers amounted to 1,500 in

number, and yet the only force at the disposal of the authorities was a company of soldiers of the 54th, some of the county constabulary, and the volunteers as special constables. Yet, by extraordinary good fortune, this most inadequate force was not put to the test of fighting. For some unexplained reason—possibly because the Fenians, seeing that some preparations had been made for their reception, suspected that others might have been secretly made—no attack was made upon the Castle, although, between six and seven o'clock, when all the invading force was present, and the great reinforcements had not arrived for the defence, there were abundant opportunities, and good hopes of success. During the evening a public meeting of the "friends of order" was held, and 500 special constables were sworn in—a poor defence against thrice their number of desperate men armed with revolvers. But the special constables patrolled the town throughout the night, and by the morning it was found that the Fenians had melted away. They had walked off in small batches to Warrington and the other large towns in the neighbourhood. After they had gone some relics of their visit were found, in the shape of two haversacks, containing privately-made ball-cartridges, and other indications that the invaders were prepared to fight. During the morning of the 12th a battalion of 500 Foot Guards arrived from London—too late to have prevented the attack, supposing the Fenians had made it when they had so fair a chance; but not too late to relieve the anxious minds of the inhabitants of Chester from the alarm and terror of the past day. It is enough to add that sixty-seven "suspicious characters," all of them probably members of the invading force, were arrested at Dublin, on the morning of the 12th, as they landed from the Holyhead steamer. Nothing very conclusive was found upon them to illustrate the history of the Chester *fiasco;* but the authorities, acting on the powers conferred by the Act which suspended the Habeas Corpus, kept them in safe custody in Richmond Bridewell.

For some months after this Fenianism lay comparatively inactive, and the public alarm had time to subside. But in September England was again unpleasantly reminded of it by an event which took place at Manchester, and which, in the audacity of its design and the desperate manner of its execution, was sufficiently startling. The Manchester police, about the 10th of the month, arrested two men who were behaving in a suspicious manner at dead of night, and on each of them was found a loaded revolver. From communications held with the Irish police, it was discovered that these men were Fenians of considerable military rank in the brotherhood—Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasey. They were remanded at the police-court on their arrest; and on the 18th, after their second examination, they were to be removed in the ordinary police-van to the city gaol. As they were about to enter the van, the police saw two more suspicious looking men loitering about, and a constable seized one of them, who attempted to stab him. This caused the police to handcuff Kelly and Deasey, and they then entered the van. In the remaining compartments of the van—a vehicle of the ordinary well-known type—were placed the ordinary prisoners, mostly women; and Police-sergeant Brett occupied the little compartment just inside the door, which was locked, and the keys handed in to him through a little opening in the roof. Seven policemen rode outside the van, and four more came after in a cab; but none of these were armed except with the usual policeman's staff. The van drove off along its accustomed route, over Ardwick Green and along the Hyde Road, in the outskirts of Manchester. There is a railway-bridge which crosses this road; and the van approached this bridge about four o'clock. As it did so, a tall fair-haired young man ran out in front of it into the road, and presenting a revolver at the driver summoned him to stop. A large body of men made their appearance at the same moment; and then, without giving the driver the option of obeying the summons, fired several shots at him and the other policemen on the roof, shot the horses one after another, hurled a stone which brought the driver from his seat, and clambered up to the roof of the van to be in readiness to break it open if the door could not be forced. Then followed an indescribable scene. The small body of unarmed constables made a brave defence of the door; but axe and crowbar were being vigorously employed, and forty or fifty men armed with revolvers were carrying on the attack and firing without mercy. A crowd began to gather; but the Fenian revolvers kept them back for the most part. Two of the constables, Bromley and Trueman, were wounded; a civilian named Sprossen was shot in the ankle. Still the door resisted; a hole had been made in the roof, and stones had been let fall on the head of Sergeant Brett; he had been summoned to give up the keys, but he steadily refused. Then a panel of the door gave way, and one of the assailants, the tall young man who had led the attack, and who was afterwards identified as William O'Meara Allen, presented his revolver at the wounded policeman with a fresh demand for the keys. When this was refused, he fired at the lock of the door, and blew it open. Again he demanded the keys—for the cells of the van were each of them locked—and again was refused. Then he fired point blank at the head of Brett, who fell mortally wounded, the bullet having passed straight through the skull. The keys were now secured, the doors unlocked, the two prisoners released. As a witness at the trial swore, Allen said to one of them, "Arrah, Kelly, I'll die for you before I'll deliver you up!" Then Kelly and Deasey made off, Allen threatening to shoot any one who followed. The Fenians then dispersed, running across the fields or into the town; and all of them escaped for the time with the exception of four, including Allen, who were run down. Brett died very soon after receiving the shot.

It may be imagined that so bold a rescue created consternation in the minds not only of the inhabitants of Manchester, but of all English people. It was the most reckless act that the Fenians had as yet attempted; and the uncompromising use of force, while it horrified people, showed them once for all what a dangerous thing the Fenian conspiracy was. It showed that the "Irish element" in the great English towns was just as disaffected

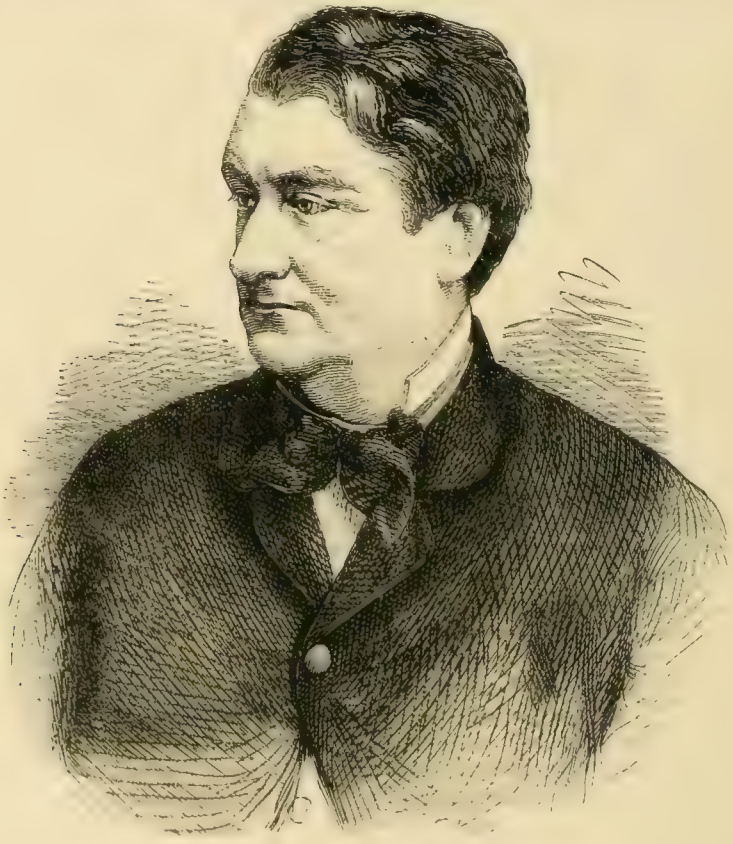
as the Irish in Ireland. It showed that there was discipline and skill enough in the Fenian camp for an outrage requiring the co-operation of fifty men to be planned without discovery, and to be executed in broad daylight in the outskirts of one of the most populous cities in England. It showed that the Fenians were not afraid to risk their own lives for their cause; and, still more, that they had no scruple about taking the lives of those who stood in their way. The seriousness of the occasion was such that the Government issued a special commission for the trial of the prisoners, who, with the four who were captured just after the rescue, numbered twenty-nine. The judges were Justices Blackburn and Mellor, and before them twenty-six of the men who had been arrested were arraigned, in different detachments, on counts extending from the charge of wilful murder to the charge of riot and assault. There is no need to state the facts of the trial at length; when the law had once been laid down, the case became one simply of identification. The Attorney-General, Sir John Karslake, held the Crown brief, and explained the law—namely, that if men conspired and combined to effect a rescue, prepared to use force if they were opposed, and if from their action during the rescue death resulted, that amounted to the crime of murder. The prisoners Allen, Larkin, Gould, Macguire, and Shore were all identified by numerous witnesses as having led the attack on the van; and many witnesses swore to Allen's having fired the fatal shot. They were all found guilty, and, though each of them denied having actually committed the murder, they were sentenced to death. To Macguire, however, who was convicted in spite of very clear evidence of an *alibi*, the Home Office sent a pardon; and Shore's punishment was commuted, because he had not been armed with a revolver, but had only thrown stones. But with the others the law took its course. Great efforts were made to obtain a reprieve, and much energy was displayed by a section of the press in showing that the crime for which they were to suffer was political, and was not murder. But it was of no avail; the Ministry then in power was not likely to take that view, nor even to recognise the proposition that no political offences are capital. On November 23, the three men were executed at Manchester, in the presence of enormous crowds of people. Their memory was consecrated by "processions" of their countrymen, held on December 1—a Sunday—in Manchester, and in Dublin, Limerick, and other Irish towns. The Irish populace persisted in regarding the three men as martyrs to the cause of Ireland.

Whatever ultimate effect the execution had, it did not prevent certain desperate sympathisers from outdoing in nefarious audacity the executed men. It was known that the feelings of a large class of Irishmen were embittered by the execution; but it was not suspected that within a very short time a deed would be perpetrated in London which would throw the Manchester rescue into the shade. Such a deed was, however, done; and, once for all, it implanted in the minds of all classes of English people a feeling of hatred towards Fenianism which nothing has been able to root out. Two men, named Burke and Casey, had been arrested in London on a charge of being Fenians; they were imprisoned, under a remand, in the Clerkenwell House of Detention. This prison has, as usual, an exercising-ground within its walls, and at a fixed hour in the afternoon the prisoners are exercised there. The wall of the exercising-ground ran along Corporation Lane; it was about twenty-five feet in height and two feet in thickness, becoming slightly thinner towards the top. The partisans of the Fenian prisoners determined to blow down this wall during exercise-time, to give them a chance of escaping in the confusion. Accordingly, about a quarter to four on the afternoon of December 13, a man came along the lane wheeling a truck, on which was a barrel covered with a white cloth. This truck he left opposite the wall, disappeared for a moment, and returned with a long squib, which he fixed in the barrel. He then coolly borrowed a light from some boys who were playing about close by, applied it to the squib, and ran off. In a few seconds a horrible explosion took place, sounding like the discharge of a park of artillery, and sending a shock through all that district of London. The prison wall tottered and fell. The houses opposite were shaken to their foundations, and several of them, after rocking for a moment, came crashing down. The screams and groans of wounded people, mingled with the noise of falling rafters, and the clouds of dust that rose from the ruins, choking the light of such lamps as stood the shock, added to the horror of the scene. When search could be made, it was found that at least forty people, many of them women and children, were seriously hurt; one was dead already, and three died soon afterwards in the hospital. The others, with their various degrees of injury, were taken care of at St. Bartholomew's and at the Free Hospital, Gray's Inn Road, until their recovery. It may be added that Burke and Casey did not escape, the governor of the prison having, for that day, changed their hour of exercise, so that when the explosion came they were safely in their cells.

The excitement caused by this outrage was such as cannot be described. Crowds of people thronged the scene of the explosion, and 500 police and a body of soldiers were necessary to keep order. Rumours of all kinds found their way about London—that the Bank of England was blown up and sacked; that the Tower of London was destroyed; that the explosion was but the first of a series of plotted outrages meant to avenge the "Manchester martyrs." These ideas, however, subsided when the facts came to be known. The police immediately succeeded in arresting six men and a woman named Ann Justice, on a charge of complicity in the crime; but their trial and ultimate fate must be told in a future chapter.

It was in this year that society was startled by certain revelations of the proceedings of trades unions which were made before a commission sitting at Sheffield. A number of mysterious outrages had taken place periodically in that town; and a Royal Commission, which had been appointed to investigate the nature and working of trades unions, determined to probe to the bottom the supposed connection between these acts and the unions.

Accordingly it delegated its functions to three barristers, of whom Mr. Overend, Q.C., was chairman, and sent them down to Sheffield to inquire into the matter. A special Act of Parliament was passed, allowing these gentlemen to give "certificates of indemnity" to any witness who should confess to any illegal acts, for it was known that without such certificates the questions of the commissioners would never be answered. The result of the commissioners' inquiry was to discover facts that thrilled all England with mingled horror and wonder. We found a kind of "vehmgericht," or secret tribunal, existing among us, passing sentence of death, and having its sentences executed; punishing offenders against its secret laws, by acts, the perpetrators of which could never be brought before their country's justice; depriving obnoxious workmen of the means of life, setting the rules of the trade in the place of law.



LORD NAAS.

The cases which most excited public interest were those of crimes instigated by one Broadhead, the secretary of the Sawgrinders' Union. A man named Linley had broken the rules of the trade by taking more apprentices than the proper number. In the words of the trade, he was "filling it with lads." For this offence, which was supposed to injure the chances of the men, Broadhead confessed that he had "set on" two workmen, named Crookes and Hallam, to "do for" Linley—that is, to disable him, or even to kill him, if necessary. This fact, which is but one out of many, was revealed first of all by Hallam himself. When called upon to give his evidence he was completely unmanned. He twice fainted away; and when he came to himself, he could only speak in a whisper. In this way he confessed with slow articulation how they had murdered Linley. They had first bought a revolver, and followed Linley about every night for six weeks, watching their opportunity. Then they changed their plan and bought an air-gun, of which they first of all made trial upon some rabbits in a neighbouring wood. Afterwards they marked Linley down in a public-house in Scotland Street; they entered a backyard, and saw him sitting in a parlour. Then with great difficulty Hallam induced Crookes to shoot. The bullet entered Linley's head, and he died some time afterwards. The two murderers ran off and escaped, and the coroner's jury was obliged to return a verdict of "wilful murder against some person or persons unknown." Hallam got £7 10s. for the deed. He confessed that he did not know Linley personally, and that he owed him no personal grudge. He took his life merely because he was injuring the trade.

Hallam's evidence was confirmed by Crookes, and the evidence of both by Broadhead. The revelations made by the latter were what really brought home to the public mind the strength, the rigour, the unscrupulousness of the trade organisations. Under promise of a certificate

he confessed not only to the murder of Linley, but to the destruction of machinery, the blowing up of houses, the mutilation, or attempted mutilation, of whole families. "I hired Dennis Clark," he said, "for £3 or £5, to blow up Hellewells." He owned that he had paid a large sum to blow up the house of a certain Parker, and £19 for blowing up Reaney's engine-house; and he admitted many more acts of the same kind. Moreover, he admitted that he had arranged many of the outrages with the secretaries of other unions—one, Bromhead, secretary of the Pen and Pocket Blade Grinders, and William Hides and William Skidmore, secretaries of the Saw-handle Makers and of the Jobbing Grinders. He even confessed that he had written letters to the newspapers, denouncing, as "infamous deeds" and "hellish deeds," the very acts which he had himself instigated and paid for. The outrages were very varied in character, some being merely cases of rattening—that is, preventing a man's working by spoiling his tools or machinery; others being cases of injury to the person, or of the destruction of premises. The most common form of these grosser outrages was to hang a canister of gunpowder in the chimney of the obnoxious workman or master, or to fling a canister of powder into the fire through the window. In other cases, as in that of Linley, shooting was resorted to. The evidence of Broadhead and the others revealed the whole system in its full details; and disclosures of the same kind, scarcely less terrible, were made before commissioners who sat at Manchester. What appeared most strikingly, and what alarmed the other classes of society most, was the way in which these disclosures were received by the workmen. They seemed to take it as a matter of course that the so-called interests of the separate trades were to be advanced at whatever cost. The laws which have always been held to be vital to the existence of society were as nothing beside the laws of the trade. A man's life and property were his own just so long as the union chose to allow him to enjoy them—that is, just so long as he obeyed the union rules.

THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

The public, as we have said, was thrilled with horror and wonder; to statesmen and social philosophers, the revelations of the power and audacity of the unions gave much food for painful reflection.

Other proceedings of the trades' unions, which attracted much attention during the present year, were those connected with the strike of the London tailors, and of the engine-drivers on the London and Brighton railway. The former began on the 28th of April, and lasted for several months. In August, ten of the working tailors were indicted at the Central Criminal Court for a misdemeanour in "conspiring together, by unlawful ways, contrivances, and stratagems, to impoverish Henry Poole, George Wolmershausen, and certain other persons, in their trade and business, in restraint of trade, and the freedom of personal action." In the course of the trial, which

attracted much interest, the public learnt many facts about the system of "picketing," which is a common device of workmen on strike towards workmen who will not join them. One witness said, "On the 3rd of May, I saw over 200 opposite Mr. Stohwasser's shop in Conduit Street. The general conduct of the persons acting as pickets was the following and hissing workmen who had not struck on leaving their work in the evening. They were called cowards, and by other offensive names. That was the general conduct of the pickets from time to time. The pickets also used to resort to certain public-houses—ten or a dozen—which they called committee rooms. I have seen them meet there early in the morning, and then go on picketing." Another witness, a pensioned sergeant of police, said that he had seen customers go to shops in carriages, and the pickets hang about the carriages until the customers went away. Much evidence was given of a similar character, showing that, although no outrages like the Sheffield outrages were committed, the union had used its forces to prevent obnoxious workmen, by threats, abusive language, and other annoyances, from working at their trade. Mr. Baron Bramwell, who presided at the trial, laid down the law on the matter very clearly. He said that the common law of the land made it a criminal offence for two or more persons to conspire by threats, intimidation, or molestation, to deter or influence another in the employment of his industry, talents, or capital. This maxim of the common law had been specially applied to the case of workmen by a statute of 6 Geo. IV., which enacted that "any person who should, by threats, intimidation, molestation, or any other way, obstruct, force, or endeavour to force, any journeyman to depart from his hiring, or prevent any journeyman from hiring, should be guilty of an offence." On the other hand, an Act of 1859 declared that "no workman, merely by reason of his endeavouring peaceably, and in a reasonable manner, and without threat or intimidation, direct or indirect to persuade others from working or ceasing to work, should be guilty of an offence under the former Act of Parliament." The question, therefore, for the jury was whether the conduct of the defendants came under the first or second of these Acts of Parliament. After some deliberation, the jury found the leading defendants guilty, but strongly recommended them to mercy, on the ground of the obscurity of the law; and a similar verdict was returned immediately afterwards in a case of some more of the tailors. The Judge, however, did not wish the conviction to be more than a warning, and the defendants were released on entering into their own recognisances to come up for judgment when called upon.

In the case of the engine-drivers' strike, the dispute ended by the directors conceding most of the points in dispute, and the grave public inconvenience which had been feared was happily avoided. Another strike, however, took place in the same month of March, which, though it was not immediately successful, was the beginning of a movement which a few years later had become of national importance. This was a strike of agricultural labourers in Buckinghamshire, rising in revolt against the system which allowed a family to starve on nine shillings a week. It was not, however, till some years later that the agricultural labourers became organised, and succeeded in enforcing their demand.

The proceedings in reference to the Jamaica riots and their suppression, of which we have told the story in a previous chapter, were brought to an issue in this year. We have already given an account of the remarkable charge delivered by the Lord Chief Justice of England in the case of Brigadier-General Nelson and Lieutenant Brand. The bill against those two persons was thrown out by the grand jury; and none of the proceedings taken against any of the other actors in the suppression met with any better success. An attempt was made by the Jamaica Committee (a committee which was formed by those who believed the measures of suppression to have been excessive and illegal, and of which Mr. John Stuart Mill was chairman) to obtain legal redress from ex-Governor Eyre himself. Mr. Eyre was resident near Market Drayton, and was therefore within the jurisdiction of the Shropshire magistrates. They were induced to issue a warrant against him on the charge of being an accessory before the fact to the murder of Mr. George William Gordon; and when Mr. Eyre appeared before them the case of the prosecution was argued with great force by Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, Q.C., afterwards a distinguished member of the Indian Legislative Council. Witnesses were called to prove Mr. Eyre's connection with the case of Gordon, and Mr. Stephen represented the legal aspect of the question in very much the same light as it was afterwards represented by the Lord Chief Justice in his charge. Mr. Eyre was defended by a practised advocate, Mr. Gifford, Q.C., who, in his speech of six hours long, was so deeply moved by the pathos of the situation that he could not refrain from tears. The case ended, as had been expected, in the dismissal of the charge against Mr. Eyre. It may be mentioned that on a subsequent occasion, when a civil action was brought against him for damages, the result was practically the same.

This year was memorable for various distressing accidents, some of them destructive only of property, others grievously destructive of life. Her Majesty's Theatre was burnt down; and not only was the building itself, the scene of so many a famous operatic triumph during seventy-five years, destroyed, but the music library with all its priceless manuscripts of Handel, Rossini, and the rest, was utterly lost. But more lamentable than this was the memorable ice accident in the Regent's Park on the 15th of January. There was a severe frost, and the ice on the Ornamental Water was crowded with skaters. Suddenly it began to part away from the bank, and for a moment the skaters found themselves supported by a floating sheet of ice. Almost instantly this broke up, and two hundred persons were in the water. It need only be added that, in spite of all the efforts of the by-standers and of the Humane Society's men, more than forty persons were drowned. The depth of the water was afterwards reduced in accordance with the recommendation of the coroner's jury. Before the year ended, other accidents as startling, though happily not so widely

destructive of life, took place. An explosion of gunpowder at the Faversham Powder Mills, in the month of December, blew eleven men into the air; a still more frightful explosion of nitro-glycerine, at Newcastle, killed five men, and showed that the destructive power of modern chemical invention is liable to nullify all measures of safety that can be taken to counteract it; and a fire that took place in March at Accrington, by which nine children were burnt alive in their schoolroom, added an unprecedented element of horror to the catalogue of accidents.

There was, however, as if to compensate for these darker facts, an unusual amount of gaiety imported into England during the summer months by the arrival of certain distinguished foreign visitors. The Belgian volunteers came over, more than a thousand strong, and were entertained in a very fraternal manner by their English brethren. The Viceroy of Egypt came, and was fêted by the richer classes of England with considerable expenditure and effect. But his star paled before the greater glories of a visitor who arrived when he had been a few days in London—no less a person than the Commander of the Faithful himself. England is so much an Asiatic power, and has under her sway so many millions of Mohammedans, that it was excusable for her to make the most of her opportunity of welcoming the Sultan of Turkey, the recognised head of all those who profess the orthodox Mussulman faith. All questions as to the real character of the man and of his government were lost sight of by the general London public in the contemplation of his retinue, his jewels, his swarthy complexion, and the white Arab which he rode. He was bandied about from dinner to opera, from opera to ball; the days were filled with reviews, and processions, and fêtes. The Lord Mayor gave him a ball at the Guildhall; the Secretary for India spent £10,000 out of the revenues of India upon a single evening's entertainment at the India Office. But the noblest and most creditable display attempted in his honour was the naval review at Spithead. Fifteen iron-clads and sixteen unarmoured ships, with sixteen gunboats, formed a mighty avenue, through which the royal yacht, bearing Her Majesty and the Sultan, the Prince of Wales, and other great personages, passed, amid deafening salutes. Only one thing was wanting to complete the Sultan's full enjoyment of the scene. A strong north-easter was blowing all the time, and, by common consent of the staff of His Majesty, the spectacle of the naval review proved rather impressive than pleasant. The Sultan left England on the 23rd of July, after a visit of twelve days.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Year 1867 a Time of Peace in Europe—Failure of the Policy of Napoleon: His Letter to M. Ollivier—Celebrated Speech of M. Thiers—Proposed Cession of Luxemburg to France: History of the Question: The Cession warmly opposed in Germany: The Conference of London: Treaty concluded, by which Luxemburg is Neutralised—Paris International Exhibition—Attempt on the Life of the Czar—Interview of Salzburg—Speech of M. Thiers on the Roman Question and the Unity of Italy: Declaration of M. Rouher: Scene in the Legislative Body—Austrian Affairs after the War—The Emperor appoints Count Beust his Foreign Minister—Count Andrassy is made Minister President for Hungary—Restoration of the Hungarian Constitution—The Dual System of Government established—Compromise between Austria and Hungary—The Delegations—Arrangement about the State Debt—Cis-Leithan Affairs—Amendment of the Constitution of 1861—Confessional Laws—Coronation Ceremony at Pesth—Italian Affairs in 1867—Ministry of Rattazzi—Arrest of Garibaldi—Bands cross the Roman Frontier, but are Defeated—Garibaldi escapes and renews the Invasion—The French Expedition leaves Toulon—Circular of M. de Moustier—The Pontifical Army—Battle of Mentana—Defeat of the Garibaldians: Indignation against them in France—Speech of Cardinal Bellechose—United States: Conflict between the President and the Congress continues—State of things at the South—Negro ascendancy—Democratic opinion—Republican opinion—Reflections—Affairs of Mexico—Arrival of a Papal Nuncio at the end of 1864: Maximilian can come to no agreement with him—Relations with Rome broken off—Decree of October, 1865: its fatal consequences—Unfriendly attitude of the American Government: They press Napoleon to recall the French Troops: He at last consents—Decline of Maximilian's Fortunes in 1866—The Empress visits Europe—She becomes insane—Progress of the Juarists—Mission of General Castelnau: Letter to him from the French Emperor—The French Officials urge Maximilian to Abdicate: He refuses: He is joined by Meramon and Marquez—Departure of the French—The Imperialists defeated at San Jacinto—Maximilian besieged in Queretaro: He is captured, tried, and executed—Juarez re-elected President of Mexico.

THE year 1867 was a time of profound peace in Europe, except so far as it was disturbed by revolutionary movements which had for their object the overthrow of the Papal Government, and by the last fruitless struggles of the Cretan insurgents. Besides the consummation of the failure of his costly experiment in Mexico, which will be fully narrated farther on, a new mortification befell the Emperor of the French this year in connection with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. Yet he continued to put the best face upon everything, to claim increasing influence for Napoleonic ideas, and to credit his foreign policy with success in all directions. Justly indeed might he declare—in the speech delivered at the opening of the Chambers on February 14—that "the voice of France had influence enough to arrest the conqueror at the gates of Vienna." But when, in the "Livre Jaune" (the "Yellow Book," containing the usual annual exposition of the views of the French Government on foreign policy), the recall of the French troops from Mexico was said to have been "resolved upon in the full plenitude of our liberty of action,"—when it was intimated that "anything having the character of external pressure could only have placed us in the position, despite ourselves, of having to prolong a state of things which we should wish to abridge,"—when he said that "the Government of the United States understood that want of conciliation would only have prolonged the occupation [of Mexico], and embittered relations which, for the welfare of both countries, should remain friendly,"—these brave words could not hide from the keen-witted politicians of France the real nature of the pusillanimous surrender which they were intended to disguise. Nor are there wanting indications that the Emperor was beginning to be haunted by that terrible sense of instability which, when it had attained to greater strength, caused him to rush madly into war in 1870. Writing to M. Ollivier, on the 12th January, on the subject of a new

Press law, he said—after referring to the extreme difficulty of framing a law which should hit the right mean between repression and indulgence—"Nevertheless, to strike the imagination by decisive measures, I would wish at one stroke to establish what has been called the crowning of the edifice. I should like to do this, and never undo the work, for a settlement is necessary to me and to the country. I must mark out resolutely the goal which I desire to reach, without having the appearance of being forced, year by year, to make successive concessions; *for one always falls, as said M. Guizot, on the side towards which one leans*; and I wish to march straight and firmly, without oscillating, now to the right, now to the left. You see I speak to you very frankly; you have inspired me with entire confidence, and my inspirations will always seem to me the better for being in conformity with yours."

A single word—in that condition of unstable equilibrium which results when the government of a great nation is based on an originally violent and illegal assumption of power—suffices sometimes to produce a terrible sensation. In March, M. Thiers made a celebrated speech, in which he declared himself opposed to the extravagant importance which was attached to the principle of race nationality—a principle which, if carried out universally and logically, would "be for Europe a chaos, and for France a descent to the third rank among nations." He expressed a strong disapproval of the policy which had favoured the unification of Italy, and was about to further rather than impede the unification of Germany. M. Rouher replied, and, in defending the policy of the Emperor in promoting national and popular aims, said: "The Government has no idea of impeding abroad the principle of national sovereignty which it upholds at home. Universal suffrage sanctioned the Imperial Government which was inaugurated on the 2nd December." Here M. Thiers interrupted M. Rouher by pronouncing the single word "Oublions!" (Let us forget). A kind of electric thrill ran through the Assembly at the sound of this ominous word; great agitation prevailed; and some time elapsed before M. Rouher could proceed with his speech. The Emperor must have known full well that this expression of a desire to *forget* the 2nd December signified really that no honest Frenchman felt it possible to *forgive* it.

The Emperor formally opened the Paris International Exhibition on the 1st April. Two days before, a question had been discussed in the North-German Parliament, which might easily have rekindled another war in Europe. The discussion bore on the negotiations, then first divulged, which had been proceeding for some time between the Emperor Napoleon and the King of Holland for the cession of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg to France. When, after Waterloo, the representatives of the great Powers were settling the map of Europe, the leading thought in their minds was to take securities against France; and among such securities, the establishment of a fortress of the first class on the northern frontier of France was provided for by the admission of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg (ruled over then, as now, by the King of Holland as Grand Duke) into the German Confederation, and the arrangement for the garrisoning of Luxemburg—one of the strongest places in Europe—by a garrison jointly composed of native and Prussian troops. At a later period, it was agreed by treaty that the garrison should consist of Prussian troops only. In 1839, the territory of the Grand Duchy was guaranteed to the King of Holland by a treaty concluded between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Luxemburg. The King of Holland, as ruler of Limburg and Luxemburg, had voted on the side of Prussia in the memorable division of the 14th June, 1866; Count Bismark had therefore no excuse for seizing Luxemburg as he did Hanover and Hesse Cassel. When the war was over, and the organisation of the new North-German Bund was being proceeded with, the King of Holland expressed his desire that neither Limburg nor Luxemburg should be included in the new Bund. To this Prussia acceded, yet retained her garrison in Luxemburg. Such a possession as the Grand Duchy, separated by Belgian territory from his Dutch dominions, and interposed between two powerful states, the relations between which were continually becoming more perilous and inflammable, was productive of more anxiety than profit to the King of Holland; and could he have quietly ceded it to France, for a consideration, nothing would have pleased him better. For the Emperor, such a "rectification" of the French frontier would have been in the highest degree serviceable; the world would then see that Prussia was not the only gainer by the late war, but that for France also it had resulted in an extension of her boundaries. The correspondence with Holland commenced towards the close of 1866, and was continued in January and February of the following year, being kept strictly secret. The difficulty, of course, lay in the Prussian garrison of Luxemburg; for, although the Grand Duchy was to form no part of the new North-German Bund, Prussia showed no symptoms of any intention to relax her hold on the fortress. It came to this, that the King of Holland declared himself ready to sell Luxemburg to France, if the consent both of the population and of Prussia could be first obtained. The Luxemburgers are said to be so philosophically cosmopolitan in their sentiments, that there would perhaps have been little difficulty, if judicious measures had been resorted to, in obtaining a nearly unanimous *plébiscite* in favour of annexation to France. But it was quite another thing to gain the consent of Prussia. The King of Holland had no sooner given to the Prussian Government an intimation of the contemplated cession, than the matter was debated in the North-German Parliament, and warmly, not to say angrily, canvassed in newspapers, in streets, and in houses, through the length and breadth of Germany. It was an intolerable thought to men who had just won so large a measure of national unity, and were full of pride and exultation in the retrospect, that an old German land, which had formerly given a line of emperors to Germany, should pass under the power of France. The negotiation respecting Luxemburg, had it now been transferred from the Hague to Berlin, must, considering the excitement of German feeling, have become acrimonious, and would

probably have ended in war. For this the Emperor, who was engaged in plans for the re-organisation of the French army, and the introduction of a new weapon, was not as yet prepared; he therefore abandoned the notion of purchasing Luxemburg, forebore to open direct negotiations with Berlin, and called in the assistance of the neutral Powers. It was arranged that the King of Holland, in his capacity of Grand Duke, should be invited by England, Prussia, Austria, Italy, and Belgium, to propose a Conference, to be held in London, for the settlement of the Luxemburg question. The King of Holland did so. Representatives of France and Prussia also, as well as the six Powers above mentioned, were sent to the Conference, which held its first meeting in London on the 7th May, 1867. The nature of the work to be done was pretty generally understood before the Conference met, and its deliberations were soon over. On the 11th May, a treaty was signed, by which it was stipulated that Luxemburg should remain, as before, under the rule of the House of Orange-Nassau, without any political connection with Holland, but that it should be for the future a neutral state, its neutrality being guaranteed by the Powers that were signataries to the treaty, with the exception of Belgium, itself a neutral kingdom. In accordance with its acquired character of neutrality, the capital of the Grand Duchy was to cease to be a fortified town; its fortifications were to be razed within a specified time; and the Prussian troops were to be withdrawn after the ratifications of the treaty had been exchanged. In this way the question was equitably and honourably settled without war, thanks to the diplomacy of Lord Stanley, who had actively promoted the project of a Conference.

In June, the Emperor had the satisfaction of welcoming at Paris a great number of imperial and royal personages, who came to visit the International Exhibition. During the festivities the Emperor of Russia, while seated in a carriage beside the Emperor Napoleon, was fired at by a fanatical Polish refugee, named Berezowski. Both sovereigns escaped without injury, Napoleon, according to the *Moniteur*, remarking to the Czar with a smile, "Sire, we shall have been under fire together." The King of Prussia also came to Paris, attended by Count Bismark. To these distinguished visitors must be added the King of Portugal, Prince Humbert of Italy, the Viceroy of Egypt, and, finally, no less a personage than the Commander of the Faithful himself, the Sultan Abdul Aziz, who now, for the first time in history, set foot as a guest, not as a conqueror, upon soil inhabited by unbelievers. In August, Napoleon went to Salzburg, and there had an interview with the Emperor of Austria. The circumstance caused much disquietude in Germany, for the object of the meeting was believed to be to concert plans against Prussia. Whether anything of the kind was contemplated on either side, it is impossible to determine; but it is certain that little beyond the interchange of friendly civilities and amenities actually took place. In a circular despatch bearing on this matter, Bismark intimated his satisfaction at finding that, contrary to the first reports, the meeting had really been of such an innocuous character; but he took occasion to give plain, and even stern, expression to the resolution generally entertained in Germany, to suffer henceforward no foreign intermeddling of any kind in its internal affairs.

On the 4th December, during a debate on the Roman question, M. Thiers made another of those telling and incisive speeches against the policy which had formed or permitted an united Italy—an united Germany—which, it is to be feared, contributed not a little to goad on the Emperor to the frantic declaration of war which he made in 1870. Yet it seems but just to M. Thiers to admit that his words need not necessarily bear the warlike and fire-breathing interpretation which is usually affixed to them. It is possible for a great nation "not to permit" a great political change in the midst of a neighbouring people without declaring war; at any rate, it is theoretically possible. Suppose, for instance, that Napoleon had, throughout the quarrels which preceded the war, given the support of France, so far as it was possible, to the Austrian policy, and had declined to give to Bismark, when he visited him at Biarritz, the slightest tranquillising assurance as to what the attitude of France would be in the event of war between Austria and Prussia. In that case, it is not too much to say, that either the war would not have broken out at all; or, if it had broken out, it would not have resulted in an aggrandisement of Prussia comparable to that which was actually achieved. An *unfriendly* neutrality of France, as before explained, would have prevented Prussia from denuding the Rhine frontier, and so bringing a great superiority of force into play against Austria on the Elbe. Why might not M. Thiers have merely desired for France a course of policy such as is here shadowed forth? This, however, is what he said: "No sovereign should create voluntarily on his own frontier a state of twenty-five millions of inhabitants. By committing such a fault, we have not promoted either the welfare of France, Italy, or Europe. Italy, in becoming a great monarchy, at the same time becomes a disturbing agent, and an instrument of revolution. The Germanic Confederation, which for fifty years was the principal authority for maintaining the peace of the world, has disappeared, and has been replaced by a military monarchy, which disposes of forty millions of men. You are placed between two unities—one which you made, and the other which you permitted. They are joining hands over the Alps, and only content to preserve peace on condition that you allow the one to complete itself by seizing on the States of the Pope, and the other to swallow up the German Governments of the South." M. Thiers went on to speak in detail of the condition of Italy under the "wolves of Savoy." Stung by his taunts, and alarmed by the evident sympathy of the majority with the line of censure which he adopted, the Government was induced to commit itself more explicitly than it had intended. M. Rouher rose, and, in the course of his reply to Thiers, declared that France would never permit Italy to possess itself of Rome. Then ensued an extraordinary scene. The majority of the members welcomed this declaration with enthusiasm, rising from their seats, waving their hats, and shouting, "Jamais,

non, jamais l'Italie ne s'emparera de Rome!" (*Never, never shall Italy possess itself of Rome*).

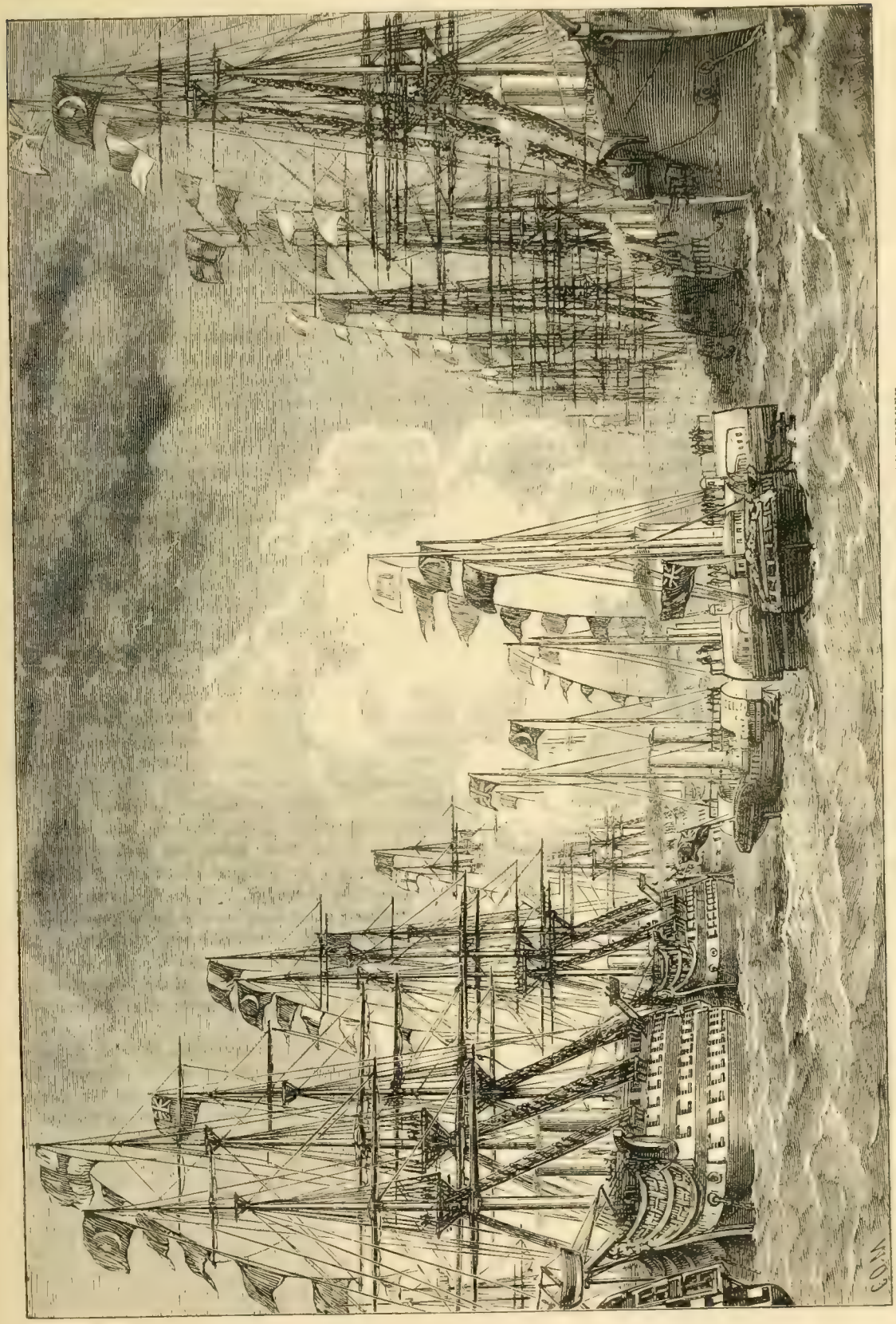
Austria, with her armies shattered and her prestige departed, burdened with debt, and distracted by the demands of a dozen different nationalities, displayed in this year that wonderful tenacity of life which she has before exhibited on many a historic emergency. In Count Beust, the late Saxon Minister, the Emperor found a statesman of great capacity, astuteness, and perseverance, whom he appointed to the post of Foreign Minister at the end of October, 1866. At that time dismemberment

SALZBURG.

was openly talked of; for the difficulties of the monarchy were so great that no one could see his way out of them. The other chief ministers were Prince Esterhazy and Count Belcredi, the authors of what was called the policy of "inhibition," under which, until a common and equal representation of the whole monarchy could be devised, the Constitution of February, 1861, giving a Parliament or Reichsrath to Western Austria, was suspended; the central power governed absolutely; and parliamentary life throughout the empire was confined within the walls of the provincial Diets. Hungary still held aloof from the rest of the empire, like a half-severed limb, having its own Parliament for local affairs, but unrepresented in the imperial councils, and sullenly obeying the administrative and executive dispositions of the central power. Count Beust placed two leading political aims before him—to effect a compromise with Hungary, and to revive constitutional and parliamentary life in Western Austria. To bring about the first, it was necessary to come to an understanding with M. Déak and the party which he represented, since he, above all other living men, possessed the confidence of the Hungarians. Now M. Déak was firmly convinced that a system of complete dualism between Austria and Hungary would alone meet the exigencies of the case—a system under which, certain common affairs being reserved and separately provided for, all Hungarian affairs should be managed by a separate administration, appointed indeed by the Emperor, but responsible to the Hungarian Parliament. At the opening of this Parliament, on the 19th November, an imperial rescript was read, holding out hopes of a responsible Ministry for Hungary, and of concessions to the views represented by M. Déak.

Ea vox audita laborum
Prima tulit finem:

and the Hungarian patriots, who had waited so bravely and so long, never renouncing their just rights, but never seduced into the paths of revolution, now saw the desired goal within their reach. The plans of Belcredi, who desired to convoke an "Extraordinary Reichsrath," representing all the other nationalities along with Austria, but excluding Hungary, were swept away; and he himself was compelled to resign soon afterwards. Count Beust was then made Prime Minister. A deputation from the Hungarian Diet, headed by Count Andrassy,



NAVAL REVIEW AT SPITHEAD IN HONOUR OF THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.

arrived in Vienna about the end of January, and proceeded to negotiate with Count Beust and the other Austrian ministers respecting the terms of the compromise. Early in February, 1867, the Emperor appointed Count Andrassy his Minister President for Hungary, and intrusted him with the formation of a Hungarian Ministry. At last, on the 17th February, appeared the imperial and royal rescript, restoring to Hungary her full parliamentary rights as they had existed before 1848. The terms of the compromise between Austria and Hungary were settled in the following manner:—"Common affairs" were defined to include the foreign policy of the empire, with its diplomatic representation abroad, and a joint army under the command of the Emperor. Both parts of the empire were to contribute proportionately to the cost of the ministry of foreign affairs and of the army; and this proportion was afterwards fixed at 70 per cent. for Austria and 30 per cent. for Hungary. Hungary was likewise to contribute to the payment of the interest of the state debt. All international treaties were to receive the sanction of both Legislatures. All other affairs requiring a joint consideration, such as the Customs duties, indirect taxes, and the currency, were to be regulated by treaties, subject to the approval of both moieties of the realm.

The common affairs were committed to the examination and determination of a body called "the Delegations." These consisted of two large committees, each containing sixty members, appointed annually by each of the two Legislatures, and sitting alternately at Vienna and at Pesth. The joint Austro-Hungarian ministers were made responsible to the Delegations, which also had to vote the budget for common affairs. All other matters of legislation not expressly defined as common affairs were to fall within the competency of the separate Parliaments. All these points of the compromise were ratified by the Hungarian Parliament at the beginning of April.

Hungary was thus satisfied; but Cis-Leithan affairs —that is, the affairs of the countries subject to the Imperial Crown that lie west of the river Leitha, the boundary between Austria and Hungary—were still in a state of confusion. Here also the astute and conciliatory genius of Count Beust was able in a short time to effect great ameliorations. The ordinary Reichsrath was convened, for the first time since 1865, to meet at Vienna on the 22nd May. A committee of this body, in conjunction with the Minister President (who in June received from the Emperor the distinguished title of Chancellor of the Empire), proceeded to settle the terms of the financial arrangement with Hungary. In what proportion it was agreed that the common expenses should be shared, has been already mentioned; with regard to the debt, the discussion was long and thorny. A considerable portion of the Austrian state debt had been incurred in order to put down—unjustly as they would consider—the resistance of the Hungarians after the events of 1848; and it can cause no surprise if Hungary showed little readiness to take any part of the responsibility for a debt so incurred. On the other hand, the revenue in Austria was in the most unsatisfactory condition, and the taxpayers were burdened to the full extent that they could bear. The arrangement finally concluded—under which Hungary agreed to pay 30,200,000 florins annually towards the interest of the state debt—was certainly too favourable for Hungary, and Count Beust did not escape blame for having conceded so much; yet the political advantage of a reconciliation between the two halves of the empire was of such great and urgent importance, that Austrian statesmen may be excused for having consented to onerous terms on the financial side. But the burden which they undertook was too great for the revenue to bear; and it was found necessary, to the great annoyance of the foreign creditor, temporarily to reduce the interest on the debt.

In the Austrian Reichsrath much useful and earnest work was done in the session of this year, of which we can but briefly indicate the results. The Constitution of February, 1861, was modified in various important respects, in order to bring it into harmony with the arrangement made with Hungary. That constitution had provided that whatever affairs were not expressly reserved to the Provincial Diets should be considered to fall within the competency of the Reichsrath; as amended, it ordained the exact contrary—that whatever was not expressly reserved for the Reichsrath was to be decided by the autonomy of the Diets. Other amendments were introduced, all tending in the same federalist direction. The principle of the responsibility of the Emperor's ministers to the Reichsrath was adopted in Austria, as it had been in Hungary. A series of "Confessional Laws" were passed, which, without expressly rescinding the Concordat made with Rome a few years before, ignored it, so to speak, and passed it by; allowing marriage, which till now could only be solemnised by a priest, to be civilly contracted; and withdrawing public education from the exclusive control of the clergy. All this time the unhappy ex-Dictator, Louis Kossuth, was writing declamatory letters from Turin, idly reviling the noble-minded Déak as the betrayer of the rights of Hungary.

On the 24th December, 1867, the Emperor wrote with his own hand a flattering letter to Count Beust, relieving him, in view of the accomplishment of the great legislative and administrative tasks for the sake of which he had been appointed to the office, of the duties of Minister President, but retaining him in the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

On the 8th June, a memorable pageant graced the streets, the noble river, and the ancient cathedral of the double capital of Hungary. On that day, the Emperor Francis Joseph, who had never yet received the crown of St. Stephen, was solemnly crowned King of Hungary in the cathedral of Buda, amidst the joyful acclamations of a reconciled people. With him was crowned the beautiful Bavarian, the good and fair Empress Elizabeth. A stately procession wound through the streets after the coronation, and crossed the bridge over the Danube; ascending a hill on the eastern bank, the Emperor mounted his horse, and, in compliance with an ancient formulary, swore to defend against all comers the lands

belonging to the crown of St. Stephen. On the 9th June, the Emperor published an unconditional amnesty for all political offenders; on the 10th, he received, with the Empress, the traditional presents of the nation, among which were two purses containing 50,000 ducats each, which their Majesties immediately made over for the relief of widows and orphans of former Honveds, and of invalids belonging to the same force. These Honveds, or Home Defenders, were Hungarian soldiers who had fought against Austria during the civil war of 1848–9.

In Italy, the autumn of 1867 witnessed the invasion of the Pontifical State by Garibaldian bands, and the victory of Mentana. Signor Rattazzi, who had succeeded Ricasoli at the head of the Italian Government in April, 1867, was extremely desirous to bring Victor Emmanuel to Rome, and to abolish the temporal power. Every artifice that a subtle Italian brain could devise, in order to undermine the Papal power and outwit its French protectors, was put in requisition. Rattazzi complained loudly of the presence of the Antibes Legion in Rome, declaring that these troops were still borne on the rolls of the French army, and that their employment in Italy was therefore an infringement of the September Convention. There must have been truth in this remonstrance, for the Marquis de Moustier declared that no more troops should be employed on the Legion who were not entirely disconnected from the French army. In September, Garibaldi, who was weary of inaction, began to raise bands, and openly to declare his intention of invading the Papal territory. If Rattazzi had allowed him to proceed absolutely unmolested, he knew that France would immediately interfere; he therefore caused Garibaldi to be arrested at Sinalunga, near Arezzo (Sept. 24), as he was on his way to the Roman frontier; at the same time, he ordered Nigra to represent to the French Emperor that the attitude of the Roman population was so revolutionary as to threaten an insurrection hourly, implying that in such an event the Italian Government might be compelled to send its army to Rome to preserve order. This was just the policy which Cavour had employed a few years before with signal success in the case of the kingdom of Naples. But the French Emperor coolly replied that insurrections were of two kinds—manufactured and spontaneous; and that his line of action would vary, as it might be determined to which category an insurrection breaking out at Rome might belong. The arrest of Garibaldi brought down a torrent of censure and obloquy on the head of Rattazzi, and had not the effect which he had hoped for, of putting an end to the preparations for a French expedition which were being made at Toulon. He wished to send Italian troops into the Papal territory, as though to assure its protection under the September Convention; but to this the King would not consent. Rattazzi then had no choice but to resign; and, after experiencing great difficulty in filling his place, the King induced General Menabrea to accept the premiership. Meantime the movement for the invasion of the Roman territory had been carried forward in spite of the arrest of Garibaldi. On September 29 and 30, the Garibaldians crossed the northern frontier of the Pontifical State at four points. Their movements were conducted with little ability, and being attacked vigorously by the Papal Zouaves, at Bagnorea, Monte Libretti, Nerola, and other places, they were defeated on every occasion, and, before the 20th October, driven back over the Italian frontier.

Garibaldi, after being arrested at Sinalunga, was allowed to retire to Caprera; but he refused to give any pledge which would bind his future movements, and the Government was too much afraid of the clamour raised by his party to detain him longer in confinement. On the 15th October he made his escape from Caprera; on the 22nd he was at Florence, haranguing the people, and urging the march on Rome. Accomplices in the city were busy in framing plots with a view to the destruction of the defenders of the Papacy. It is said that one of these plots contemplated the simultaneous explosion of mines under all the barracks of the Papal troops in Rome. If so, the other mines must have failed or been discovered; but a terrible explosion took place at the Serristori barracks, near the Vatican palace, on the 22nd October, killing between thirty and forty of the Papal Zouaves outright, and wounding many more. But the General commanding for the Pope, Von Kanzler, was a man of firmness, and put down without difficulty the insignificant attempts that were made to create a disturbance within the city. On the day following the explosion he made a great seizure of arms and ammunition in a house which had long been suspected by the police, and could, after that, turn his undivided attention to the progress of the Garibaldians on the frontier. The re-appearance of Garibaldi kindled the wildest enthusiasm among his adherents; bands began to multiply in every direction; the patriotic vigilance of the Italian troops, who were supposed to be guarding the frontier, suffered itself easily to be imposed upon; and in a short time thousands of Garibaldians were again on Roman soil. Unwilling to expose his small force to be overpowered in detail, through attempting to guard the frontiers against greatly superior numbers, General Kanzler concentrated all the forces under his command at Rome. Advancing therefore unopposed through the old hill country of the Sabines, Garibaldi descended upon the strong walled village of Monte Rotondo (perhaps the ancient Crustumerium) on the 26th October, and carried it after an obstinate resistance.

When the tidings of this new inroad reached France, orders were given for the immediate departure of the expedition from Toulon. At the same time, a Foreign Office circular of the Count de Moustier (October 25) informed the world, that France was compelled again to send her troops to Rome, owing to the apparent inability of the Italian Government to perform that duty of protection towards the Holy Father to which it was bound under the September Convention; but that as soon as the Pontifical territory should be liberated, and its security re-established, the French troops would be withdrawn. General Dumont, commanding the expedition, entered Rome on the 30th October.

The forces which the Papal General had at his disposal

for the defence of Rome amounted to about 3,000 men. One half of these were the Papal Zouaves, a corps first organised by General Lamoricière in 1860, and then consisting almost entirely of young Frenchmen and Belgians of good family. Since then, its composition had come to be of a miscellaneous character; even Englishmen and Irishmen were found in its ranks; and the names of Watts Russell and Collingridge occur among the slain at Monte Libretti and Mentana. The corps was commanded by a Swiss officer, Colonel Allet; next in command to whom was Lieutenant-Colonel de Charrette, a name which we shall meet again on a wider field. The remainder of the Papal force was composed in about equal proportions of Swiss carabineers, Pontifical gendarmes, cavalry, and artillery, and the remains of the Antibes Legion.

From Monte Rotondo, the Garibaldians showed a disposition to move towards Tivoli, and General Kanzler resolved to attack them on the march. On the morning of the 3rd November, he drew out his little army from the Porta Pia, and advanced towards Mentana (the ancient Nomentum), having the Tiber on his left, and supported on the right by a body of 2,000 French, under the order of General Polhès. The Garibaldian out-posts were met with on some low hills covered with vineyards on either side of the road in front of Mentana. These were driven in by the Papal Zouaves, and the whole Garibaldian force was forced back on Mentana and Monte Rotondo. Under cover of these villages they rallied and renewed the contest, endeavouring, with the aid of their great superiority of numbers, to envelop both wings of the Pontifical army. Seeing this, and having no more of his own column in reserve, General Kanzler requested support from General Polhès. The French, who had hitherto taken no part in the action, immediately sprang to the front with characteristic *élan*, and drove back the Garibaldians on both flanks. The defeated revolutionists shut themselves up within the walls of Mentana and Monte Rotondo, the former of which General Kanzler attempted to carry by assault, but found it fortified by barricades, and flanked by isolated houses all bristling with sharp-shooters, so that he abandoned the attempt. The victorious troops bivouacked on the position which they had won; in the morning, a "parlementaire" came from the Garibaldians to treat with the Papal General for the surrender of Mentana. Many prisoners had meantime been made; and as the disposal of these was a matter of some difficulty, General Kanzler agreed to permit the remaining defenders of Mentana to evacuate the place and re-cross the frontier, leaving their arms behind them. The defenders of Monte Rotondo had abandoned it during the night and fled. Garibaldi himself, if General Kanzler's account may be trusted, was never seen in the first line during the action, and retired before its close to Monte Rotondo, whence, on the same evening, he passed the frontier. With the exception of the profanation of churches, the revolutionists do not seem to have been guilty of any great excesses while they were in Pontifical territory. The result of the battle of Mentana was to clear of invaders every part of the Patrimony of St. Peter. The loss of the Garibaldians was very severe; out of a total of about 9,000 men, upwards of 600 were killed, and a proportionate number wounded; while nearly 1,400 were made prisoners. On the side of the Romans, thirty men were killed and a hundred and three wounded in the Pontifical army; of the French allies but two were killed and thirty-six wounded.

After Mentana, the French troops were withdrawn to Civita Vecchia; Napoleon being reluctant to recall them to France till tranquillity were entirely restored in Italy. The Italian regular troops, which had advanced across the frontier when the French came to Rome, and occupied Acqua Pendente and Frosinone, were now withdrawn. The experience of this short conflict convinced the Cabinets of Europe that the Pope now possessed a force sufficient to guarantee the security of the temporal power against all irregular and revolutionary attempts, if Italy was only moderately faithful to the stipulations of the September Convention. As to the population, its general feeling was evidently one of neutrality; it had something to gain and something to lose, whichever side might win. In France, the conduct of the Garibaldians aroused general indignation, and was denounced in unmeasured terms by the bishops and clergy. In the course of a debate in the Senate on the late events, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Rouen said: "Italian unity is the work of secret conspiracies, of fraud, corruption, intimidation, violence, and crime. And in the direct ratio of its formation, we have seen a recrudescence of insults directed against France; ingratitude has lately been pushed to its extreme limits. God grant that this Prussia of the south may not become a peril for us; it is already a threat. I know that many say, 'The Pope can remain free in the Vatican, while Victor Emmanuel and his Parliament sit in the Capitol.' But the Catholics will never accept these terms; will never endure that the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of Christ, the regulator of two hundred millions of Catholic consciences, should be at the mercy of a King of Italy. . . . What, then, are we now to do? I do not ask you to give the death-blow yourselves to this kingdom of Italy, since you have willed its existence; but as this new Power declares itself incompatible with that which constitutes the life of the moral world of the universe, let us await the dispensations of Providence; let us disengage our own responsibility; let us allow that to crumble to pieces which is destined to perish; and let us remain the protectors and defenders of that which cannot fail. Let us stay at Rome till the Sovereign Disposer of all events shall have pronounced, and till the future shall have brought about a situation in which the august Head of the Church can repose in security on his time-honoured throne, re-established in all the conditions of its dignity and independence."

The project of a federal union between the most important of our North American colonies, which had been for several years in course of preparation, was brought this autumn to a happy and successful completion. The policy of the Home Government had for years pointed in the direction of retrenchment and concentration; the

English army, it was said, was too small to be distributed in driblets over the face of the world wherever an English colony might have planted itself; nor was it just that the British taxpayer should pay for the protection of those who were generally better off than himself. The colonies, therefore, must learn the art of self-defence, and also pay the cost of their tuition; on other terms, their allegiance was not worth retaining. Such was the language now commonly heard within the walls of Parliament; and the colonies wisely bowed to the change in public sentiment, and took measures to provide for their own military and naval defence. In North America, the proximity of a powerful nation, federally constituted, the central government of which had just stood the strain of a gigantic war, naturally disposed the minds of Canadians and Nova-Scotians to ideas of union. After long and careful negotiation, terms were agreed upon between Canada (Upper and Lower), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland preferring to stand neutral to the arrangement for the present. By an Act of Parliament passed on the 29th March, 1867, it was provided that the Queen in Council might declare by proclamation, within six months from the passing of the Act, that the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick should form one dominion under the name of Canada, and that the first Senate of the said dominion should be nominated by the Crown. This legislation was in pursuance of the Act of Union already passed by the different colonial Legislatures, and was directed to give validity thereto. Seventy-two persons were accordingly nominated by the Crown to seats in the first Canadian Senate—twenty-four for the province of Quebec (Lower Canada), twenty-four for the province of Ontario (Upper Canada), twelve for Nova Scotia, and twelve for New Brunswick. The new Parliament, consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons, presided over by Lord Monck, the Governor-General, met at Ottawa (the rising town on the river of the same name, which had been selected as the political capital of the dominion) on the 7th November, 1867. Lord Monck, in his speech opening the session, congratulated the assembled legislators in fitting terms on the crowning of the edifice which they had so long been patiently building up by the legislative sanction recently extended to the Act of Union under which they were assembled that day. That Act, he continued, "has laid the foundation of a new nationality, which, I trust and believe, will ere long extend its bounds from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean."

In the United States the conflict of authority between the President and the Congress still continued. Congress passed a number of Acts, with a view to that peculiar reconstruction of the South which they had determined upon. The President vetoed these Acts; then the Congress passed them into law by a two-thirds vote over the President's veto. Motions for the impeachment of the President were twice introduced in Congress, and received with favour, but ultimately miscarried. Mr. Johnson dismissed Mr. Stanton from the Foreign Office in August, or rather *suspended* him, for Mr. Stanton disputed the President's right to dismiss him, and turned over the office to General Grant. In the South, although, by the appointment of men of conciliatory character and democratic politics as military governors, the President strove to mitigate for the people the bitterness of subjugation, recent legislation was now beginning to work with disastrous effect. Under the laws operating to the enfranchisement of the blacks and the disfranchisement of the whites, power had passed, or was rapidly passing, in many of the Southern States, into the hands, partly of the negroes themselves, partly of a class of white men still more degraded than they—"carpet-baggers" from the North (so called, we believe, because on their arrival south their whole worldly goods were generally such as could be easily stowed in a carpet-bag), and a few wretched renegades, natives of the country itself, who were willing to fatten on the misery and ruin which surrounded them. A vast number of the whites were disfranchised, owing to having taken part in the late war. After the work of the registration of voters was finished, there was a negro majority of upwards of 38,000 in Louisiana, and in Tennessee nine-tenths of the republican (*i.e.*, anti-Southern) voters were negroes. In South Carolina power passed completely away from the planters to their former slaves. So miserable was the state of things for those who were the owners of the soil and the natural leaders of society, that, in the address of a negro candidate for Congress in the state of Georgia, he promised that, if elected, he would do all he could to ameliorate the condition of the whites! The following extract from the *New York Herald* will be found instructive, although the picture which it draws—coming as it does from a well-known and not very scrupulous organ of the Democratic party—may perhaps be regarded as somewhat too highly coloured:—

"Briefly, we may regard the entire ten unreconstructed Southern States, with possibly one or two exceptions, as forced by a secret and overwhelming revolutionary influence to a common and inevitable fate. They are all going one way. They are all bound to be governed by blacks, spurred on by worse than blacks—white wretches who dare not show their faces in respectable white society anywhere. This is the most abominable phase barbarism has assumed since the dawn of civilisation. It was all right and proper to put down the Rebellion. It was all right, perhaps, to emancipate the slaves, although the right to hold them had been acknowledged before. But it is not right to make slaves of white men, even though they may have been former masters of blacks. This is but a change in a system of bondage that is rendered more odious and intolerable because it has been inaugurated in an enlightened, instead of a dark and uncivilised age."

It is but fair, however, to give a quotation representing the views of the Republicans, which we will take from Mr. Grant Duff's "Political Survey," published in 1868. It runs thus:—"The prevailing party, who have carried these measures, have an answer which at least deserves to be weighed. . . . Since you cannot protect the negro, they say, the only chance of his salvation is to

give him political rights. These of themselves constitute a safeguard of his person and property. If the negro ticket is worth anything in elections, this consideration will generally supersede at once the hatred of race and the revengeful spirit of defeat. Whether a negro be or be not a man, in the true sense of the word, which is a subject of dispute in the South, it is at all events very certain that a voter is. When not only the enjoyment of party victory, but the more substantial delight of place and power, depend on the influence which may be obtained over him, he will be protected by an influence much stronger than either the sense of justice or the fear of justice."*

There will be no difference of opinion as to the necessity that the blacks should be protected; but that object might surely have been obtained in another way. It might have been obtained by the military occupation of the former slave-holding states for a period sufficiently long to ensure that the emancipation which the war had wrought for the blacks was really and practically enjoyed by them, and that the new state of things produced by freedom was sincerely accepted by all classes. Of this, good men at the South would not have complained. What they did complain of was this. They said that under a show of obtaining protection for the blacks, but really in order to spare expense, and keep up the semblance of democratic government without its reality, the political, intellectual, and social civilisation of a great part of the South had been either ruined or retarded for several generations; tyranny of the vilest kind had been allowed to be exercised by instruments the most base and ignoble; and the dominant party at the North, not content with conquering their enemies, had stooped them to the lips in undeserved degradation.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION AT PARIS, 1867.

* "A Political Survey," p. 123.

This year saw the tragical close of the story of Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico. When we last spoke of Mexican affairs (*ante*, p. 104), it was to relate the continued successes of the French against the Juarists, and the regular progress which the new empire was apparently making towards a condition of stability and prosperity. About the end of 1864, Maximilian began to incline towards the Liberal party, and gave much of his confidence to moderate Liberals, some of whom he made his ministers. But the Church question remained unsettled; and Maximilian's Liberal proclivities, giving no hope to the powerful ecclesiastical party of a reversal of the policy of confiscation pursued by former Governments, were about to alienate from him those, from whom alone, could he have won them over, he might have counted on a sincere and effectual support. While Maximilian was at Rome, on the eve of his sailing for Mexico, it appears probable that vague conciliatory expressions were all that were exchanged between him and the Pope. Now, however (December 7, 1864), Monsignor Meglia arrived from Rome as Papal Nuncio. The Emperor immediately proposed to the Nuncio a settlement of religious affairs on the following bases:—(1) The predominance of the Catholic religion in Mexico; but with complete toleration for all denominations. (2) Gratuitous religious ministrations. (3) The support of the Church at the cost of the state. (4) The confirmation of the "Laws of Reform" of the Republican Government, under which the Church lands had been confiscated. Meglia positively declined to negotiate on these bases. He said that he had no instructions which would enable him to do so; and that Rome could not have given him any, since at the time of his departure no other idea prevailed at the Vatican than that the confiscation of the lands was to be reversed.

MARSHAL BAZAINE.

He would, however, he said, apply for fresh instructions. Maximilian, with whom hastiness of temper was a constitutional fault, became impatient at the suggestion of delay, and ordered his Minister of Justice to prepare and submit to him draught bills founded on the bases above mentioned. The Nuncio replied by a vigorous protest, in which he categorically denied the truth of a part of the Emperor's letter to the minister. Four bishops of rural sees, whom the disturbed state of their dioceses had caused to take up their residence in Mexico, addressed a letter to the Emperor, complaining bitterly of his having taken a decision so hostile to the interests of the Church, without waiting till the Nuncio should receive fresh instructions from Rome. The Emperor replied in a haughty

and sarcastic tone, twitting the four bishops with timidly remaining in the capital, while he, in the previous summer, had, without fear, visited and inspected their dioceses. But in his efforts to win popularity with the Liberals Maximilian did not stop here. He soon issued a decree (January 7, 1865), reviving the old laws, now fallen into desuetude, which required that Pontifical bulls and rescripts should receive the *exequatur* of the Government before publication. Meglia published a fresh protest, and, not long afterwards, quitted the country, when diplomatic relations between Rome and the new empire were broken off. There can be no doubt that these Liberal measures, considered with reference to the success or failure of the imperial experiment, were most impolitic. No real progress was made in conciliating the Liberal party; but they effectually offended and estranged the great bulk of the Conservatives.

During 1865 there was little change in the state of affairs. Maximilian continued in the same rather headstrong course, being, it would seem, incapable of realising the fact, that all this time he was making no real progress in attaching the Mexican nation, or any large section of it, to his person and government, and that his throne was still as much dependent for support on French bayonets as it had been at first. He published beautiful programmes of secular education, and lamented the decline of the study of philosophy. His Government succeeded in placing a new loan this year, of 170,000,000 francs, but on terms little, if at all, better than those of the first loan. In October, he issued the celebrated decree—which, in its consequences, proved fatal to himself—declaring outlawed, and referring to the judgment of courts-martial, all persons who from that date should be taken with arms in their hands. Several of the Juarist party were shot, after being captured, under this decree; and extreme indignation was aroused by these executions, not only among all Mexican Republicans, but also in the United States. Success would have justified the decree; but, unhappily, the date of its publication, instead of marking a point in the flood, marked the commencement of the ebb of Maximilian's fortunes. For the United States were now at peace again, and the ill-suppressed dislike of the American people to the intermeddling of the French Emperor in Mexican affairs, controlled from motives of prudence while the war was raging, was beginning to take its natural course. That a monarchical form of government should be imposed, by force or farce—for the *plébiscite* was little more than the latter—upon a people endeavouring to walk in republican ways, seemed a monstrous and intolerable thing. The President was expressing the sentiments of nine-tenths of his countrymen when, in his message to Congress of the 4th December, 1865, he dwelt on the outrage to republican feeling which the spectacle across the border presented to American eyes. After drawing attention to the fact, that the Americans did not intervene in the affairs of Europe on the express condition, as he alleged, that the European Powers on their side should not interfere in America, he added, "I should regard it as a great calamity for the peace of the world that any European Government whatsoever should throw down the gauntlet to the American people, as if to challenge it to the defence of republicanism against foreign intervention." With continuous but temperate pressure—in courteous but firm language—the American Government, all through the last months of 1865, kept urging upon the Emperor the recall of the French troops from Mexico. He hesitated. "Would they then, the troops having been recalled, recognise Maximilian?" "No; that they would never do." "Would they, at least, remain neutral?" "They would." The Emperor, rendered anxious by the state of things in Germany, which threatened to involve Europe in war, and reluctant to provoke the United States, decided at last to leave Maximilian in the lurch, and withdraw the troops as soon as he decently could.

From the beginning of 1866 all began to go wrong with the empire. The French Government, in order to repay the treasury a portion of the outlay which the Mexican expedition had occasioned, was cruelly exacting in regard to the imperial loans, and kept back considerable portions of them. No one in Mexico cared much for Maximilian except those whom he paid. After the decree of October, 1865, Juarez and his partisans did not leave the country; but being hunted out of the settled districts by the French troops, they were compelled to resort to brigandage; yet the United States recognised Juarez as still President of Mexico, and so did most of the South American Republics. Old United States soldiers kept crossing the frontier and joining his bands; and fresh insurgents, half brigand and half patriot, kept rising in every direction. Rome and the native ecclesiastics looked coldly on. The very Liberals whom Maximilian employed in his Government began to be ashamed of their position. Bazaine, having by this time probably been informed of Napoleon's real intentions, treated Maximilian with open contempt, consulting him upon none of his military plans, and acting in utter independence of his wishes. The relations between the Emperor and the French Government grew worse and worse, and the unhappy Prince could not always control his temper, which did not make things better. The insurgents seemed to divine that the resolution of the French Emperor was broken, and they became more daring than ever. In January, 1866, a Juarist band, aided by American sympathisers, surprised and sacked the town of Bagdad. In April, the decision of the French Government was made known—that the troops should be withdrawn in three divisions, between November, 1866, and November, 1867. If the reader will refer back to page 104, he will understand what a cruel breach of faith this decision involved on the part of the French Emperor. By the Convention of April, 1864, it was agreed that the French auxiliary force (consisting of 25,000 men) should only quit Mexico when Maximilian should have organised his own army; and that even after the recall of these, France should still let Mexico have the services of 8,000 men, as a foreign legion. Just two years had elapsed, and these engagements were cast to the winds; the honour on which Maximilian had relied proved a broken reed; and Napoleon, alarmed by the frown of America, and trembling for the security of his dynasty, left the Prince, whom he

had induced to renounce a family and a people by whom he was beloved, to perish at the hands of the semi-barbarians amongst whom he had himself thrust him.

In February, 1866, M. Langlois, the French financier, who was beginning to introduce some order into the imperial finances, died. The attempts to organise a native army failed for want of money. The conscription was tried, but nothing could be made of it. Quarrels broke out among the foreigners—Belgian, French, and Austrian—in Maximilian's service. As a last resource, the Empress herself, the beautiful and high-minded daughter of King Leopold, embarked for Europe in the course of the summer, to try whether, in a personal interview, she could not shake Napoleon's determination as to the speedy recall of the troops. On the 11th August, she had a long conversation with the Emperor at St. Cloud. Vainly did the unfortunate Empress urge the claims of justice, honour, and good faith; vainly did she descend to entreaties. The Emperor was alarmed for himself and his dynasty, and tears and eloquence were powerless to change the resolve which selfish terror had suggested. Not only did he refuse to extend the period within which the troops should be withdrawn, but he told the Empress that their departure would be hastened, and that they would all leave Mexico together in February or March, 1867. The cruel announcement seemed to shut out all hope; the brain of the Empress reeled; she went to Rome, and there, during an interview with the Pope, her reason gave way. The stricken petitioner was taken into the tender charge of her royal kinsfolk in Belgium, and everything that skill and affection could do was done for her; but reason has not to this day (1874) regained its seat. From the knowledge of this last and crushing misfortune there is reason to believe that Maximilian was mercifully spared. When his last hour came, he had been informed that the Empress had been taken ill in Europe, but of the real nature of her disorder he appeared to be ignorant.

In the latter half of 1866 the malcontents made rapid progress. Even in May the town of Hermosillo had been taken by assault, with a loss to the French of sixty men killed. Tampico was besieged by the insurgents in June, and compelled to surrender in August. Matamoros was given up to the Juarists by General Mejia, and the French evacuated Monterey. As Marshal Bazaine concentrated the troops under his command on Mexico, previously to their departure, the Juarists followed on their footsteps, and occupied Chihuahua, Sinaloa, and other provinces in succession. In September, the alarming intelligence was received at Mexico, that the little town of Apam, within twenty leagues of the capital, had been taken and plundered. In October, the Austrian legion was defeated near Oaxaca. While the material strength of the insurrection was thus evidently increasing, it also received important moral support through the deputation by the American President of General Sherman and Mr. Campbell as envoys to the government of Juarez. This circumstance, together with the fact that his rival appeared to be preferred at the French head-quarters, enabled Juarez, about this time, to triumph finally over General Ortega, who, as a competing candidate for the dignity of President, had caused a dangerous division in the republican ranks. This was another defeat for French policy. For Napoleon, having determined to leave Maximilian to his fate, and being apprised from Mexico that that fate could not be long retarded, was desirous, on account of the enormous expense of the expedition, and the handle given by that expense to the hostile criticism of the Opposition, of extricating as much as possible from the wreck for the benefit of the French treasury. He accordingly selected General de Castelnau as his confidential agent, and sent him to Mexico, in September, 1866, with instructions to urge Maximilian to abdicate without loss of time; and also to treat with some Mexican chief, such as Ortega, who, in return for French assistance in putting him in possession of the supreme power, would undertake to fulfil the financial engagements, or, at least, a portion of them, by which Maximilian had bound himself towards the French treasury. Castelnau arrived in Mexico in the month of October. His arrival, and the information which he had received from friends as to the objects of his mission, convinced Maximilian for the first time that he was to be definitively abandoned. False tidings reached him about the same time of the death of the Empress. "Struck by so many redoubled blows, prostrated by the false intelligence which he had received of the death of the Empress, betrayed by most of the Mexicans whom he had treated as friends, considering himself to have been deceived by the French Government, feeling his own isolation and helplessness, weakened, moreover, by disease, the unfortunate Prince could not compose his mind sufficiently to come to any decision. He quitted Mexico in order to avoid meeting General Castelnau, and proceeded to Onzaba. The French General, on his side, appears to have shown no great eagerness to join the Emperor. He seems to have rather devoted himself entirely to those negotiations with Liberal chiefs which were to precede the evacuation."*

About the end of October, General Castelnau sent to Napoleon a detailed report of the then situation of affairs. The reply of the Emperor, which afterwards found its way into print, shows that he was utterly indifferent as to what became of Maximilian or of Mexico, and thought only of saving appearances. He wrote to Castelnau (December 2):—

"It is important to settle the question as quickly as possible. But I will not treat with Juarez at any price, for any understanding with him would look too much like a defeat. I care nothing if at a future day the force of events should restore him to power; but just now we cannot treat with him. The course to be followed may, I think, be thus summed up:

"1. Associate yourself, as you say, with Marshal Bazaine and M. Dano, in order to obtain as quickly as possible the abdication of the Emperor Maximilian.

"2. Fix the choice of the Marshal and M. Dano upon M. Ludo de Tegadre, or anybody else, to be placed at

* "Annuaire des Deux Mondes, 1866-7."

the head of the Provisional Government; treat with him; demand desirable guarantees.

"3. Make all necessary arrangements to embark the troops at the end of February, or the commencement of March."

At the end of the letter the inglorious conclusion of the great Mexican enterprise is thus plainly stated: "To sum up, I see by your letter that you have quite understood what were my intentions, which are to leave Mexico as soon as possible, while protecting our dignity and French interests as much as possible."*

A note, jointly signed by Marshal Bazaine, Castelnau, and M. Dano, the French Minister, was presented to Maximilian on the 8th December, strongly urging him to abdicate. But the Austrian officers and friends whom he had around him persuaded him that it was beneath the dignity of a Prince of so great a lineage to abandon an enterprise seriously undertaken at the first frowns of Fortune, and to skulk out of the country at the heels of the departing French army. They might well say to him: "You came not here as a conqueror, but as a benefactor; not, so far as you knew, against, but in compliance with, the will of the Mexican people; not forced on them by the sword, but elected by their free vote. If all along you have been deceived, and now are sacrificed and betrayed, those who deceived you will have to answer for it to God and at the bar of history; for yourself, the blood of the Hapsburgs that runs in your veins precludes you from recoiling from danger at the price of dishonour." Moreover, in Mexico itself there were found men whose better impulses were aroused by this spectacle of "a good man struggling with the storms of fate." A part of the Conservative party, with Miramon and Marquez at their head, joined him at this time, and placed a considerable body of troops at his disposal. Unfortunately, most of the bishops, and the clergy following their example, still held aloof. But the adhesion of Miramon shed a ray of hope over the future, and Maximilian determined to continue the resistance.

In November and December, 1866, the French troops were all concentrated at Mexico and Vera Cruz; in January the embarkation was commenced, and by the 5th February it was completed. Surely, if the promises of the French Emperor three years before are compared with this performance, it may be said that the injunction of the Psalmist, "Put not your trust in princes," never received more signal testimony to its soundness.

Left to himself, Maximilian showed no lack of courage or energy. Early in January, 1867, he had sent Miramon with 6,000 men into the northern provinces, to repel the advancing Juarists. But the imperialists were utterly defeated (January 27) in the battle of San Jacinto; Miramon fled to Potosi, whence he proceeded, with the remains—about 3,000 men—of his beaten army, to the fortified town of Queretaro, a place distant about 130 miles from the capital, in a north-westerly direction. Here he found another imperialist general, Mejia. No place of strength was now left to the Emperor, besides the capital, but Puebla, Vera Cruz, and Queretaro. The population everywhere retained a passive attitude, waiting to see on which side the fortune of arms would incline. It would seem that Maximilian ought in prudence to have adopted one of two courses—either to strengthen himself as much as possible in Mexico, and there await attack; or gather together all his remaining forces, including the fifteen hundred faithful Austrians who formed his body-guard, and boldly assume the offensive. Maximilian, however, adopted—as vacillating men usually do—a middle course; he could not endure the thought of waiting in Mexico till he was attacked, and yet he deemed it rash to hazard all upon an aggressive movement; so he marched from Mexico with 6,000 men to join Miramon at Queretaro, leaving his best support, the Austrian Legion, to protect his capital. He entered Queretaro on the 19th February. Here he was soon after surrounded and besieged by the forces of the Liberals, under Escobedo and other leaders. The imperialists made a number of brilliant sorties with uniform success; yet they could not compel the Juarists to relinquish the siege. Provisions began to fall short, and the Emperor (March 17) sent Marquez, chief of the staff, out of the place, at the head of 1,200 men, with orders to return with fresh supplies of men, food, and money. Marquez cut his way out through the enemy's lines, but never returned to Queretaro. After the 24th March there was no more meat in the place. During April and the early days of May the garrison still held out, but short rations and the necessity for continual fighting and constant watchfulness had terribly reduced their strength. On the 14th May, a council of war was held presided over by the Emperor, at which it was decided that a general attack should be directed the following day against the lines of the besiegers, there being now no choice between raising the siege by force and dying of hunger. On that night, whether by treason* or negligence, Juarist soldiers obtained admission into the town, which at daybreak was in the full possession of the enemy. Maximilian, Miramon, and Mejia were made prisoners.

Meantime, Marquez had entered Mexico, and summoned to his standard the troops composing the garrison, including the Austrians and Belgians of the body-guard, besides a number of Frenchmen, who from one cause or other had not quitted the country along with the main body of their countrymen. But instead of hastening to the relief of the Emperor, Marquez led his army in the direction of Puebla, which was then surrounded and pressed hard by the troops of Porfirio Diaz, intending to raise the siege. On the way he learnt that the place had fallen, and immediately retraced his steps. Before he could reach Mexico he was attacked by the Juarists, at San Lorenzo (April 8), and after three days of irregular fighting was defeated.

* According to Prince Salm-Salm ("Diary in Mexico, 1867"), Napoleon had at this time a feeling of active dislike towards Maximilian, because he had thwarted a little scheme of the French Emperor for the annexation to France (by *plebiscite*, of course!) of the Mexican province of Sonora.

* Prince Salm-Salm, in his "Diary in Mexico," ascribes the catastrophe to the treason of a Colonel Lopez, a Mexican officer in the imperial service.

With the broken remains of his army he succeeded in escaping to Mexico, where he assumed supreme power with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Empire.

The fate of the fallen Emperor was not long delayed. The representatives of all the foreign Powers at Washington, having no other means of obtaining access to Juarez, entreated the intervention of the United States to save at least the life of Maximilian. Mr. Seward intervened accordingly, but does not appear to have done so with urgency. The Juarists observed the form and ceremony which are usual with civilised nations; they appointed, with no indecent hurry, a day for the trial of the fallen Emperor, and he had the advantage of the zealous services of two distinguished Mexican advocates. The trial, by court-martial, was held at Queretaro, and on the 13th June, 1867, Maximilian was condemned. The prolonged resistance of Mexico, where Marquez commanded in his name, perhaps contributed to seal his fate. Another cause may be found in the fury with which many of the Mexicans were inspired by the military executions of which Marshal Bazaine had made their friends the victims under the decree, or law, of October, 1865. We have it on the testimony of Prince Salm-Salm, First Aide-de-Camp and Chief of the Household of Maximilian, that Bazaine himself prepared the draft of this decree, and persuaded the Emperor, much against his will, to sign it. The same authority states that the Emperor intended the decree to be put in force only against robbers and brigands; and that, to ensure this, he ordered that no executions should take place under it except with his special confirmation; and that the persons executed *with* such confirmation were exclusively persons of that character. But Prince Salm-Salm thinks it very probable that Marshal Bazaine put the decree in force when and against whom he pleased, and without consulting the Emperor; upon whom, nevertheless, the vindictive hatred aroused by the summary executions would naturally be concentrated. On the 19th June the sentence was carried into execution. Maximilian faced the firing party with calmness and fortitude, and met his death like a hero. Miramon and Mejia displayed an equal courage. The following particulars, taken from the "Diary" of Prince Salm-Salm, will be read with interest. The Emperor had attended mass and received the last sacraments early in the morning, and had afterwards been brought in a fiacre, attended only by the priest, Father Soria, and his Hungarian servant Tudos, to the place of execution, a rocky hill outside of the town called Cerro de La Campaña. Miramon and Mejia were placed beside him. "An officer and seven men now stepped forward, until within a few yards before each of the three condemned. The Emperor went up to those before him, gave each soldier his hand and a Maximilian louis d'or (twenty pesos), and said, 'Muchachos (boys), aim well, aim right here,' pointing with his hand to his heart. Then he returned to his stand, took off his hat, and wiped his forehead with his handkerchief. This and his hat he gave to Tudos, with the order to take them to his mother, the Archduchess Sophia. Then he spoke with a clear and firm voice the following words:—

"'Mexicans! persons of my rank and origin are destined by God either to be benefactors of the people or martyrs. Called by a great part of you, I came hither for the good of the country. Ambition did not bring me here; I came animated with the best wishes for the future of my adopted country, and for that of my soldiers, whom I thank, before my death, for the sacrifices they made for me. Mexicans! may my blood be the last which shall be spilt for the welfare of the country; and if it be necessary that its sons should still shed theirs, may it flow for its good, but never by treason. Viva independence! Viva Mexico!'

"Looking around, the Emperor noticed, not far from him, a group of men and women who sobbed aloud. He looked at them with a mild and friendly smile, then he laid both his hands on his breast, and looked forward. Five shots were fired, and the Emperor fell on his right side, whispering slowly the word 'Hombre.' All the bullets had pierced his body, and each of them was deadly; but the Emperor still moved slightly. The officer laid him on his back, and pointed with the point of his sword on the Emperor's heart. A soldier then stepped forward, and sent another bullet into the spot indicated."

The resistance of Marquez could not be prolonged after the Emperor's death, and Mexico opened its gates to the Juarists on the 20th June. The Liberals used their victory with moderation. No excesses were committed; no vindictive executions ordered; the Europeans who had become prisoners of war were well treated, and finally set at liberty. Juarez was definitively re-elected President of the Mexican Republic in October of the same year.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Parliament meets in November, 1867—Votes money for the Abyssinian Expedition — Enquiry about the Letter from the Emperor Theodore to the Queen: it had been left unanswered—Altercations in the House—Parliament adjourned on 7th December—Meets again in February, 1868—Summary of the Political Situation—Renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act in Ireland—Scotch Reform Bill—Mortifying Defeats of the Government—Disfranchisement of English Boroughs—Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates carried through both Houses—Retirement of Lord Derby from Office—Mr. Disraeli becomes Prime Minister—Lord Cairns accepts the Great Seal—Re-union of the Liberal Party, under Mr. Gladstone's leadership, on the basis of Justice to Ireland through the Disestablishment of the Irish Church—Important Irish Debate—Speeches of Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli—The Irish Reform Bill: it is carried with little alteration—The Boundaries Bill—Resolutions on the Irish Church introduced by Mr. Gladstone—Lord Stanley gives notice of an Amendment—Debate—Speech of Mr. Lowe—The Amendment rejected — Public Meetings — The Discussion resumed—Defeat of the Government on the First Resolution—Different Courses supposed to be open to Mr. Disraeli—Ministerial Statement—Disappointment of the Liberals—Mr. Bright's attack on the Premier—Mr. Disraeli's Reply—Fourth Resolution, relating to the withdrawal of the Maynooth Grant and the *Regium Donum*, adopted by Mr. Gladstone—The Queen's Reply to the Address respecting Irish Temporalities—The Suspensory Bill: rejected in the Lords — Failure of the Negotiation with the Bishops respecting the Catholic University—Mr. Rearden's extraordinary Question: the Speaker's Reply—Act for the Purchase of the Telegraph Lines by the State—Mr. Disraeli on the Foreign Policy of his Government—Parliament Prorogued at the end of July — Dissolved in November — General Election — Mr. Gladstone

Defeated in South Lancashire—Increased Liberal Majority—Mr. Disraeli resigns Office before Parliament meets—The Queen sends for Mr. Gladstone—The new Administration—Parliament adjourned to February, 1869.

THE necessity for sending an armed force to Abyssinia, in order to compel the sovereign of that country, who had turned a deaf ear to repeated solicitations and remonstrances, to release a number of British subjects, including an agent specially accredited to him from the Foreign Office, whom he had thrown into prison—a necessity foreshadowed in the speech from the throne by which the session of the summer of 1867 was terminated—made it advisable for the Government of Lord Derby to convene Parliament for a short winter session, in order that the exact state of the question might be explained to both Houses, their approval of the expedition secured, and the grant of the necessary advances obtained from the House of Commons. Parliament accordingly was summoned to meet on the 19th November for the dispatch of business, and was opened by commission. In the royal speech Her Majesty declared that she confidently relied upon the support and co-operation of her Parliament in her endeavour at once to relieve their countrymen from an unjust imprisonment, and to vindicate the honour of the crown. The hope was expressed that the French Emperor, now that the objects of the late French expedition had been fully attained, would respect the just susceptibilities of the Italian people, and withdraw his troops as soon as possible from Italian soil. With regard to the legislative labours of the session, Reform Bills for Scotland and Ireland were promised, which should assimilate the franchises of those countries to those recently established in England, and also measures on public schools and elementary education. On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, £2,000,000 were voted for the Abyssinian expedition, the total cost of which, unless the Emperor Theodore should succumb, and give up his prisoners without fighting, was estimated by the Government at about £3,500,000. To meet this expenditure, the House of Commons voted the addition of a penny to the income tax, and sanctioned the payment of the Indian troops engaged out of Indian revenues. Objections were raised to the expedition from various quarters, but they were sustained with little earnestness. In the Commons it was said that the Ministers had involved the country in war without keeping Parliament duly informed of the progress of the difficulty in its earlier stages; in the Upper House, a noble lord predicted failure, and said that for the army to keep up its communications with the sea after having penetrated into the highlands of Abyssinia would be found impossible. However, the general feeling, both in Parliament and in the country, went along with the Government in thinking that all peaceful modes of settlement had been exhausted, and that there remained only the alternative of an appeal to arms.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

In one of the debates in the House of Commons respecting our relations with Abyssinia, a singular and discreditable fact came to light. Mr. Bernal Osborne and Colonel Sykes drew the attention of the House to a certain letter addressed by King Theodore to Queen Victoria several years before, to which no answer had been sent; since it appeared from the papers published in the blue-books that Theodore's resentment on

LORD DERBY.

account of this slight had much influenced his subsequent conduct. A lively debate ensued. Mr. Layard, who had been Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Lord Russell at the time (February, 1863) when Theodore's letter reached the Foreign Office, gave the best explanation that he could of the neglect, but it was a very lame one. He said that he himself (owing to some division of duties between himself and the official under secretary, Mr. Hammond) had never seen Theodore's letter; but that when, after a delay of eighteen months, the despatch of Consul Cameron, covering the King's letter, was looked for and found, it appeared that it had a minute written on it by Lord Russell, directing the correspondence to be sent to the India Office, "which was the usual course taken in all matters relating to Abyssinia." Why the affairs of a country, the politics of which are mixed up with those of Egypt and Turkey, should be referred to the Council for India, a country with which those affairs are totally disconnected, Mr. Layard did not explain. But what, the reader will ask, became of the letter after it had reached the India Office? The answer was given by Colonel Sykes, who had obtained his information from the officials at the India Office. This letter, on which the most momentous consequences hung,—in which the ruler of the one Christian nation in Africa entreated the Christian queen of a Christian nation to co-operate with him in his endeavours to drive the encroaching, cruel, bigoted Turks from his ancestral dominions—this letter, on reaching the India Office, appears never to have risen higher than the office of a chief clerk. It came to the

hands of Mr. Kaye, who, supposing that the letter had been already answered from the Foreign Office, let the letter lie on his table, and took no action about it. A grosser case of blundering and mal-administration was never revealed. Years passed away, and still Theodore received no answer to his letter. One may conceive what interpretations, what crude reflections and deductions, would sweep through the soul of a passionate semi-barbarian monarch at finding the letter into which he had thrown all the rough sincerity of his heart, and from which he had expected great results, treated with silent contempt. "The postage of that letter," said Colonel Sykes, "will cost us five millions." Mr. Layard endeavoured, but in vain, to palliate the administrative incompetence which Lord Russell had displayed in the matter. King Theodore, he said, had been before distinctly warned by the British Government that we should not receive an embassy from him unless he abandoned his purpose of attacking the Turks. Now, the letter in question contained a renewed application that we should help him against the Turks; it therefore needed no reply, having been already answered by implication. The futility of this defence is obvious. Mr. Layard himself would not have maintained that an important despatch from any European Government, making a "renewed application" about some matter on which our Government had previously given an adverse opinion, might on that account be thrown aside and left unanswered. But if courtesy and common sense alike prescribe that the despatches of civilised Powers should not be thus cavalierly treated, they prescribe it perhaps yet more strongly in the case of a half-civilised potentate, who, unversed in the mysteries of red-tape and pigeon-holes, cannot possibly view the neglect to answer his letters except in the light of a personal affront.

These Abyssinian debates led to the interchange of much bitter language. Mr. Layard, on a previous evening, had described Dr. Beke, the author of a book on Abyssinia, in which the policy of the English Foreign Office had been severely handled, as a "mendacious and meddling adventurer." Replying to this on behalf of his friend, in the debate which elicited the truth about the unanswered letter, Mr. Wyld said, "The House might remember that not many years ago there was an adventurer, if he might use the expression, who, for the sake of obtaining archæological and historical information, conducted explorations on the plains of Mesopotamia, removed the accumulated dust of centuries, and in the monumental tombs of dead kings made discoveries which added to his fame, and perhaps contributed to place him in his present position, and to give him the opportunity of making the speech he made the other night, for which, as an attack on the character of another gentleman and distinguished traveller, he was bound to make some reparation."

On the 7th December, Parliament was adjourned till the 13th February, 1868. When it recommenced its sittings on that date the political situation was, of course, unchanged; the Tory Government was in a minority of from sixty to seventy voices in the House of Commons; yet, through the amazing suppleness, versatility, and adroitness of its leader in the Commons, ably seconded by the heavier metal of Sir Hugh Cairns, it made head for a time against all its opponents with surprising courage and success. One of the first measures proposed by Government was to renew the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland for a twelvemonth. Already had the Habeas Corpus Act been suspended for two years in the sister island; yet, although Fenianism was less menacing than it had been, it still appeared unsafe to the Irish Government to dispense with the extraordinary powers for the repression of disorder which had been first granted in 1866. In asking leave to bring in a bill for the continuance of the suspension, Lord Mayo, Chief Secretary for Ireland, stated that though the Fenian leaders had recently transferred the scene of their active operations to this country, there were still events occurring in Ireland which made it necessary that the Government should have this power. That the enlarged powers of repression conferred by the law on the executive had not been ineffectual, he proved by reading an extract from an American paper, which showed that out of forty-three military leaders sent from America to aid and direct the Fenian movement, the three principals had never reached Ireland, and the others had either been brought to justice or were exiles. The bill passed through all its stages in both Houses with very little opposition.

Time had failed in the session of 1867 to carry through Parliament measures for the enlargement of the constituencies in Scotland and Ireland similar to Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill for England. The matter was now taken up by the Government, and bills were introduced, and eventually passed, for reforming the representation of the people both in Scotland and Ireland. The circumstances attending the progress of these bills were in some respects unprecedented, and such as involved no slight humiliation to the Government, which, in spite of all Mr. Disraeli's adroitness, was compelled either to allow the details of the measures to be settled pretty nearly as the opposing majority might think fit, or to resist at the imminent peril of defeat and expulsion from office. The measure for Scotland was introduced by the Lord Advocate, Mr. Paton, on the 17th February. It proposed that the franchise should be settled on nearly the same basis as in England, both for counties and boroughs; so that in the former there would be an ownership franchise of £5 clear annual value, and an occupation franchise of £12; while in boroughs every householder rated and paying rates would have a vote. It further gave seven additional seats to Scotland, without disfranchising any boroughs in England or Ireland; so that, if the bill had passed in this form, there would have been a permanent increase in the numbers of the House of Commons. No sooner was the draft bill in the possession of the House, than Scotch members, as if by one consent, set to work to tear it to pieces. It is unnecessary to repeat all the objections that were raised, and the more so because all parties ultimately agreed to pass the second reading, affirming the principle of the bill; each trusting to obtain the modifications he desired in committee. So

far all had gone well for the Government; but when the House went into committee, their practical powerlessness was apparent to all the world, and must have been painfully mortifying to themselves. Mr. Baxter moved, "That it be an instruction to the committee that, instead of adding to the numbers of the House, they have power to disfranchise boroughs in England having by the Census returns of 1861 less than 5,000 inhabitants." He pointed out that there were ten such small boroughs in England; these he proposed to disfranchise, and to add the ten seats thus obtained to the representation of Scotland. Sir Rainald Knightley proposed that, instead of disfranchising any boroughs, the committee should take one member from each of those boroughs in England returning two members to Parliament which in 1861 had less than 12,000 inhabitants. Mr. Disraeli, on the part of the Government, accepted Sir Rainald Knightley's proposal. But Mr. Gladstone seconded the motion of Mr. Baxter, and it was carried on a division by a majority of 217 to 196. The Government was fain to acquiesce; and the only modification which Mr. Disraeli could obtain consisted in reducing the number of the boroughs marked out for immolation from ten to seven. The seven English boroughs which thus lost their ancient constitutional right of representation were the following—Arundel, Ashburton, Dartmouth, Honiton, Lyme Regis, Thetford, and Wells. The disfranchisement of Arundel, apart from the general merits of the question, was much deprecated, because by it the possibility of a partial representation of an important minority in England—the Roman Catholics—was taken away. The local influence of the Duke of Norfolk rendered the return of a Roman Catholic for Arundel possible; but in every other English borough, however large the Roman Catholic minority may be, it cannot, with the present system of voting, return a member to Parliament.

Another and still more damaging alteration in the Government bill was carried by Mr. Bouverie, who proposed to get rid of the ratepaying qualification in Scotland altogether, by omitting the words making the payment of rates (as in the English bill) a necessary condition of the franchise. We have seen, in the course of the Reform debates, how devotedly, one might almost say sentimentally, attached was Mr. Disraeli to the principle of the rating franchise. Yet, when defeated on Mr. Bouverie's motion, he resigned himself with a sigh to the excision of his darling principle, not only with reference to boroughs, but also to counties. The occupation franchise for counties was fixed at £14, the reference to rateable value being omitted. Thus amended, the bill passed through committee, and, meeting with hardly any opposition in the House of Lords, became law.

The author of "Church and State" succeeded in carrying through Parliament this year a bill for the abolition of church rates. In the debate on the second reading, Lord Cranborne said, "What shall we gain if we adhere to the principle of 'No surrender?' That is a question which must be answered by the circumstances of the time. We must look not only to the disposition of the nation out of doors, but to the course of events in this house—the principles upon which parties guide their movements—the laws by which public men regulate their conduct. Looking to these matters, and taking the most impartial view in my power, I am bound to say that I do not think any gain to the Church will arise from prolonging the resistance." After speaking of the deep reluctance which he felt to give up anything that the Church possessed, he concluded with the words, "I think it wiser to accept the terms that are now offered to us, because I am distinctly of opinion that we may go farther and fare worse." The passing of this measure, though it cannot be said to have reconciled the main body of the Dissenters in any appreciable degree to the existence of the Church as an establishment, at least closed a long and wearisome chapter of local bickerings, distinguished by cheap martyrdom on one side, and indiscreet coercion on the other. In a few remote villages, where, from any particular cause or combination of causes, dissent may have firmly established itself, the impossibility of obtaining a church rate has, we believe, already, and will increasingly with the lapse of years result in the decay and destruction of a time-honoured fabric. But such cases will be few; as a general rule, the rates that are voluntarily paid, supplemented by private liberality, will be sufficient to keep our ancient parish churches in repair.

Age and the undermining effects of his hereditary malady, the gout, had told heavily this winter on the vigorous constitution of Lord Derby, and he felt no longer equal to the cares and toils of office. His retirement from the Ministry was announced by his son, Lord Stanley, in the House of Commons on the 25th February, and drew forth expressions of warm and respectful sympathy from both sides of the House. The way was thus naturally opened for the gratification of the great and worthy ambition of a lifetime. Mr. Disraeli was sent for by the Queen, and requested to take the post of Premier and reconstruct the Government. That well-grounded confidence was now justified before the world, which, according to a well-known story, made the new Premier, when resuming his seat amid the shower of "Oh! Oh's!" and derisive cheers which greeted his unsuccessful maiden speech, utter the words, "The time, I feel, will come when you *will* hear me." On the 27th Mr. Disraeli had an audience of Her Majesty, and kissed hands upon his appointment as First Lord of the Treasury. To pass over two or three minor changes, the new Premier declined to include the Chancellor, Lord Chelmsford (Sir Frederic Thesiger), in the reconstructed Ministry; and that high functionary was therefore compelled to resign the seals, which were given with a peerage to Sir Hugh Cairns. The great ability, industry, and readiness in debate of the new Chancellor were much needed to strengthen the ministerial side in the House of Lords. On the 5th March, Mr. Disraeli addressed a meeting of his parliamentary supporters, and encouraged them to look hopefully forward to the future, and to remember through what storms and sunken rocks they had been safely steered.

O passi graviora, dabit Deus his quoque finem!

He admitted the difficulties that lay in their path as a

minority having to deal with the great question now pressing on their attention. But the past two years had given them great triumphs, and he had every confidence that with a firm front they might add to them fresh triumphs in 1868. But there were others who felt confident, and with better reason—unfortunately for him—than Mr. Disraeli. That condition of the Liberal party described in the caustic observation of Mr. Bouverie, when it had "leaders that wouldn't lead, and followers that wouldn't follow," was now at an end. The *ironical* section of the Liberals, as it may be called, who had watched with delight and amusement the superb performances of that great political *maestro*, Mr. Disraeli, and had insisted that so brilliant a display should not be prematurely terminated,—to whom also, it may be added, the consternation of their austerely moral leader at their unaccountable dereliction of duty had been a source of much malicious amusement,—were by this time tired of the sport, and began to think that the ordinary relations between majority and minority might as well be resumed. Mr. Gladstone, who assiduously sounded the pulse of his party, soon discovered that those who had played truant were willing to submit to discipline once more, and his exultation was extreme. "Having put our hand to the plough," he said, at a dinner given to Mr. Brand, the Liberal whip, at the end of March, "we shall not look back. I have entertained from the first a confident hope and belief that a long and arduous struggle would be accompanied by complete success." The battle-ground which the Liberal leader had chosen was well adapted to bring together all the scattered sections of the party; it was the proposal to disestablish the Irish Protestant Church. The perturbed and discontented state of Ireland was a continual source of anxiety. The proposal to abolish the State Church was satisfactory to the Liberals who were only politicians, because it involved what they deemed a useful and tranquillising concession to the feelings of the Roman Catholic majority of the Irish people. It was also satisfactory to that large and important class of Liberals who had Dissenting sympathies, because it aimed at doing away with an Established Church, and reducing its ministers to find their subsistence through reliance on the principle of Voluntaryism.

On the 10th March, there was an important debate on Irish affairs in the House of Commons. It was raised by a motion of Mr. Maguire, the earnest and eloquent member for Cork, that the House should resolve itself into a committee to take the condition of Ireland into immediate consideration. Prominent among the grievances which, he said, retarded material progress and kept up a chronic disaffection in Ireland, were the existence of the Irish Protestant Church, monopolising all the revenues which had in former times been at the disposal of the Church of the majority, and the unprotected and precarious tenure of the occupiers of land. Lord Mayo, while combating Mr. Maguire's statements to a considerable extent, took this opportunity of declaring what was the Government policy for Ireland. It included measures about the tenure of land and Irish railways, which, as they never advanced beyond the embryonic stage, it is unnecessary to dwell upon; but its boldest and most salient feature was the proposal to endow and grant a charter to the Irish Catholic University, while leaving Trinity and the Queen's Colleges just as they were. For the management of the University a senate would be constituted, consisting of a chancellor and a vice-chancellor, four prelates nominated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and six elected laymen. With regard to the Irish Church, the Government did not intend, seeing that an inquiry into the amount and distribution of its revenues was then pending, to introduce any measure into Parliament in that session. The debate on Mr. Maguire's motion lasted over four nights. On the third night, Mr. Bright, who, as one of the *serious*, not the *ironical* Liberals, was in a chronic state of moral exasperation at the success and audacity of Mr. Disraeli, related the following anecdote. "I recollect," he said, "that Addison, a good while ago now, writing about the curious things that happened in his time, said there was a man in his county—I do not know whether it was in Buckinghamshire or not—he was *not* a Cabinet Minister, he was only a mountebank—but this man set up a stall, and to the country people he offered to sell pills that were very good against the earthquake." Amidst the laughter which followed this sally, Mr. Bright proceeded to explain that Ireland was suffering under a social and political earthquake, and that the only remedy proposed by Mr. Disraeli was his little pill of university education for the sons of rich Roman Catholics. It was a witty and a telling thrust; nevertheless, the more drastic medicines soon after applied by Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone did not succeed in purging the evil of disaffection out of the patient's system.

Mr. Gladstone in this same debate entered fully into the question of the Irish Church, and declared that, in his opinion, the time was now come for dealing with it and settling it. "If we be just men," he said, "we shall go forward in the name of truth and right, bearing this in mind—that, when the case is proved, and the hour is come, justice delayed is justice denied." Mr. Disraeli's reply was full of point and vigour. "I think," he said, "that we are embarking in a very dangerous course when, at a period at which no one could have anticipated it, a right honourable gentleman of great standing in the country comes forward suddenly, as it were from ambush, and announces that he proposes to destroy an institution which he has himself often advocated, and which he has told us to-night has existed from the time of the Tudors." With matchless adroitness he turned, in regard to this question of the Irish Church, the democratic sentiments of the Liberal leaders against themselves. Common sense would decide that on such a question a House of Commons elected by the £50 and the £10 householders was just as likely to arrive at a wise decision as one elected by the £12 householders and the ratepayers of the new Reform Bill. But from the point of view of the thorough democrat, the lower you go in the scale of property, education, and intelligence, the more certain you are to come upon a stratum—a *couche sociale*, as M. Gambetta would say—pre-

eminently competent to decide the deepest and most difficult questions. Mr. Disraeli, therefore, with well-acted amazement, expressed his sorrow and surprise at the *indecency* of the action of the Liberal party in proposing to legislate on so important a question as the Irish Church in an unreformed Parliament, and before there had been an opportunity of appealing to the enlarged constituencies.

Although we shall be departing from the strict order of time, we prefer to describe the more important measures which the Government succeeded in carrying through Parliament this session, before entering upon the narrative of the party contest which resulted in their defeat and paved the way for their resignation. These measures were three in number. Of one, the Scotch Reform Bill, we have already given the history; the two others were the Irish Reform Bill, and the bill for defining the boundaries of boroughs in England and Wales. The Irish Reform Bill was brought in by Lord Mayo on the 19th March. It was in appearance a much simpler affair than the corresponding bill for Scotland; it gave to Ireland no new members, and made no change in the county franchise, which had been fixed at a £12 rental for Ireland some years before. In the boroughs the bill enacted that the rates of all houses valued at less than £4 a year should be paid by the landlords, and fixed the franchise at £4 a year rental. Practically, therefore, it was a ratepaying franchise as in England. It also contained a redistribution scheme, which proposed to disfranchise six small boroughs, and allot one of the seats thus obtained to Dublin, and the other five to different counties which were at present inadequately represented. The bill was read a second time on the 7th May, and then the real battle began. The redistribution scheme appeared to please no one, and the Government withdrew it. The Irish Liberal members complained that the bill, which only added about nine thousand new names to the register of voters, was absurdly insufficient; they alleged that the qualification for the county franchise was far too high, and that the retention of the freeman franchise was an error. Sir Colman O'Loghlen moved an amendment which, if carried, would have swept away the freeman franchise of Dublin and other cities; and Colonel French endeavoured to reduce the county qualification from £12 to £8. Other amendments also were moved; but from some cause or other the Government was always victorious when it came to a division; and the bill passed through committee substantially as its authors had framed it, minus the redistribution clause. The Irish members complained bitterly of this result, declaring that but for the apathy of English and Scotch Liberals, who had neglected to come to the House to support them, they would have carried the amendments above described, and greatly improved the bill. As for the county qualification, Sir John Gray declared that though nominally the same as in this country, a rental of £12 a year in Ireland was really equivalent to one of £30 a year in England.

The bill for regulating the boundaries of boroughs in England and Wales was founded on the report of a Royal Commission, which had minutely investigated the subject. When introduced into the House, there appeared to be an indisposition to accept it as it stood; because the municipalities of a number of boroughs whose boundaries had been extended by the commissioners remonstrated against such extension, and petitioned the House that the ancient boundaries might be preserved. A motion was accordingly made and accepted by the Government, that the bill should be referred to a select committee. The recommendations of the select committee went to undermine many of the conclusions of the Commission, and independent members moved amendments that were derogatory to the recommendations of the committee. Great wrangling and confusion ensued; but in the end the bill was carried as altered by the select committee; and fifteen important boroughs—among which Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, and Manchester were included—were permitted to retain their ancient boundaries, contrary to the recommendations of the Commission. The bill was not passed by the House of Lords till near the end of the session.

At a much earlier period, Mr. Gladstone sprang his first mine against the Government position with destructive effect. Three years before, when Mr. Dillwyn had brought up the question of the anomalous spectacle presented to Europe by the Irish Church, Mr. Gladstone had both spoken and written to the effect, that while admitting the scandal and the danger of the existing state of things, he did not believe the question to be within the range of present politics, and considered that a long period must elapse before it would be ripe for settlement. Now, however, he had convinced himself that "the hour was come, and the man"—namely, himself. On the 23rd March, he laid three resolutions before the House, of which the first was, that, "in the opinion of this House, it is necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests, and to all individual rights of property." The object of the second and third resolutions was to prevent the creation of any more vested interests for the future. Vacancies occurring in the higher ecclesiastical appointments were not, if in public patronage, to be filled up pending the decision of Parliament; and the Queen was to be humbly solicited by the House to place at the disposal of Parliament, with a view to the aforesaid purposes, her interest in the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices of Ireland. Mr. Disraeli, had all his Cabinet been of one mind, would probably have met the resolutions by a direct negative. But his Secretary for Foreign Affairs—Lord Stanley—the high descent and enormous wealth of whose family, coupled to his own unquestioned ability, enforced consideration for his opinions—was by no means disposed to maintain a war *à outrance* in defence of the Church of Ireland. It was accordingly agreed that Mr. Gladstone's resolutions should be met at the first stage by an amendment, to be moved by Lord Stanley: "That this House, while admitting that considerable modifications in the temporalities of the united Church in Ireland may, after pending inquiry, appear to be expedient, is of opinion that any proposition tending

to the disestablishment or disendowment of the Church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new Parliament." The amendment was ingeniously framed, because it contained an implied menace that the Government, if defeated on the resolutions, would dissolve Parliament sooner than allow the Irish Church question to be dealt with by the "unreformed" constituencies; thus sending back members to their constituents to face all the trouble

its attempt (of which the term "*united* Church" in Lord Stanley's amendment was significant) to link the fortunes of the Church of England with those of the sister Establishment in Ireland. This, he said, was a Mezentian union—an attempt to link the living with the dead. "You see the living Church of England—the dying Church of Ireland. Why are you so anxious to unite them, seeing how much they are different? Why, because

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and expense of an election many months before the time that they had calculated upon. This disagreeable prospect might again, it was hoped, cause a split in the Liberal party. But the manœuvre did not succeed this time. The debate on the resolutions commenced on the 30th March, and was continued over four nights; the question being, whether the Speaker should leave the chair, so that the House might go into committee on the resolutions, or whether Lord Stanley's amendment should be affirmed. In the course of the debate, Mr. Lowe, the great deserter, who had now returned to his colours, made a vehement and powerful attack on the Government for

machinery is put in motion which may destroy the Irish Church, do you seek to involve the English Church in the ruins? Rely on it, all your efforts are in vain. You may do your utmost, but you will not save the Irish Church; nor will the country allow you to enjoy the pleasure of destroying her. You will not be able to play over again your game of last year. The net of the fowler will not again ensnare the birds. The Irish Church is founded on injustice—on the dominant right of the few over the many, and it shall not stand. You call it a missionary Church; if so, its mission is unfulfilled. It has utterly failed. It is like some exotic brought

from a far country, tended with infinite pains and useless trouble. It is kept alive with the greatest difficulty, and at great expense, in an ungenial climate and an ungrateful soil. The curse of barrenness is upon it, it has no leaves, puts forth no blossom, and yields no fruit. 'Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?'" The division resulted in the rejection of Lord Stanley's amendment by a majority of 61; the numbers being 270 for, and 331 against it. No further progress was made for the moment, as the defeat of the Government occurred on the eve of the Easter recess. During the short interval the sense of the country was variously expressed by two great meetings, held in St. James's Hall—one for, the other against, disestablishment. At the first, presided over by Lord Russell, the Chairman professed himself ready to sacrifice what was, in his own opinion, the best course—the plan of concurrent endowment by paying the priests. Great unanimity prevailed. At the Conservative meeting, the only argument put forward that was of much weight was this—that the ill-feeling which prevailed in Ireland towards England was more deep-seated than most Englishmen supposed; and that the disestablishment of the Irish Church, which was far from being a generally unpopular institution, would do nothing to remove this feeling in the minds of the majority, while it would tend to diminish the attachment of the Protestant minority to this country. Parliament resumed its sittings on the 20th April, and the 27th was fixed for the debate in committee on Mr. Gladstone's first resolution. Three more nights were consumed in the discussion of the question in all its bearings; on the 30th April, the division took place, and resulted in the affirmation of the first resolution, by a majority against the Government of sixty-five.

RIGHT HON. E. CARDWELL, M.P.

(*From a Photograph, by kind permission of the London Stereoscopic Company.*)

Upon the numbers being announced, Mr. Disraeli rose and said that the vote at which the committee had arrived had altered the relations between the Government and the House; he therefore moved that the House should adjourn to Monday the 4th May, to enable the Government to consider its position. Few imagined that after

defeats so decisive the Government would be able to follow aught but one of two courses—either immediate resignation or immediate dissolution. Many, indeed, of the Liberal leaders maintained that the only constitutional course open to the Ministry was resignation. When a minister, defeated in the House of Commons, entertains a belief, based upon reasonable and adequate grounds, that an appeal to the constituencies will result in the return of a House the majority of which is animated by sentiments similar to his own, in that case, said these reasoners, dissolution after a decisive defeat may be justifiable. Such were the circumstances, for example, under which Lord Palmerston, after being defeated on the question of the Chinese lorcha in 1857, obtained, by means of a dissolution, a new House of Commons, reflecting more accurately the prevailing sentiments of the country, which reversed the decision of its predecessor. The present case, they urged, was widely different, since no one could reasonably doubt that an appeal to the constituencies would result in the return of a Parliament still more hostile to the Irish Church than that which was now sitting. Dissolution, therefore, could only mean that the country was appealed to to say whether or not it had confidence in the present Ministry; but that, it was argued, was an issue which the Ministry had no right to put to the country, since it was constitutionally bound to stake its existence on the possession of the confidence of Parliament, and of Parliament alone. But his opponents did not know all that the accomplished and versatile Premier was capable of. Mr. Disraeli was not yet at the end of his resources. He contrived to extract out of defeat a secure tenure of office for seven months longer, and all the rage and vituperation of the baffled victors could avail nothing against his imperturbable front. On the 4th May he rose in his place, and stated that, having waited on Her Majesty, he told her that "the advice which her ministers would, in the full spirit of the constitution, offer her, would be that Her Majesty should dissolve this Parliament, and take the opinion of the country upon the conduct of her ministers, and on the question at issue; but, at the same time, with the full concurrence of my colleagues, I represented to Her Majesty that there were important occasions on which it was wise that the sovereign should not be embarrassed by personal claims, however constitutional, valid, or meritorious; and that if her Majesty was of opinion that the question at issue could be more satisfactorily settled, or that the interests of the country would be promoted by the immediate retirement of the present Government from office, we were prepared to quit Her Majesty's service immediately, with no other feeling but that which every minister who has served the Queen must entertain, viz., a feeling of gratitude to Her Majesty for the warm constitutional support which she always gives to her ministers, and I may add—for it is a truth that cannot be concealed—for the aid and assistance which any minister must experience from a sovereign who has such a vast acquaintance with the public affairs. Sir, I, in fact, tendered my resignation to the Queen. Her Majesty commanded me to attend her in audience on the next day, when Her Majesty was pleased to express her pleasure not to accept the resignation of her ministers, and her readiness to dissolve Parliament so soon as the state of public business would permit. Under these circumstances, I advised Her Majesty that, although the present constituency was no doubt admirably competent to decide upon the question of the disestablishment of the Church, still it was the opinion of Her Majesty's ministers that every effort should be made that the appeal should, if possible, be directed to the new constituencies which the wisdom of Parliament provided last year; and I expressed to Her Majesty that, if we had the cordial co-operation of Parliament, I was advised by those who are experienced and skilful in these matters that it would be possible to make arrangements by which that dissolution could take place in the autumn of this year."

This speech, so charmingly blended and tempered as it was, concealed under a cloud of plausible words the exact point which every one wanted to know—how far the ministerial plan was due to the Queen's own initiative, and how much was suggested to her by the Premier. The only point about which there could be no mistake was that the ministers meant to stay in till the autumn. The Liberals were greatly incensed; and although many of them must have keenly relished the joke, and internally done homage to the genius of this master of political legerdemain, the leaders of the party felt it as a very serious matter to be kept so long out of the fruits of a triumph which they had deemed secure. Mr. Disraeli was questioned and cross-questioned as to the exact nature of the communications which had taken place between the Queen and himself, and as to an apparent discrepancy between his own explanation of the circumstances and that given by the Duke of Richmond in the other House. Nothing could be more ingenuous and candid than Mr. Disraeli in his replies; nevertheless, the transaction continued to be wrapped in some degree of mystery, and Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Lowe, and others protested against the course taken by the Ministry as unconstitutional and unprecedented. Mr. Bright and Mr. Ayrton could not restrain their temper, and indulged in language which hardly fell short of being coarse and offensive. Thus, when Mr. Disraeli (who had declared that, though he dissented from, he should not actively oppose the adoption of Mr. Gladstone's second and third resolutions) had said, in reference to a warm discussion which arose among the Liberals respecting the future disposal of the funds of the Irish Church, that "the discussion had only anticipated what he always expected would be the case, that there would be a quarrel among the Liberal party over the division of the plunder," Mr. Bright retorted with extreme asperity. "The right honourable gentleman," he said, "the other night, with a mixture of pomposness and sometimes of servility, talked at large of the interviews which he had had with his sovereign. I venture to say that a minister who deceives his sovereign is as guilty as the conspirator who would dethrone her." Mr. Disraeli, in reply, said: "Sir, I won't notice the observations of the honourable

member for Birmingham. He says that when it was my duty to make a communication to the House of the greatest importance, and which I certainly wished to make, as I hope I did make it, in a manner not unbecoming the occasion, I was at once 'pompous and servile.' Well, Sir, if it suits the heat of party acrimony to impute such qualities to me, any gentleman may do so; but I am in the memory and in the feeling of gentlemen on both sides of the House—and fortunately there are gentlemen on both sides of this House. They will judge of the accuracy of such a charge." These last sentences were greeted with loud and repeated cheers. To the statement of Mr. Lowe, that in not resigning the Ministry was treating the House with disrespect, since the large majorities by which the Government had been defeated on the Irish Church question amounted virtually to a vote of want of confidence, Mr. Disraeli declared that many of those who sided with the majority on those occasions had assured him that they did not so understand the votes which they gave; and he challenged Mr. Lowe and those who agreed with him to propose a direct vote of want of confidence, which could be argued and decided on that plain issue. The challenge was not taken up, and the excitement on this particular matter gradually subsided.

To the three original resolutions of Mr. Gladstone a fourth was added in the course of the discussion, relating to the Maynooth Grant and the *Regium Donum*. The former, which was originally fixed at £8,000 a year, was raised by Sir Robert Peel, in 1845, to £30,000 a year, and charged upon the Consolidated Fund. It was devoted to the sustentation of the great Roman Catholic seminary for the training of priests at Maynooth, and was administered by the Irish bishops, subject to the control of the Executive. Before Maynooth was established, the Irish priests were generally educated in France, whence they brought back, as it was supposed, feelings of alienation and hostility towards England; it was therefore considered to be an act of wise statesmanship to subsidise a seminary in Ireland itself, so that the priests might be educated at home. The *Regium Donum* was an annual grant of about £38,000, first instituted by Charles II., in favour of the Irish Presbyterian Church, and distributed among the ministers in stipends of £75 each. Evidently the grounds of justice and conciliation upon which Mr. Gladstone relied in moving for the disendowment of the Irish Church were inapplicable in the case of the Maynooth Grant and the *Regium Donum*, both of which were of very modest amount relatively to the size of the religious communities to which they were allotted, and the payment of which involved no injustice nor inequality. But it was necessary for Mr. Gladstone to include these also in his scheme of disendowment, as, otherwise, he would have forfeited the support of the English Dissenters and the Scotch Radicals. With these the disendowment of the Irish Church was popular, not so much as an abatement of an injustice, as because it committed the State *pro tanto* to the principle of Voluntaryism. "Levelling down" was the only kind of equalisation which they approved of; they desired that all religious organisations should be denuded of State aid equally with themselves, whether that aid were much or little. This applies more particularly to the Dissenters; with the Scotch members the detestation of everything Roman Catholic was the chief motive for their claiming that the Maynooth Grant should be included in the work of demolition. Mr. Gladstone, in order to preserve the unity of his party, which he had just patched together again with such infinite trouble, was obliged to consent to this enlargement of his scheme; and the fourth resolution accordingly ran thus: "That when legislative effect shall have been given to the first resolution of this committee, respecting the Established Church of Ireland, it is right and necessary that the grant to Maynooth and the *Regium Donum* be discontinued, due regard being had to all personal interests."

The resolutions having been carried in their final shape (May 8), the address to Her Majesty respecting the temporalities of the Irish Church was duly presented. Some inconsiderate persons supposed that either Mr. Disraeli would advise the Queen, or that the Queen herself, under the influence of an imagined scruple as to the bearing of the Coronation Oath, would refuse, to abandon to Parliament her interest in the Irish temporalities in the manner requested. But both Mr. Disraeli and the Queen knew better the path prescribed to each by constitutional duty. The answer of Her Majesty to the Commons' address, received at the House on the 12th May, stated that, relying on the wisdom of her Parliament, the Queen desired that her interest in the temporalities of the Irish Church should not stand in the way of the discussion of any measure which Parliament might deem necessary for the welfare of Ireland. To advise Her Majesty to any other course would have been the less excusable, because it was quite unnecessary; Mr. Disraeli being serenely confident that the Tory majority in the House of Lords would allow no measure touching the temporalities to pass into law—at any rate that year. This was soon made evident, when, as soon as possible after the receipt of the Queen's consent to legislative action, Mr. Gladstone brought in a Suspensory Bill, the object of which was to stop the creation of new vested interests, by preventing for a limited time any new appointments in the Irish Church, and to restrain for the same period in certain respects the proceedings of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Suspensory Bill passed easily through the House of Commons; but when it came to the Lords it was criticised with great severity, and the second reading was refused by a majority of ninety-five.

The rest of the session passed away with little that was eventful to mark its course. How the thanks of both Houses were voted to Sir Robert Napier for his successful conduct of the Abyssinian expedition, and what honours were heaped upon him, will be related in a future chapter. The Government brought in an Education Bill, which contained one noteworthy and excellent feature—the provision of a real Minister of Education, in the shape of a new Secretary of State for that special department. But the general scheme proposed in the

bill was slight and not deeply considered; it therefore failed to stand its ground against the numerous objections raised against it, and was before long withdrawn by its promoters. The financial statement of Mr. Ward Hunt, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, showed that the revenue continued to exhibit that character of elasticity which it had now maintained for several years. The plan for the public endowment of the Irish Catholic University fell to the ground at an early period of the session. The Irish prelates (Archbishop Leahy and Bishop Derry) who had been appointed to conduct the negotiation on the part of the University authorities with the Chief Secretary, Lord Mayo, demanded powers so extensive, not only as to the appointment and dismissal of professors and other officers, but also as to the use and prohibition of books, that the Government abruptly closed the correspondence. It afterwards appeared that the prelates had not put forward these demands as an ultimatum, and might have abated their terms upon good cause being shown. But it is probable that Mr. Disraeli, knowing how extremely averse was popular feeling in England to any concession to Romanism, felt little regret that the large demands of the prelates had furnished him with a decent excuse for abandoning the project.

A disagreeable yet ridiculous incident took place in the House on the 22nd May. Mr. Rearden, the member for Athlone, gave notice of his intention to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether it was true that Her Majesty, on account of ill-health, had gone to Scotland, and did not intend to return to England for the remainder of the session; and if so, whether it was the intention of the Government, out of consideration for Her Majesty's health, comfort, and tranquillity, to advise Her Majesty to abdicate! This extraordinary question caused much agitation, and was followed by loud cries of "Order." One may fancy the cloud which rested on the ordinarily stern features of the then Speaker (Evelyn Denison) as he rose and said: "The House has anticipated what I had to say by its expression of opinion in regard to the terms employed in the notice of the honourable member. No doubt any question may be addressed by a member of this House to the confidential advisers of the Crown on any matter relating to the discharge of public duties, but such questions must be addressed in respectful and parliamentary terms. The question of the honourable member certainly does not appear to me to be couched in such terms." Mr. Rearden immediately apologised.

Several measures introduced by the Government in the course of the session met with a similar fate to that which befell the Education Bill. One really useful Act was passed that for enabling the State to treat with the various electric telegraph companies for the purchase of their lines, in order that the whole telegraphic communication of the country might be placed under the control of the Postmaster General. The adjustment of the various interests involved was a work of great labour and patience; it was, however, accomplished, and the telegraph companies agreed to accept twenty years' purchase of the net profits of their undertakings. It was calculated that the Government would require about £6,000,000 in order to carry the scheme into full effect, the greater part of which sum would be borrowed from the Savings Banks Fund; but the financial part of the arrangement was reserved for the next Parliament. Mr. Scudamore, the originator of the scheme, calculated that the Post Office would derive a net profit of £200,000 a year from taking the telegraph lines into its own hands; and this estimate has since been fully realised.

The home policy of the Tory Government, checked and foiled as it was at every turn, by the fact of its supporters being a minority in the House of Commons, cannot be deemed, however brilliant it may have been in inception, to have been more than moderately successful in what it achieved. With foreign affairs it was otherwise. Lord Stanley presided over the Foreign Office, and watched over the relations of the country with foreign Powers with a firmness and dignity which recalled English statesmen of the old school. Of his conduct in the Luxemburg business we have already spoken; of his management of the *Alabama* question we shall have hereafter to speak. Making a reasonable deduction for partisanship, we may admit that there was much truth in the lofty language used by the Prime Minister with regard to the foreign policy of his Government, in a speech delivered at a banquet in Merchant Taylors' Hall, on the 17th June. "When we acceded to office," he said, "the name of England was a name of suspicion and distrust in every foreign Court and Cabinet. There was no possibility of that cordial action with any of the great Powers which is the only security for peace; and, in consequence of that want of cordiality, wars were frequently occurring. But since we entered upon office, and public affairs were administered by my noble friend, who is deprived by a special diplomatic duty of the gratification of being here this evening, I say that all this has changed; that there never existed between England and foreign Powers a feeling of greater cordiality and confidence than now prevails; that while we have shrunk from bustling and arrogant intermeddling, we have never taken refuge in selfish isolation; and the result has been that there never was a Government in the country which has been more frequently appealed to for its friendly offices than the one which now exists."

A short Act—the Registration of Voters Act—was passed before Parliament separated, in order to facilitate early elections under the Reform Bill of 1867; and the session came to a close on the 31st July. The gratifying facts were announced in the Queen's speech, that no person was at that time detained under the provisions of the Act for the suspension of Habeas Corpus, and that no prisoner was awaiting trial in Ireland for an offence connected with the Fenian conspiracy.

After the prorogation of Parliament, the Ministry lost no time in making the necessary preparations for a dissolution and general election. The registers of the enlarged constituencies were actively proceeded with, and so far completed that it was found possible to dissolve the Parliament on the 11th November, and to summon a new

one, to be elected under the Reform Act of 1867, for the 10th December. The great public question at issue was the existence of the Irish Establishment; and, on a general view, the verdict of the constituencies was given in favour of Mr. Gladstone's proposals, and disappointed the sanguine anticipations of Mr. Disraeli. There was a gain to the Liberal party, as the net result of the elections, of fifteen seats, equal to thirty votes on a division. But their triumph was chequered by several minor reverses, among which the rejection of Mr. Gladstone for South Lancashire was the most remarkable. Every resource which unflagging industry, careful organisation, and incessant oratory could put in requisition was resorted to, in order to secure the return of the Liberal leader; but all efforts were in vain; the Conservative candidates—Messrs. Cross and Turner—were returned at the head of the poll, Mr. Gladstone having two hundred and sixty fewer votes than Mr. Turner, who was about fifty below Mr. Cross. There were two principal causes accounting for this result; one the extreme unpopularity of the Irish in South Lancashire, owing to the increased turbulence, drunkenness, and pauperism which their presence in large numbers occasions; and also, no doubt, to the fact that their competition beats down wages; the other, the influence of the house of Stanley and other great Conservative families in that part of the country. Mr. Gladstone had to console himself with the suffrages of Greenwich, which had generously elected him while the issue in South Lancashire was still undecided. In other parts of Lancashire, the same feeling of soreness against the proposal to disestablish the Irish Church, because it seemed to involve a triumph for the locally unpopular Irish Catholics, produced a similar result. This great and representative county, taking boroughs and shire-divisions together, returned twenty-one Conservatives against eleven Liberals. On the other hand, the Scotch electors accepted Mr. Gladstone's proposal with extraordinary favour. Not only did the Scottish boroughs return Liberals without exception, but many counties, which had returned Conservative members for years, were on this occasion carried for Liberals. Of the whole number of members who came up from Scotland, only seven were Conservatives. In Ireland also there was a Liberal gain, though one of less magnitude. At the election for Westminster—to the deep regret of all who could appreciate the profound political insight and philosophical treatment of great questions which were thus lost to the House of Commons—Mr. John Stuart Mill was defeated by the Conservative candidate, Mr. William H. Smith.

By the beginning of December it was abundantly evident that Mr. Gladstone would be supported in the new House of Commons by a considerably larger following than before. Mr. Disraeli thereupon took a bold and a judicious resolution. He would not go through the forms of meeting Parliament as if he were the master of the situation—of advising a royal speech which must either omit all mention of the Irish Church, or mention it in a tone at variance with the sentiments of the great majority of the House—of renewing or seeing renewed a debate which he knew could only end one way. He resolved, therefore, to resign office before Parliament met, and this resolution he communicated to his friends and supporters by a circular dated the 2nd December. This document, expressed in well-chosen and dignified terms, informed his friends that when the Government had been placed in a minority in the spring on the question of disestablishing the Church in Ireland, they had to consider that the policy proposed had never been submitted to the country, and they believed that the country would not sanction it. But to make an appeal to the "obsolete constituency" would have been absurd; no course therefore remained open to them but to hasten as much as possible the formal details which must be disposed of before a new Parliament could be elected under the late Reform Bill, and then to make the appeal. Although the general election had elicited, in the decision of numerous and vast constituencies, an expression of feeling which had gone far to justify their anticipations, it was nevertheless clear that the Ministry could not expect to command the confidence of the newly-elected House of Commons. Under these circumstances, the Ministry felt it due to their own honour, and to the policy they supported, not to retain office unnecessarily for a single day; but rather at once to tender the resignation of their offices to Her Majesty than to wait for the assembling of a Parliament in which, as matters stood, they were sensible that they must be in a minority.

Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues accordingly resigned, and the Queen, of course, sent for Mr. Gladstone, as the recognised leader of the party, and the ablest exponent of the policy, of which the majority of the constituencies had just recorded their emphatic approval. Mr. Gladstone became First Lord of the Treasury, and the principal offices were thus filled up:—Lord Chancellor, Lord Hatherley (late Sir W. Page Wood); President of the Council, Lord de Grey and Ripon; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lowe; Home Secretary, Mr. Bruce; Foreign Secretary, Earl of Clarendon; Colonial Secretary, Earl Granville; Secretary for War, Mr. Cardwell; Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Chichester Fortescue; Secretary for India, Duke of Argyll; First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Childers; President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Bright; Chairman of the Poor Law Board, Mr. Göschen; Vice-President of the Council, Mr. W. E. Forster. The new ministers, having necessarily vacated their seats on taking office, were not present at the meeting of Parliament on the 10th December, and the only proceedings then taken were of a formal character, including the re-election of Mr. Evelyn Denison as Speaker, and the swearing-in of the new members, who were more than 200 in number. Parliament was then adjourned to the 29th December, at which date, the re-election of the new ministers having been in no instance opposed, the House re-assembled, with ministers all in their places, but only to be again immediately adjourned to the 16th February, 1869.

THE EMPEROR THEODORE.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Abyssinian Expedition—Early History of Abyssinia—Embassy of Major Harris Mr. Plowden appointed Consul Rise of Kasa, afterwards Theodore: Sketch of his Career Deaths of Plowden and Bell—Mr. Cameron appointed Consul Theodore's Letter to the Queen Mr. Cameron visits Bogos and Kassala: Returns to Abyssinia Despatches from England—Theodore imprisons Mr. Cameron and his suite: they are sent to Magdala The British Government resolves to send out a Mission to obtain Cameron's release Mr. Rassam selected as the head of the Mission The Mission goes to Koratu Mr Rassam is arrested at Zage Mr Cameron and the other Captives re-arrested Mr. Flad sent to England—The Captives are all sent to Magdala Lord Stanley resolves to send out Artisans and Presents to Theodore Recommendations of Colonel Merewether—The Captives being still detained, an Expedition is decided upon Sir Robert Napier appointed to the Command Sir Robert Napier arrives at Annesley Bay—The Abyssinian Chiefs friendly to the Expedition - Sir Robert's interview with Kassa—Strength of the British Forces—The Army arrives within sight of Magdala Description of the Fortress—Theodore's March from Debra Tabor to Magdala—Interview with Mr. Rassam—Massacre of the Native Prisoners Concentration of the British Army on the Beshilo March of Sir Charles Staveley—Action under the hill of Fala—Slaughter of the Abyssinians in the Dam Waiz Ravine—Theodore sues for Peace Theodore's First Letter He releases the Captives Last Interview with Mr. Rassam Theodore's Second Letter He sends all the Europeans to the English Camp—Attempts to Escape from Magdala Advance of the Troops—Magdala is cannonaded and stormed Death of Theodore—Burning of Magdala and Departure of the English Army—Sir Robert Napier is made a Peer.

THE successful expedition to the highlands of Abyssinia in 1867–8 has been more than once incidentally referred to in these pages, and some indication of the chain of events which led up to it was given in Chapter xiv. In

THE EMPEROR THEODORE THREATENING A CAPTIVE.

the present chapter we propose to give a connected view of the expedition, including an analysis of its causes and a survey of its results.

The sequence of events which terminated in the death of the Emperor Theodore and the storming of the rock fortress of Magdala, commenced with the conclusion of a treaty of amity and commerce, in 1848, between Queen Victoria and Ras Ali, the ruler of central Abyssinia. This treaty was the work of Lord Palmerston; and to understand his motives it is necessary that the reader should have some general knowledge of the previous history of Abyssinia. The natives of this portion of the ancient Ethiopia—which, though within the tropics, enjoys a healthy and delightful climate, on account of its great elevation above the sea—were converted to Christianity by St. Frumentius, sent from Alexandria by the great Athanasius in the fourth century of our era. They have never since then, for any long time together, broken their connection with Egypt; for centuries, down to the present day, the Abuna, or Patriarch, of the Abyssinian Church has been appointed, whenever the dignity falls vacant, by the Coptic Patriarch in Egypt, and submissively obeyed by the Abyssinian Christians. Unfortunately, the Copts in Egypt having ages ago adopted the heresy of the Monophysites, the connection between the two countries has propagated the same heresy in Abyssinia, and has thereby raised in some degree a barrier between the Abyssinians and the rest of Christendom. But the motive which originally induced the Neguses, or Emperors, of Abyssinia to seek the head of their Church from Egypt was wise and laudable; they saw Mohammedanism spreading all around them, cutting them off from all other Christian countries; and they hoped by this ecclesiastical arrangement to guard in some measure against the fatal effects of that isolation.

Ages rolled by, and the troubles of Abyssinia continually thickened. Once, before Mohammed arose, she had had the command of the Red Sea, and had subdued the southern portion of Arabia, where her dominion for a time promised to be permanent. Gibbon speculates on the strangely different course which human affairs might have taken, if the Christian rulers of Abyssinia had been able to subjugate the whole of Arabia, and stifle Islam in its cradle.* But the Crescent rose higher and higher in the heavens; the Turkish power gradually extended itself along the shores of the Red Sea, and about 1570 succeeded in permanently occupying Massowah and other points on the west coast, thus cutting off Abyssinia from the sea. A still worse infliction came on the unfortunate country about the same time, in the invasion of tribes of savage and heathen Gallas from the south. They came again and again; though often defeated and driven out, they still returned in greater numbers and with greater ferocity than before. Their incursions may be compared to those of the Danes into England in the ninth and tenth centuries; like them, they blasted civilisation and refinement wherever they came; like them, they permanently wrested a large part of the country from the natives, and inhabit to this day a broad strip of territory running across the centre of Abyssinia, and severing the province of Shoa from the rest of the country. These intruding Gallas have become Mussulmans; while the Galla tribes to the south remain, as they have ever been, heathens.

The Portuguese, soon after they had discovered the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, conceived a high idea of the importance of Abyssinia as the key of North-eastern Africa, and opened diplomatic and commercial intercourse with its rulers. For about a century and a half this heroic little nation, partly by its soldiers, partly by its Jesuit missionaries, maintained a close and constant communication with Abyssinia. The Mohammedans were sometimes pressed back through Portuguese aid; and a Jesuit father, in the seventeenth century, obtained so great an ascendancy over the reigning Negus that he declared himself a Roman Catholic. His son, however, shared the very decided and bigoted preference for the Coptic rather than the Roman form of Christianity which animated the mass of the population, and he expelled the Jesuits from Abyssinia. This was about the year 1640. About the same time the Portuguese power, succumbing to some mysterious law of national decay, began everywhere to decline. Thenceforward, till official relations were opened between England and Abyssinia, near the beginning of the century, it does not appear that any European nation had any intercourse with the country except through the visits of individual travellers or adventurers. The ancient royal family, which bore the sovereign title of Negus (properly "Nagash"), was deposed about 1770, shortly before the visit of James Bruce, the celebrated traveller; and since then Abyssinia has been nearly always split up into three or more independent states, the chief of which are Tigré, Amhara, and Shoa. Official communication was first opened between England and Abyssinia in 1810, when Mr. Salt, the English envoy, paid a formal visit to Ras Walda Selassye, the Prince of Tigré, at Antalo, and presented him with two three-pounder field-guns and other presents. But Mr. Salt's visit was an isolated act, and led to nothing. Nor was the visit of Major Harris to the King of Shoa, in 1841,* undertaken by the orders of the Bombay Government in order to arrange a treaty of commerce with that potentate, productive of more lasting consequences; although it furnished the materials for one of the most popular and interesting books of travel that the last generation produced. The visit of Walter Plowden, a private Englishman, who first found his way to Abyssinia in 1843, led eventually to more important consequences than either of the official visits just mentioned. After a residence of nearly four years in the country, he returned to England, bearing some presents from Ras Ali, then chief of central Abyssinia, to the Queen. While in London he submitted several memoranda on Abyssinian affairs to Lord Palmerston. The intelligent clearness with which these were written, and the prospect which they held out of extending British trade and influence in those parts of Africa, appear to have made a strong impression on Lord Palmerston, and he appointed Mr.

* Gibbon "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. xlii.

* Harris, "Highlands of Ethiopia." Longmans, 1844.

Plowden British Consul at Massowah, for the protection of British trade in Abyssinia. He also entrusted him (January, 1848) with presents for Ras Ali, and instructed him to conclude with that ruler a treaty of amity and commerce. Plowden was soon back in Abyssinia and zealously fulfilled his instructions. Ras Ali, an indolent man, had no objection to sign the treaty, but he said he did not expect that it would bring any British traders to Abyssinia. In truth, while the Turks (or rather the Egyptians, for Turkey ceded her possessions on this shore in 1866 to the Pacha of Egypt) are allowed to cut off Abyssinia from the sea, no European trade with the country can flourish. If the reader desires proof, let him turn to the first chapters of Major Harris's interesting account of his embassy to Shoa, and he will see what difficulties, rogueries, and iniquitous exactions even an embassy, clothed with the dignity and armed with the prestige of a great nation, had to contend with before it could escape from the Mohammedan tribes on the sultry and barren coast, and ascend to the beautiful green highlands of Christian Abyssinia.

Consul Plowden had been residing six years at Massowah when he heard that the Prince to whom he had been accredited, Ras Ali, had been defeated and dethroned by an adventurer, whose name, a few years before, had been unknown outside the boundaries of his native province. This was Lij Kâsa, better known by his adopted name of Theodore. He was born of an old family, in the mountainous region of Kwara, where the land begins to slope downwards towards the Blue Nile, and educated in a convent, where he learnt to read, and acquired a considerable knowledge of the Scriptures. Kâsa's convent life was suddenly put an end to, when one of those marauding Galla bands, whose ravages are the curse of Abyssinia, attacked and plundered the monastery. From that time he himself took to the life of a freebooter, and, through his superior intelligence and undaunted courage, soon attained the reputation of being successful in all his enterprises. Adventurers flocked to his standard; his power continually increased; and, in 1854, he defeated Ras Ali in a pitched battle, and made himself master of central Abyssinia. His ambition widened in proportion to its gratification; he now sent to Oobyé, the ruler of Tigré, requiring that he should pay him tribute, and insisted that the Abuna, then resident at the court of Oobyé, should be sent to Gondar, which, since the fall of Ras Ali, had been Kâsa's capital. His demands were scornfully rejected, and the Abuna (who is the sole bishop in Abyssinia) excommunicated him. But Kâsa was equal to the occasion. A Monsignor de Jacobis, a Roman Catholic missionary of great ability and saintly life, was at that time in Abyssinia, with the authority of Vicar-Apostolic; him Kâsa threatened to recognise as bishop, unless the Abuna came to Gondar. The Abuna then yielded, revoked the excommunication, and came to live at Gondar, thus giving a kind of religious sanction to the adventurer's power, which was of the greatest value to him in the eyes of a people so superstitious as the Abyssinians. Fortune still attended the arms of Kâsa. In 1855, he defeated Oobyé at a place called Derezgye, in the province of Semyen, and all Tigré submitted to the conqueror. He now resolved to assume a title commensurate with the wide extent of his dominion. In the church of Derezgye he had himself crowned by the Abuna as King of the Kings of Ethiopia, taking the name of Theodore, because an ancient tradition declared that a great monarch so called would one day arise in Abyssinia. Courtly genealogists were not wanting who deduced his pedigree from the line of the ancient kings.

These startling events reached the ears of Mr. Plowden at Massowah, and he resolved to visit the new monarch. He arrived at the camp of Theodore in March or April, 1855, and found that a former fellow-traveller, an Englishman named Bell, who had married an Abyssinian lady, was already in Theodore's service, with the title and functions of Grand Chamberlain. At this time Theodore's character and aims were such as to command the admiration and respect of Plowden and Bell, both of whom were able and excellent men. "Plowden said of him that he was generous to excess, and free from all cupidity, merciful to his vanquished enemies, and strictly continent; but subject to violent bursts of anger, and possessed of unyielding pride and fanatical religious zeal." His views of government were far more enlightened than those of the majority of his countrymen. He abolished the slave trade, put an end to many vexatious imposts on commerce, and aimed at curtailing or suppressing the feudal privileges of a number of petty chiefs, who were the tyrants of the districts over which they ruled. Consul Plowden thus concluded his report on Theodore's character and policy:—"Some of his ideas may be imperfect, others impracticable; but a man who, rising from the clouds of Abyssinian ignorance and childishness, without assistance, and without advice, has done so much, and contemplates such large designs, cannot be regarded as of an ordinary stamp."

Some years passed, and the power of Theodore was ever on the rise. After his coronation, the first object which he set before him was the subjugation of the Galla tribes in Abyssinia; after which he said that any Galla who would not abjure Islam, and receive baptism, should be expelled from the country. This object he partly accomplished, by the subjection of the Wolo Gallas to his rule. To keep these wild tribes in check, and also to serve as his own principal stronghold, he about this time made choice of Magdala, an *amba*, or natural fortress, beyond the river Beshilo, east of the Lake of Dembea, and in the midst of the territory of the Wolo Gallas. He then invaded and reduced Shoa, taking Ankober, the capital, and bringing away with him Menilek, the young heir of Shoa, to bring up with his own son. The whole of Abyssinia was now subject to his power. But a series of misfortunes presently fell upon him, and changed the whole aspect of his career. In 1860, his true and judicious friend and counsellor, Consul Plowden, while journeying to his camp, was intercepted by an ally of the chief Negussye, who had set up the standard of revolt in Tigré; and, in the fight which ensued, Plowden was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Theodore immediately raised from the merchants of Gondar the sum demanded

for his ransom, and procured his release; but Plowden died a few days afterwards. About the same time Bell, the King's Grand Chamberlain, fell in battle; and within a few months Theodore lost his first wife, the beautiful and virtuous Tawabeteh. His naturally violent temper was soured and embittered by these losses. He took a terrible revenge on the chiefs who had been instrumental in the deaths of Bell and Plowden; and he bade farewell for the rest of his life to that marital fidelity for which, while Tawabeteh lived, he had been conspicuous. He married for his second wife the daughter of Oobyé, the Tigré chief whom he had dethroned; but it was a union of policy, not of affection, and Theodore's illicit amours were numerous and scandalous. In 1861, he got the rebel Negussye into his power, together with his brother, and put them to death with horrible cruelty.

Theodore was now at the height of his power, and European Governments evinced a considerable desire to court his friendship. The French Government nominated a M. Lejean as French Consul at Gondar, but on account of some real or imagined affront paid to an emissary whom Theodore had sent to Paris, with a letter to the Emperor, M. Lejean was sent at a day's notice out of the country. The British Government, on hearing of the death of Plowden, immediately replaced him at Massowah by the appointment of Captain Cameron. This gentleman arrived at Massowah in February, 1862, and visited Theodore at his camp in the following October, bearing a few presents, and a letter in the Queen's name, thanking him for his exertions in ransoming poor Plowden. Captain Cameron was very well received. Theodore told him that he had executed 1,500 of the followers of the chief who had killed Plowden, to revenge his death, and that he might thereby win the friendship of the Queen of England. He also spoke with great bitterness of the encroachments of the Turks and Egyptians, both on the sea-coast and also about Matamma on his north-western boundary, on what he called his ancestral dominions. In the following month, when Cameron left his camp, he entrusted him with the famous letter to the Queen of England, the postage of which, as Colonel Sykes said, cost us five millions. In this letter the two ideas then prominent in his mind—to deserve and win the friendship of the Queen of England, by executing wholesale vengeance on those who had killed Englishmen; and to gain the Queen's help in his darling project of humbling the Mussulman—received distinct expression. "All men," wrote the King, "are subject to death; and my enemies, thinking to injure me, killed these my friends [Plowden and Bell]. But, by the power of God, I have exterminated those enemies, not leaving one alive, though they were of my own family, that I may get, by the power of God, your friendship." Again, "I fear that if I send ambassadors with presents of amity by Consul Cameron, they may be arrested by the Turks. And now I wish that you may arrange for the safe passage of my ambassadors everywhere on the road. I wish to have an answer to this letter by Consul Cameron, and that he may go with my embassy to England. See how the Islam oppress the Christian!" He meant to say therefore let Christian Powers unite and help one another!

The reader already knows what became of this remarkable letter when it reached England. Consul Cameron —after expediting the letter to Massowah, whence it was conveyed to Aden, and home by the Indian mail steamer —turned aside to visit the district of Bogos, a little Abyssinian upland, nearly surrounded by the Egyptians and other Mussulmans of the plains. The Christians of Bogos had on some former occasion complained to the Consul at Massowah of ravages committed in their territory by the neighbouring tribes, and Captain Cameron wished to know whether things were now quiet there, and also whether there was any opening for trade. Mainly with this latter object, he next visited the Egyptian town of Kassala, and thence went to Matamma, a place just within the Abyssinian frontier. Here he remained a considerable time. Being taken ill at Matamma, he feared to return to Massowah across the arid and unhealthy plains, but resolved to make his way back across Abyssinia. He arrived at Djenda, near the Lake of Dembea, in August, 1863, calculating that he would thus be in the country when the expected reply from England to the King's letter arrived. It appears that Theodore, who had become prone to suspicion, was offended when he heard that Consul Cameron had been at Kassala, among his mortal enemies the Egyptians; and his dissatisfaction, probably through the channel of Mr. Walker, the Vice-Consul at Massowah, had become known at the Foreign Office. Moreover, Lord Russell—who wrote soon after this to an English agent, that "he trusted that interference on behalf of a Christian country, as such, would never be the policy of the British Government"*—entirely disapproved of the Consul's interesting himself in the Bogos people because they were Christians; his business was only to promote trade. Thus it happened that when, early in 1864, a young Irishman, named Kerans, whom Consul Cameron had appointed his secretary, arrived from England with despatches, Theodore, through the carelessness and incompetence of the Foreign Office, received no answer to his letter, while for the Consul there was only a despatch of a few lines, ordering him to return immediately to Massowah, and not to interfere any more in the internal affairs of Abyssinia. This letter was seen by Theodore, and enraged him greatly. He seems to have coupled it with the incident of the unanswered letter, and with the report that England had retired from the protection of Abyssinian Christians at Jerusalem,† and to have convinced himself that the Queen of England spurned his overtures and intended to abandon him to the encroaching and misbelieving Turks. Theodore had but one mode of retaliation open to him, and he adopted it. He seized Consul Cameron and all his suite (January, 1864) and imprisoned

* See Markham's "Abyssinian Expedition," p. 78 (note).

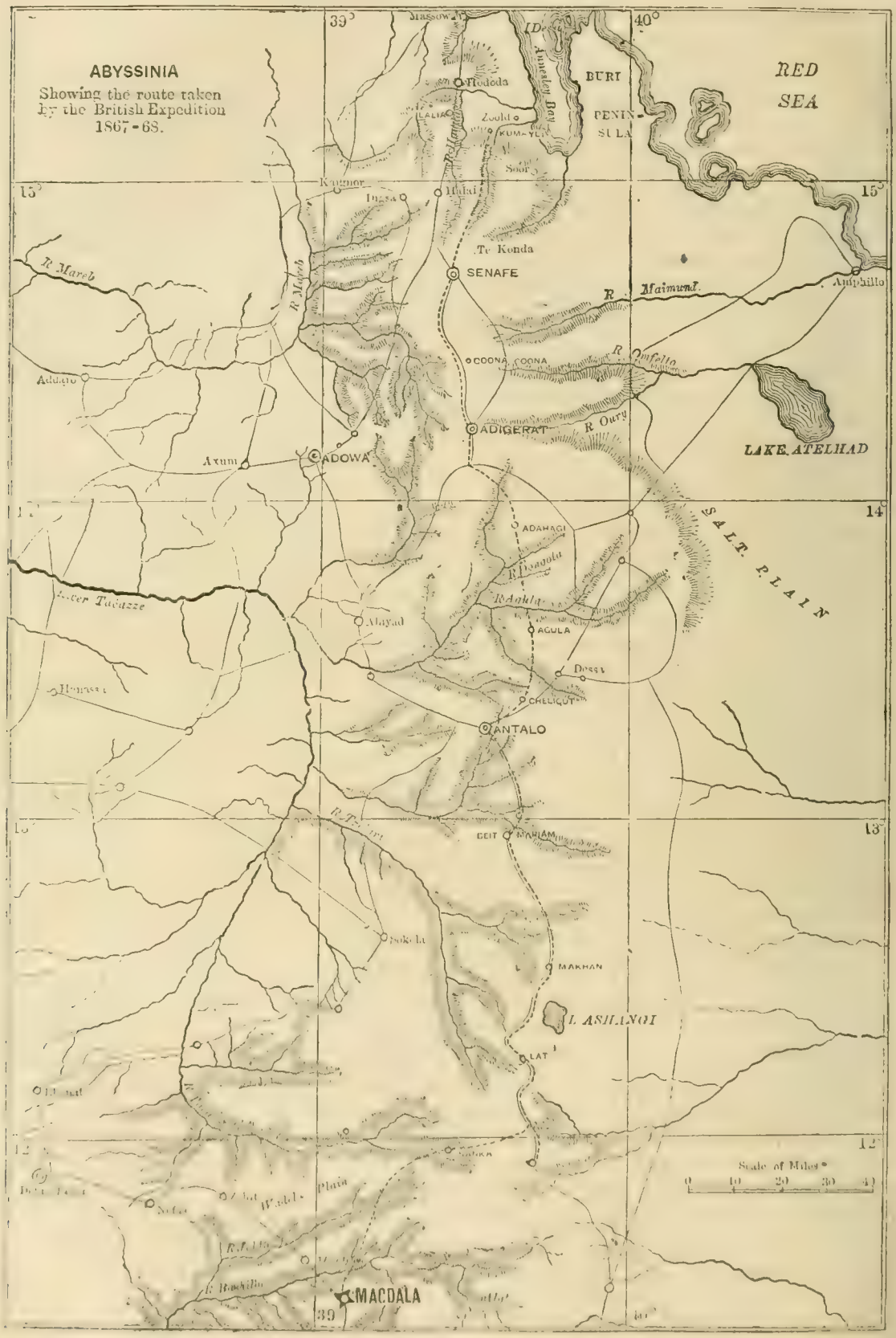
† The report was founded on the fact that, whereas on several former occasions the British Consul at Jerusalem had interfered with effect in favour of the Abyssinian church, in 1863 the Pacha gave over the Abyssinian convent and church at Jerusalem to the Copts, in disregard of the remonstrances of the Consul. This would naturally, in Abyssinia, appear in the light of a withdrawal of protection.

them. There were two unfortunate missionaries, Stern and Rosenthal, already in confinement, charged with an offence which a vain and absolute ruler does not readily forgive. Stern had written a book on Abyssinia, passages in which reflected severely on Theodore's proceedings. This book had found its way out to Abyssinia, and translations of the offensive passages had been placed before his eyes. He at once ordered Stern to be flogged, and both missionaries to be kept close prisoners; they might consider themselves fortunate that their lives were spared. Soon after his arrest Cameron, together with Stern and Rosenthal, were tortured with ropes, with the view of extorting a confession of the names of the persons who had told the stories against the King in Stern's book. All three were shortly afterwards sent to the fortress at Magdala and put in irons.

Absolute power and sensual indulgence had by this time turned Theodore's head, and many of his subsequent actions seem hardly to be those of a sane man. His cruelty, fickleness, and suspicion made his rule more and more intolerable to all his subjects. Rebellions were plotted in every province, and after a time broke out. Menilek, the young heir of Shoa, escaped from confinement, and, expelling Theodore's lieutenant, established himself as the independent ruler of that county. The chief Gobazye raised the standard of revolt in central Abyssinia, and one of his lieutenants, named Kâsa, a chief of the best blood of Tigré, rebelling against his principal, made himself independent in that province. The fabric of Theodore's Christian empire, ruined through his own degeneracy, was fast crumbling to pieces. Meantime, the news of Captain Cameron's imprisonment had caused a considerable sensation in England. There was now no British agent at Massowah, for Mr. Speedy, whom Cameron had left in charge of the Consulate there, had taken his departure for New Zealand in the beginning of 1864. The charge of Abyssinian affairs devolved upon Colonel Merewether, the Resident at Aden, an able and experienced officer, and he kept the Home Government fully informed of all that was passing. The Government resolved to send out a regular mission, bearing a letter, signed by the Queen, in answer to Theodore's long-neglected epistle, to demand the release of Cameron and the other captives. A Syrian, named Hormuzd Rassam, born at Mosul on the Tigris, who had passed some years in England in early life, had then been employed by Mr. Layard when carrying on excavations at Nineveh to manage his gang of native workmen, and had latterly been engaged in the diplomatic service at Aden under Colonel Merewether, was selected as the head of the mission. On some accounts an English officer of known standing, whether civil or military, would have been preferable; yet, on the other hand, Mr. Rassam's perfect knowledge of Arabic was greatly in his favour, and it is even possible that Theodore, in one of his fits of mad and drunken passion, might have subjected to yet worse treatment an envoy not so personally acceptable to him as Mr. Rassam undoubtedly was. To Rassam were added Dr. Blanc and Lieutenant Prideaux, two officers from the Bombay establishment.

The mission thus constituted, bearing the Queen's letter to Theodore, and presents of considerable value, arrived at Massowah in July, 1864, and immediately dispatched messengers to Theodore's camp, who should request permission to enter the country. For many months no answer came from Theodore, and the mission dragged on a miserable and undignified existence on the burning and fever-stricken shore of Massowah. Through a sort of back-stair intrigue—Rassam having ingratiated himself with the cousin of the chief steward of Theodore's household—a curt and ungracious permission was at last obtained from Theodore for the mission to proceed. The route indicated was by Matamma. Starting from Massowah on the 15th October, 1865, the mission reached Matamma on the 21st November. Here it was necessary again to communicate with the King, and a further delay of five weeks took place. At last a satisfactory letter was brought from the King, directing the mission to cross the frontier, and place itself under the guidance of the officials whom he would depute to conduct it to his presence. Leaving Matamma on the 28th December, and escorted by Theodore's servants through the country lying to the west of Lake Dembea into the fertile districts of Agow Meder and Damot, the mission arrived at the camp of Theodore on the 25th January, 1866. At that time the King was encamped at Ashfa, a village on the southern slope of Mount Geesh, the celebrated mountain —known to all the readers of Bruce's "Travels"—from which gushes the source of the Blue Nile.

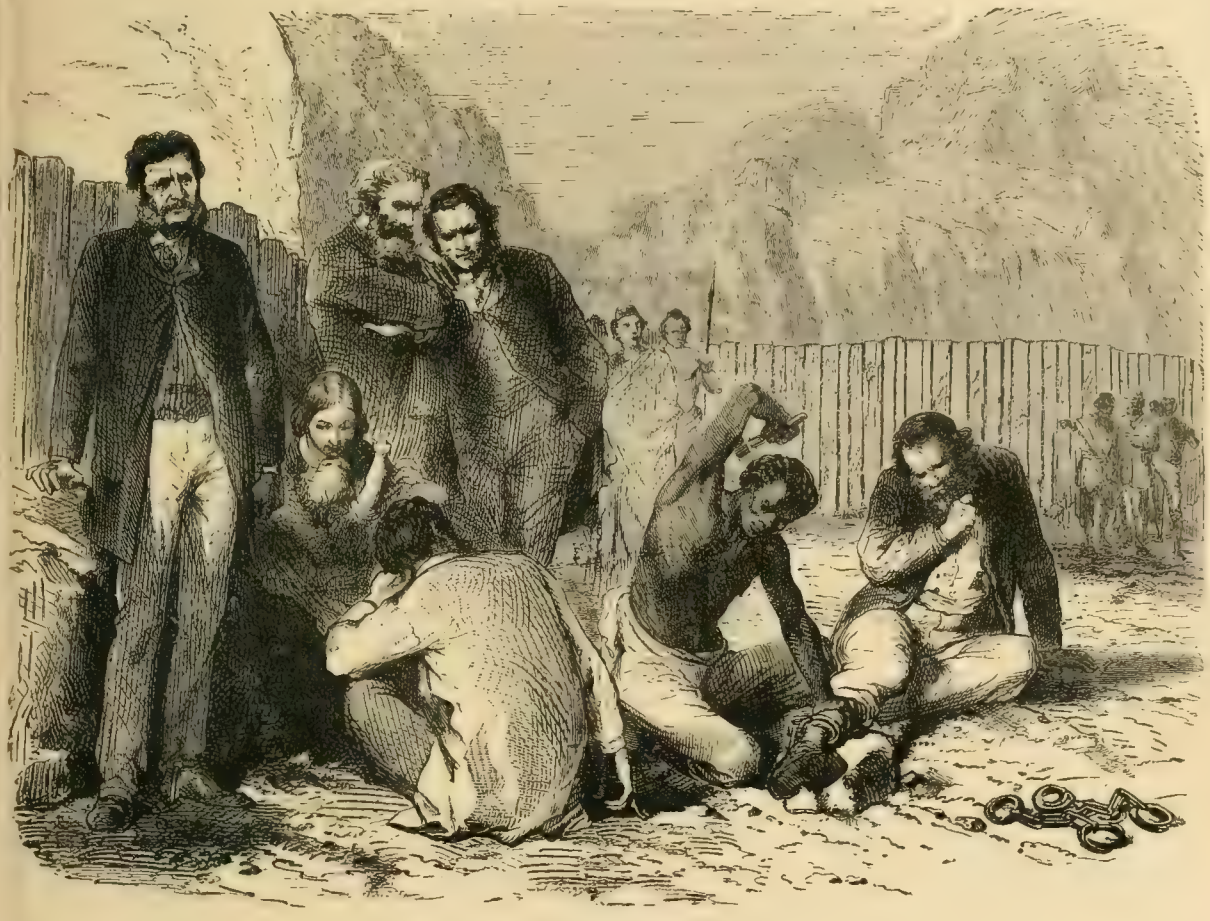
Mr. Rassam's first interview with the King was on the 28th January, 1866. Theodore was in his tent, seated on a sofa, muffled up to the eyes in the common robe of the country, called a *shamma*. The Queen's letter of the 26th May, 1864, was presented by the envoy, and Theodore received it graciously. He then entered upon the subject of his grievances. The cause of all the mischief, the prime offender, was the Abuna Salama, the Coptic Patriarch, who had told false and malicious stories about him to various Europeans. Against the missionaries he had a great deal to say, particularly against Mr. Stern, who had written and published in a book that his (Theodore's) mother was a person of mean origin and calling; having been so informed by the Abuna. Against Mr. Cameron, besides the offence of never having brought him back an answer to his letter to the Queen (a piece of neglect for which Theodore, ignorant of the real offender, made the Consul responsible), he taxed him with having gone to visit his enemies the Turks and Egyptians, and been very friendly with them; and on one occasion, when he was at Kassala with the Pacha, with having brought the King and his army into contempt, by ordering his Abyssinian servants to imitate the war-dance of the royal troops. The King's story was, that only one of Mr. Cameron's servants could be induced to perform the dance, the sight of which made the Turks laugh; and they said, jeeringly, to the Abyssinians, "Is this the way the soldiers of your great King fight?" This story was told to the King by a discharged servant of Mr. Cameron's, named Ingada Wark, who had quarrelled with his master, and it is probably devoid of foundation. We give it



MAP OF ABYSSINIA.

here as a sample of the kind of insults and injuries over which the suspicious and wayward mind of Theodore was continually brooding, and of which Mr. Rassam's interesting report* is full. It is also highly characteristic of the Abyssinians generally, who are extremely sensitive to gossip or calumny. Consul Plowden, in a report addressed to Lord Clarendon in 1854, after stating how hardened and indifferent the Abyssinians are about either committing or being taxed with any vice or crime, continues, "They are peculiarly sensitive, however, to ridicule and abuse, whether true or untrue; and half the time of an Abyssinian master is passed in deciding disputes on such subjects."

When the Queen's letter had been translated for him into Amharic, Theodore was much pleased with its contents. On the 29th January, he sent for Mr. Rassam, and told him, that for the sake of his friend the Queen of England, and in return for the trouble that he had taken in the matter of Consul Cameron, he was pleased to pardon all the European captives, and he had ordered their immediate release. He then ordered a scribe to read an Arabic translation of the letter which he had just written to the Queen, announcing the release of the captives. There is a touching humility, a childlike simplicity, in the tone of this letter, which, coming from one who so often appeared in the light of a bloodthirsty and capricious tyrant, afford a curious study of the complexities of human character. A day or two after, Mr. Rassam had another long conversation with the King. The misdeeds of Mr. Cameron again formed a prominent topic; and it is worth while to record a part of the King's indictment, because



PUTTING THE CAPTIVES INTO IRONS.

the language which he used on this occasion seems to cast a strong light on the actual sequence of feelings and ideas which influenced him in committing Cameron to prison. Theodore said that after he had written his famous letter to the Queen in the autumn of 1862, he gave it to Consul Cameron, requesting that he would take it down to the coast, and bring up an answer himself; that he gave him money for the journey, and ordered the chiefs of all the provinces between Gondar and Massowah to supply him and his followers with food, and treat him with respect and honour. What he chiefly wanted to effect by the letter was this—that since he had no navy of his own, the Queen should send a vessel to convey his ambassador to Suez, and should procure for him a safe

* Report by Mr. Rassam respecting his mission to Abyssinia. Presented to Parliament in 1868.

conduct through Egypt. This was the meaning of the passage in his letter (*ante*, p. 310) where he expresses a wish that the Queen should "arrange for the safe passage of my ambassadors everywhere on the road." Instead of complying with his request, Mr. Cameron "had gone to play with the Turks" (this refers to the visit to Kassala), and after a long time came back to Gondar, but without an answer to his letter. Six months afterwards, Cameron sent him a letter, which he had received from his Government, and demanded his dismissal, that he might go down to Massowah. The King asked why he had returned to Abyssinia if he wished to be at Massowah? Getting no satisfactory answer to this question, Theodore continued, "I sent and told him, by the power of God, *you shall be detained in prison until I find out whether you are really the servant of the Queen.*" For why, Theodore would naturally argue, if he is indeed the servant of the Queen, has he not brought me long ere this an answer to my letter?

But the coming of Mr. Rassam, for whom Theodore, though he afterwards used him so roughly, seems to have conceived a genuine affection, appeared at first to have removed all difficulties. It was arranged that the mission should travel to Korata, a beautiful village on the south-eastern shore of Lake Dembea, and there await the arrival of the captives from Magdala; after which they should all leave the country together. For several days' march the mission accompanied the King and his army; but Theodore turned aside to Zagè, a place on the western shore of the lake, facing Korata across the water. Mr. Rassam reached Korata on the 14th February. A procession of a hundred priests came out to meet the envoy, and escorted him with distinguished honour to the quarters prepared for him. Some weeks elapsed, on almost every day in which the King sent a friendly message or letter to Rassam. The first indication of difficulty was on the 7th March, when the King wrote, "When the people [prisoners] reach you, we will consult;" that is, you shall not go home at once, as heretofore arranged, but the whole matter shall be reconsidered. The words filled Mr. Rassam with dismay. About the same time, a letter was delivered to the King from the traveller Dr. Beke, who had come out to Massowah, enclosing a petition from the relations of Cameron, Stern, and several other captives, entreating the King to release them. Mr. Rassam feared, and the fear was probably well founded, that this officious action of Dr. Beke would perplex the King, and lead him to entertain doubts about the reality of Mr. Rassam's mission. That Beke's interference was merely the unauthorised act of an individual, was a notion that could not readily gain admission into the mind of an absolute monarch. He would naturally think, "Here has Rassam been giving himself out as a great man, and as invested with full powers to treat about the captives; but that cannot be so, else why should the Queen send out another envoy about the same business? Which is the pretender, and which is the true man?" Rassam tried in vain to make Dr. Beke see the prudence of abstaining from any interference in the difficult and delicate negotiation which was being carried on. For the King had now begun seriously to entertain the thought of detaining Rassam and his party till the envoy should have obtained for him from England a scientific man to teach his people the mechanical arts. He seems to have been haunted by the fear, that if he once let the English captives go, relations between England and Abyssinia would thenceforth cease; and this he was determined to prevent, by fair means or foul. On the 12th March, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Stern, Mr. and Mrs. Rosenthal, and eleven other captives, mostly Germans, arrived at Korata from Magdala. On the same day, the King wrote to Rassam, saying that he must have them all over to Zagè, and put them on their trial again. Rassam, however, obtained leave to try them at Korata; and, having gone through the forms of a mock trial, he wrote to the King that "they all confessed that they had done wrong, and hoped that, as His Majesty had been good enough to release them for the sake of his friendship to their Queen, he would extend to them the forgiveness due from one Christian to another." It was thought prudent that the captives should thus confess themselves in the wrong, and throw themselves on the King's mercy; but the fabrication did no good, and probably would have been better left unattempted. Of course, Mr. Rassam remonstrated earnestly and long against the commission of so serious an offence against good faith and the comity of nations as the detention of the mission would involve. The King wavered. On the 25th March, he held separate consultations at Zagè, first with the German artisans, and afterwards with a body of Abyssinian chiefs, and propounded at each the question, Whether to detain Rassam or let him go? The chiefs and the artisans were equally unanimous in deciding that Rassam ought to be allowed to depart. Theodore was shaken, and yet he was not quite satisfied. He said that he "could not trust any European now, after the ill-behaviour of those whom he had treated like brothers." The pressure, however, seemed to be telling upon him, and he wrote to Rassam (April 8), desiring that he would come and pay him a farewell visit at Zagè "after the light of Easter," and bring Mr. Cameron and the other captives with him. This, however, Mr. Rassam—knowing the hatred which the King bore to Mr. Cameron and one or two others among the captives, and dreading lest the sight of them should re-awaken it, and bring them all into trouble—thought it more prudent not to do. He obtained the King's consent to leave them behind at Korata, with the understanding that they were to start on a given day on their homeward journey, and himself proceeded to Zagè, on the 13th April, along with the other members of the mission. Unfortunately for them, Theodore for some time past had been drinking heavily, and the effect of this on his moody imagination and suspicious temper was to fill his mind with a thousand preposterous apprehensions. He conceived the idea that Rassam had supplied, or meant to supply, his enemies, Cameron, Stern, and the others, with arms; that on his way down to the coast he would put arms in the hands of his revolted subjects; he made it a grievance that Rassam had not brought the captives to bid him farewell, in compliance with his first

order, though he had himself afterwards acquiesced in their not being brought. The result of these drunken cogitations was a determination to detain the mission—at any rate, until by their means he should have obtained a supply of skilled artisans and machinery from England. When, therefore, Mr. Rassam with his two companions arrived at Zagè, to pay, as they supposed, their farewell visit, they experienced a reception which cannot be better described than in the words of one of them.* "We dismounted at the entrance of the royal enclosure, and, preceded by the Ras,† walked towards a large house, lately erected as an *adderâsh*, or banqueting-hall. As the Ras bowed to the ground at the door of this building, we naturally concluded that the King was inside, and followed without suspicion. No sooner, however, had we crossed the threshold, than three sturdy fellows, all over six feet in height, pounced upon each of us; and while they pinioned our arms, our persons were diligently searched by others, doubtless for concealed weapons. While our uniforms were being partially dragged off in this unceremonious fashion, we had time to see that Theodore was not present in the hall, but that it was filled by about 400 of his principal officers, all decked out in their silk and silver. The search concluded, we were forced along to the top of the hall, and directed to sit down." They were then subjected to a ridiculous examination, during which Theodore occupied the, for a king, undignified position of listening behind the door. While the interrogatory was going on, their boxes were opened, and all money and arms abstracted; their papers, however, were left untouched. The mock trial over, they were informed that Mr. Cameron and the other captives had been summoned to Zagè. Theodore, as it was afterwards ascertained, had sent a trusty chief with a strong party to the first stage beyond Korata, with orders to arrest the Europeans on their arrival there, and bring them all to Zagè. This order was punctually executed. Mr. Cameron and all his party—thus, after a brief gleam of liberty, consigned by the caprice of the barbarian monarch to a second term of captivity—were brought to Zagè two days after the arrest of Mr. Rassam.

Such treatment of a mission, which even in Abyssinia ought to have been safe under the protection of the law of nations, was, of course, outrageous and unprecedented. However, there was nothing to be done at the time but to humour Theodore as far as was practicable, and to use every effort to make their situation known to the British Government. In effecting the latter object—thanks, as Lieutenant Prideaux observes, "to the cupidity of our gaolers, and the fidelity of our servants"—they found very little difficulty. Only one of their messengers appears to have been stopped; all the rest carried safely to the coast, not their letters only, but frequently large sums of money, with praiseworthy honesty and regularity. With regard to artisans from England, Theodore wrote to Mr. Rassam (April 17), that he wished the envoy to obtain for him, from the Queen, "a man who can make cannons and muskets, and one who can smelt iron, and an instructor of artillery." It was thought expedient to comply with the request, and Mr. Rassam wrote accordingly to the Secretary of State on the following day. Mr. Flad—one of those lay missionaries combining evangelical zeal with skill at a trade whom Bishop Gobat had introduced into the country, and whom Theodore admired as artisans, but repudiated as preachers—was selected as the bearer of Mr. Rassam's letter. As his wife and children were left in Abyssinia in Theodore's power, Mr. Flad's speedy return was counted upon with confidence.

For several weeks the captives were detained at Zagè. During this period Theodore's behaviour was almost that of a madman; at one time he would storm and threaten, throw the captives into irons, and make them tremble for their lives; at another time he would publicly express his sorrow for having ill-treated them, and humbly ask their pardon. In June, cholera having broken out in the King's camp, he transferred his head-quarters to Debra Tabor, a large village about twenty miles to the east of Gondar, which at that time served him for a capital. Here he arrived—the captives, of course, accompanying him—on the 16th June. In regard to Mr. Rassam and the other members of the mission, his frantic behaviour reached a climax on the 3rd July, 1866, when, having summoned them to his presence, he made a wild rambling speech, rehearsing a string of trumpery charges, old and new, against them and the other captives, and including the British Government also in his indictment, because they kept from him India, a country which, as well as Jerusalem, Egypt, and other lands, belonged of right to him, Theodore, as the lawful descendant of Solomon by the Queen of Sheba, and the heir to the empires of Alexander and Constantine! He then caused them to be confined in a small dark house; where, however, he visited them the same evening, bringing mead and arrack, and insisting on their pledging him in the friendly bowl. The rhodomontade in which he indulged on this occasion was extravagant in the extreme. This was the last time that Mr. Rassam saw him, till they met on the 29th March, 1868, a few days before Theodore's death. A few days after this interview, it being at the time the King's purpose to march northward against the rebels, the captives were sent, under the guard of an escort of 200 men, to be confined in the fortress of Magdala, where they arrived on the 12th July. On the broad level top of the *amba*, so long as they kept within the boundary fence or palisade, they were free to wander as they pleased; Theodore caused them to be liberally provided with food; and, with the exception that they were detained there against their will, they had no cause to complain of their treatment.

On his way home to convey to the English Government Theodore's request for skilled workmen and machinery, Mr. Flad saw Colonel Merewether, and communicated to him the state of affairs. That zealous officer, who seems to have thoroughly understood Theodore's character, and had little hope that he would ever release the captives, except under compulsion, resolved

* Lieutenant Prideaux's "Narrative," in Markham's "Abyssinian Expedition."

† The term "Ras" is equivalent to Vizier.

to return to England with Mr. Flad. They arrived in England in the summer of 1866, and reported themselves to Lord Stanley, who had just taken over the administration of the Foreign Office. Lord Stanley decided that Theodore's request to be supplied with mechanics should be complied with, in the hope that this would lead to the liberation of the captives. But, while Colonel Merewether was engaged in selecting and making agreements with artisans, news reached London that Rassam and his companions were no longer simply detained, but that they had been seized and imprisoned. Colonel Merewether now recommended that Mr. Flad (whose wife and children were in the King's camp) should at once be sent back to Abyssinia, with a letter demanding the release of all the prisoners; and that, should this step be vain, prompt measures should be taken to enforce compliance. But the Government, unwilling to renounce the hope of attaining the desired end by peaceable means, determined to send out the artisans, together with a costly cargo of presents, to Massowah, with instructions to proceed no farther until the captives should have all arrived safely at that port. Six skilled artisans, headed by a civil engineer, together with machinery and other presents to the value of about £3,500, were sent out in November, 1866, and arrived in due course at Massowah. But after waiting there nearly six months—it being apparent that the prospect of the release of their countrymen was indefinitely remote—they were sent back to England. In April, 1867, Lord Stanley addressed a final letter to Theodore, informing him that the presents would be sent home again, unless the prisoners were released within three months.

"It had long been evident to Colonel Merewether that Theodore would not release the captives except under compulsion, and that a warlike demonstration was inevitable; and in two despatches, dated February 15, and March 4, 1867, he reported that the last chance of effecting the liberation of the prisoners by conciliatory means had failed. He had made himself fully acquainted with the nature of the country to be invaded, and with the actual state of affairs in Abyssinia; and he had ascertained that, when once on the table-land, a healthy climate would be found, with abundance of good water, forage, fuel, meat and grain. He knew also that the whole country had at last risen against Theodore, and would receive the English as friends. At the same time he had the opinions of Father Massajah* and others well acquainted with the character of the King, that he would never kill the prisoners. Under these circumstances, Merewether's recommendation was, that the invading force should consist of one European and six native regiments of infantry,"† together with other troops, so as to compose an army of about 6,000 men. However, the Government resolved to let the period of three months expire which had been named in Lord Stanley's note. When that was over, and still Theodore showed no sign of yielding, the Government decided upon sending out an expedition. Bombay was fixed upon as the most convenient base of operations, and the Government of that Presidency was directed to take the necessary measures. Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, the new Governor of Bombay, desired the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, Sir Robert Napier, to state what number of troops was, in his opinion, required for the service. That officer reported that, in his judgment, 12,000 was the smallest number that it would be safe to employ. The opinion of an officer who had long been resident in the immediate neighbourhood of Abyssinia, and was cognisant of the exact state of things in the country, was set aside, and the opinion of an officer who possessed no special knowledge of Abyssinia preferred, apparently for no better reason than that the latter was of superior rank.

Acquiescing in the opinion that so large a force was required, the Bombay Government considered that Colonel Merewether, who now for some years had taken the lead in all matters connected with Abyssinia, was too young a man to be placed in supreme command. Or rather such was the opinion of the India Council and the War Office at home. Sir Stafford Northcote, on whom, as Secretary for India, a large share of the responsibility for the right management of the expedition rested, wrote (August 16, 1867) that, while the Government trusted that Colonel Merewether's valuable services would be made available in aid of the expedition, "his rank was not high enough to enable him to take the supreme command of such a force as it was probable would have to be employed." In August, 1867, Sir Robert Napier was appointed to the command of the expedition, and Major-General Sir Charles Staveley, an officer who had served in the Crimea, was nominated second in command. The force employed was to consist of 4,000 British and 8,000 native troops. An advanced brigade, consisting of about 1,200 native troops, under the command of Colonel Merewether, was dispatched from Bombay in September, preceded by a reconnoitring party under the immediate orders of the Colonel himself. The vessel conveying the reconnoitring party arrived in Annesley Bay early in October.

It was a matter of considerable importance to choose the best point on the coast where the force should disembark, and whence it should begin its march on Magdala. Distance from Magdala was one, but not the most important, element in the selection. The high table-land of Abyssinia is bastioned on the north and east by ranges of magnificent mountains, descending frequently in sheer cliffs, many thousand feet high, into the strip of sandy plain that borders the coast. This coast, through all historical memory, has been slowly rising out of the sea. The ruins of the port of Adulis, in Annesley Bay, by which, before the Christian era, communication was carried on between Abyssinia and the outer world, are now at a distance of four miles from the sea. But this strip of sandy plain varies in width at different places. At Tagurrah, the port to the south nearest to Shoa, where Major Harris and his suite landed in 1841, two hundred miles of burning, waterless desert lie between the coast

* A venerable Italian priest, author of grammars of the Amharic and Galla languages.

† Markham, "Abyssinian Expedition," p. 133.

and the mountains, and great sufferings were endured by the mission in crossing it. At Hanfila Bay, farther north, the desert strip, though much reduced, is still of considerable width. At Annesley Bay, which penetrates far into the land, the mountains approach nearer to the sea than at any other point where the landing of a large force is possible. In this respect, however, Massowah was little inferior, while in facilities for landing it was superior, to Annesley Bay, from which it is about thirty miles distant; but besides that it was somewhat farther from Magdala, political considerations rendered it inexpedient that the British Government should incur so great an obligation to the Pacha of Egypt as would have been involved in the landing of so large an army, with all its baggage and stores, at a much-frequented Egyptian port. Annesley Bay, then, was to be the point of disembarkation. The best pass for the march of an army into the interior was the next subject of inquiry. The first person to point out to Colonel Merewether the superiority of the Senafé Pass was Father Zechariah, a native Abyssinian priest educated at Rome. But the Colonel was not satisfied till he had carefully examined several other defiles leading up to the table-land, and had convinced himself that the Senafé Pass, difficult as it was, could be made practicable for the expedition with less trouble than any other. Following the windings of a stream which runs at the bottom of a deep rift or cleft in the mountains, for a distance of full forty miles from the point where it emerges on the plain on the western side of the bay, the path, rising gradually all the while, conducts the traveller to the summit of the table-land at Senafé, at an altitude of 8,000 feet above the sea. In certain places the narrow defile was obstructed by huge masses of rock which had fallen from the cliffs above; and to make a cart-road round and over these required the labour of two companies of sappers and two companies of native troops for three months.

The route having been decided upon, all that remained was to land the troops as quickly as possible, organise an efficient transport service, and then advance upon Magdala. The distance of the fortress from Annesley Bay was about 400 miles; but the climate on the table-land is magnificent, the difficulties of the road were easily within the power of the strong pioneer force that was at the General's disposal to surmount, and it became more and more certain that no serious opposition would be met with. A hitch, however, occurred; and it was, as usual, in the transport service. Supplies of food, stores, and ammunition could most easily be transported along the rough and narrow Abyssinian roads on the backs of mules. The world was accordingly ransacked for mules; from Egypt, India, Syria, and Spain they were poured into Annesley Bay in thousands—the noble and dignified animal from Spain, his smaller and hardier brother from Syria, and a very miscellaneous gathering from Bombay. But now the difficulties began. Any one can buy a mule, but it takes an experienced person to manage him when bought. The Transport department engaged as muleteers thousands of men who are described as "the vilest sweepings of Eastern cities"—men whose languages no one could understand, and who were utterly ignorant of their business. Again, being landed in such vast numbers on a sterile plain like that which divides the sea from the mountains at Annesley Bay, they could pick up scarcely anything for themselves; and, with such unmanageable ruffians for muleteers, it was impossible to distribute properly among them the forage which had been brought by sea to the anchorage. In consequence of all this, the mules soon began to die by scores. "The stench became intolerable; and the sight of half-starved survivors, occasionally met with on the plain, was most pitiable."* To supply the animals with water, since the arid shore had next to no resources in this respect, the steamers at the anchorage condensed water at the rate of 32,000 gallons a day (at a cost of nearly £3,000 a month), which was then conveyed along a shoot 480 feet long, raised on trestles above the sea, to tanks on shore. But, whether from the unwholesomeness of this water or some other cause, an epidemic broke out among the animals on shore, and carried off great numbers of them, especially the horses. The 3rd Dragoons lost 318 horses out of 499 landed. Under these circumstances, Colonel Merewether resolved to push on, with his advanced brigade, to the healthier position of Senafé, as soon as ever the road through the pass was declared practicable. The main body of the brigade, which had landed on the 30th October, was accordingly moved forward from Mulkutto (so the landing-place was called) about the end of November, and, threading the pass with little difficulty, arrived at Senafé on the 6th and 7th December. The Shohos—Mohammedan tribes which infest the mountain valleys and ravines that run to the Red Sea—were converted by the power of British gold from being rapacious depredators and thieves into the character of useful traders and carriers. Colonel Merewether entered into arrangements with the chiefs of seven of their tribes, "by which, for the consideration of fifteen dollars each per month, they bound themselves to restrain their people from molesting convoys, and to cause the restoration of all stolen property. . . . They also agreed to furnish guides, and to contract to bring supplies from Mulkutto up the pass, on their own cattle, at the rate of 2¼ dollars for each bag safely delivered."

Sir Charles Staveley, with the second brigade, arrived at Annesley Bay early in December. The 33rd, an English regiment, was with them, and was before long sent on to Senafé, where it arrived on the 12th January, 1868. Sir Charles set himself energetically to work to bring things into order at the port, causing the dead mules to be collected and burnt in hecatombs, and those still living to be sought after and attended to, while the movements of all the departments were quickened by his presence. The greater part of the troops, as they arrived, were sent up to Senafé. Sir Robert Napier himself landed at Mulkutto on the 7th January, and assumed the command. Leaving orders that a transport train should

* Markham, "Abyssinian Expedition," p. 149. If elsewhere in our narrative of the expedition passages within inverted commas are found, the reader will understand that they are taken from this accurate and well-written work.

be organised immediately, and a railway laid down from Mulkutto to the foot of the Senafé Pass, he hastened forward to the front. He was at first under the impression that no dependence could be placed for the subsistence of the army on the resources of the country itself, and that it would not be safe to move forward from Senafé until six months' supply of food had been accumulated there for a force of 9,500 men. But when he arrived at Senafé, and found how admirably General (he had just been made local Brigadier-General) Merewether, and Colonel Phayre, the Quartermaster-General, had made amicable arrangements with the principal men of the neighbourhood, and attracted the natives from all parts to the markets of the camp by the prospect of the liberal payment which they received for their meat, corn, and other produce, Sir Robert Napier saw reason to change his opinion. In fact, the friendliness and openness of the people towards the English were truly strange to European ideas. Their country was being invaded, and its prestige, if it had any, humiliated; but this singular people felt no throes of indignant patriotism, were well pleased to think that the formidable King, who had come to be a dangerous tyrant and freebooter, was to be put down without any trouble to themselves, and pocketed with the utmost satisfaction, inwardly marvelling no doubt at the simplicity of the stranger, the large new silver dollars which they got for their country produce. "Only one coin is current among the Abyssinians, and nothing will induce them to take anything else. This is the Austrian Maria Theresa dollar of 1780. Even when that coin is offered, an Abyssinian examines it closely before he will take it, and counts the number of points on the crown and shoulder jewel. The dollars are manufactured for this market, and the expedition was supplied with them from Trieste, by permission of the Austrian Government."

SIR ROBERT NAPIER.

With these reassuring prospects before him, the Commander-in-Chief thought that he might safely commence the march into the interior before any very large quantity of stores had been brought up to Senafé. No opposition was to be feared from the rulers of provinces. Immediately after landing, General Merewether had dispersed as widely as possible copies of a proclamation, declaring that the sole motive of the English invasion was the

THE ABYSSINIANS AT THE RIVER BESHLO

desire to liberate the captives; that England's quarrel was with Theodore, not with the Abyssinian nation; and that the inhabitants, if they maintained a peaceful attitude, would be treated well and liberally. This proclamation must have come to the knowledge of Kassa, the Prince of Tigré, the Wakshum Gobazye, now ruling in Amhara, and other chiefs, and probably much influenced them in their conduct with regard to the expedition. Kassa wrote a letter to General Merewether, offering friendship and assistance, soon after his arrival at Senafé. To confirm him in these pacific sentiments, Major Grant, the well-known African explorer and companion of Speke, was sent to his capital of Adowa, where he was received with great cordiality; and Sir Robert Napier himself, mounted on an elephant, had a formal interview with Kassa on the 19th February, near Adigerat. In fact, the interests of the English invaders and of the Abyssinian chiefs did not in any way clash. Both were hostile to Theodore, and were operating for his downfall; but the Abyssinian chiefs feared him no less than they hated him, and shrank from coming to close quarters with the hunted lion, broken though his strength was; it was, therefore, most agreeable to their wishes that the task of finally crushing him should rest with the English. With regard to the captives, their rescue, of course, was a matter on which the Abyssinians were totally indifferent. But after Magdala had been taken, it was the interest of the chiefs to get the English out of the country as soon as possible; and here again all was harmony; for after that event the English themselves wished and intended to take their departure with the utmost expedition. The Wakshum Gobazye—who for the last three years, though fearing to meet Theodore in the field, had occupied each province of central Abyssinia as Theodore led his army out of it, and was now sedulously employed in consolidating his power—regarded probably our intrusion in much the same light as Kassa. Yet he declined, when requested to do so, to meet Sir Robert Napier at some point of the line of march, and no European seems to have become personally acquainted with him. This standing off may have been an indication both of greater self-respect and of clearer foresight on the part of the ruler of Amhara, than belonged to the Tigré potentate. In future times, the English, who had driven Theodore to a desperate end, and slaughtered hundreds of their countrymen under the cliffs of Magdala, could not be loved by the Abyssinians; this Gobazye seems to have divined, and to have therefore avoided all direct intercourse with the invaders.

The force which Sir Robert Napier considered necessary amounted finally to upwards of 16,000 men. Four English infantry regiments, the 33rd, the 4th, the 45th, and the 26th, and one cavalry regiment, the 3rd Dragoon Guards—in all about 3,400 men—besides a company of English Sappers, formed part of the force; the rest were all native troops. The men of the Transport Train numbered 12,600, and the camp-followers about 3,200; so that a host numbering about 32,000 men, exclusive of those attached to the Commissariat and Quartermaster-General's Departments, was collected at Annesley Bay. But a small proportion of these, as the narrative will show, were required to overcome the feeble resistance of Theodore's army, and to scale the height of Magdala. To oppose to this large and disciplined force, Theodore had only some 3,000 soldiers armed with percussion muzzle-loaders, 1,000 matchlock-men, a number of spearmen, and about thirty pieces of ordnance, including one enormous mortar which his German artisans had cast for him at Debra Tabor, the management of which no one in his army properly understood.

After Sir Robert Napier had come up to Senafé, discussion arose, and much doubt was entertained, as to the best method of applying the force in hand to the attainment of the one paramount object of the expedition, the rescue of the captives. There were many who thought, forming their judgment from the ordinary experience of the conduct of uncivilised rulers, that if Theodore (who was known to be on the march from Debra Tabor to Magdala) should reach the fortress before the English army, he would, after the inevitable defeat and dispersion of his army, be certain, in an access of impotent rage and revenge, to put the English and other prisoners there confined to death. It was urged, therefore, that what ought before all things to be aimed at was, to intercept the march of Theodore, and prevent him from ever reaching Magdala. But to effect this, it would be necessary to march at once with a lightly-equipped force of about 2,000 men, who, while drawing a portion of their supplies from the stores that were already at Senafé, should be largely dependent on the resources of the country through which they marched. The other plan was to wait till stores were accumulated at Senafé in sufficient quantity to support a force capable of marching upon and capturing Magdala (to take which, it was thought that siege operations might be required), with only slight dependence on local supplies. If this latter plan were followed, Theodore would reach Magdala first, and the fate of the prisoners would hang upon his caprice. Nevertheless, Sir Robert Napier preferred the second plan, arguing with much plausibility that, upon hearing of the approach of our light column, Theodore might at any moment, by abandoning his guns, make his arrival at Magdala before our troops a certainty, the distance which separated him from the fortress being comparatively trifling. To this, however, the advocates of the first plan replied, that those who knew Theodore's character were unanimously of opinion that Theodore never would abandon his guns—partly because he had superintended them in the making, and took the interest of an inventor and originator in their performances; partly because the terror which they inspired was now the only thing which kept his enemies at a distance. It was decided, however, that the march should be on Magdala; and the safety of the prisoners was left to the generosity of the strange monarch, who in all his cruelties and excesses never wholly forgot that he was a Christian King.

It would weary the reader if we were to describe in minute detail a march that was never opposed, and movements of troops involving no triumphs but those of the Control department. The 350 miles of road which

separated Senafé from Magdala were indeed full of difficulty; for many steep and lofty ranges had to be crossed; many narrow and uneven tracks to be repaired and widened; many long marches to be made under a tropical sun. On the other hand, the weather was almost always fine, the air on that lofty plateau—in spite of the great heat of the sun—always fresh and invigorating, water everywhere abundant, the hillsides green and fertile, supplies ample and various, and the inhabitants friendly. The scenery, as the army advanced, exhibited by turns all forms of the beautiful and the sublime. Especially was the Lake Ashangi—a blue sheet of water about four miles long and nearly the same distance across, girdled round by magnificent mountains, on the western shore of which the army encamped—noted as a scene of extraordinary beauty. The advance of the army moved from Senafé on the 18th January; and the Head-quarters were established at Buya camp, near Antalo, rather more than half way from the coast to Magdala, on the 2nd March. A halt of some days was made here, for the Quartermaster-General had run short of money, and a fresh supply of dollars had to be brought up from the coast. When the march was resumed, a new arrangement of the forces was adopted. A large proportion of the native troops was left at the Buya camp; the column destined to march on Magdala was formed into two brigades and a pioneer force. The latter, commanded by the active Quartermaster-General,* Colonel Phayre, consisted of about 500 men. Both brigades were under the command of Sir Charles Staveley; with the first marched the Commander-in-Chief and the Head-quarters. The total strength of the column was about 3,000 men. From the 12th March, on which day the march was resumed, seventeen days were required to bring the column to the top of the Wadela plateau, a distance of 118 miles. This plateau, rising in precipitous cliffs from the southern bank of the Takkazye river (a large feeder of the Blue Nile) to the height of nearly 10,000 feet, runs for many miles in a nearly unbroken wall from east to west, and forms one of the most striking natural features in the country. At the time when our troops were scaling Wadela, Theodore, whose march from Debra Tabor will be presently described, arrived in the immediate vicinity of Magdala; that is, he had outstripped our army by a distance of nearly sixty miles. Marching to the right along the flat Wadela plateau, descending by a zigzag road which Theodore had just cut for his guns into the deep valley of the Jidda, crossing it, and ascending the Dalanta plateau, the English army (April 8), on reaching the southern edge of this last, above the river Beshilo, beheld in front of them the goal of their labours—the table-topped mountain of Magdala.

To understand what follows, the reader must take with him some more or less distinct notion of the topography of the region. Magdala is an isolated flat-topped mountain, more than 9,000 feet above the sea, with precipitous sides of black columnar basalt, rudely oblong in shape, about one mile in length by half a mile in breadth. At its south-eastern end it communicates by the low terrace called Sangallat with the great Tanta plateau farther south. "But Magdala itself—the actual fortress or *amba*—is only a part of the system of plateau, saddle, and peak, forming the summit of a curious mountain mass which rises up between the gorges of the Menchura and Kulkula valleys. This system of peak and plateau is in the shape of a curve, Magdala being at the east end, a peak called Selassyè . . . on the turn of the curve, and the smaller plateau called Fâla on the south-west end. Selassyè and Magdala are connected by a saddle about a mile long, called Islamgyè, bounded on either flank by scarped precipices, with sides below sloping rapidly down to the ravines, and covered with trees and bushes."

We must now return to Theodore, who, since he put Mr. Rassam and his companions in irons, had been chiefly stationed at Debra Tabor, in the province of Beguemder. Here he kept his German artisans fully employed in casting guns and mortars, and constructing carriages for their conveyance. His revenues being gone, he obtained subsistence for his army simply by plunder, until the people of Beguemder rose against him, and commenced a desultory warfare against his half-starved soldiers, numbers of whom were continually deserting. The once noble nature of the man was now marred by licentiousness, drunkenness, and cruelty. But when—the resources of the country round Debra Tabor being destroyed by cruel and long continued rapine—it became necessary to take and act upon a decision, Theodore, it would seem, woke up from his sensual dream, and for a while became himself again. He resolved to return to Magdala, and to transport thither the heavy ordnance which had just been constructed. First setting fire to Debra Tabor, his own capital, he began his march on the 10th October, 1867, with his European workmen, about 6,000 soldiers, and a host of camp followers. Although the distance to Magdala did not exceed a hundred miles, the difficulties in the way of transporting guns, owing to the want of roads and the mountainous nature of the country, were enormous. Theodore was now in his element, as a guide and ruler of men; with unconquerable perseverance and patience he selected the best lines for the roads, descending into and ascending from the deep valleys, which it was necessary to make; he frequently laboured himself with the axe and the crow-bar; he was again kind and cordial with his soldiers as in earlier days; and the blood-thirsty tyrant of Debra Tabor seemed transformed back again into the young and radiant conqueror of Derezgyè. It was the last gleam of his star before it set in darkness for ever. Thus labouring on for weeks and months, and conveying his guns and stores without loss on twenty heavy wagons dragged by his soldiers along the roads which he had previously built, Theodore arrived at last (March 25) on the plateau of Islamgyè below Magdala. On the 29th, he came up to Magdala and sent for Mr. Rassam. The interview was very friendly, and the King, who seems to have really liked the envoy, was gracious and affable. "He told Rassam that his sole reason for ill-treating him was that he might

* In an Abyssinian army, the officer of corresponding rank and functions is called the Fitaurari—literally, "the Plunderer in Front."

compel England to send troops to Abyssinia, and that his object was gained. He also said, 'Some day you may see me dead, and while you stand by my corpse, you will curse me for having ill-treated you. You may say at the same time, "This wicked man ought not to be buried; let his remains rot above ground." But I trust to your generosity.'" He had heard of the landing of the English in Annesley Bay while on his march from Debra Tabor; and their subsequent progress through Abyssinia was doubtless reported to him more or less accurately. On the 2nd, he had his great mortar, five hundred men dragging at the ropes of the wagon which carried it, hauled up to Islamgyè. He invited Mr. Rassam, Dr. Blanc, and Lieutenant Prideaux, to come down from Magdala to witness the operation, and sat talking with them for some time. He said that if his power had been as strong as it was a few years before, he would have met the British on landing; but that now he had lost all Abyssinia, and had only that rock, so he could not do otherwise than wait for them. His army, through continual desertions, had by this time dwindled down to about 3,000 men. He afterwards told Mr. Rassam that when he was excited he was not responsible for his actions. It is to be hoped that it was so, and that in the fact some palliation may be found for the horrible massacre which he ordered a few days later. On the 9th April, having on the previous day caused all his native prisoners, 570 in number, to be brought down to Islamgyè from Magdala, he set a considerable number free, including all, or almost all, the women and children. After that he drank deeply, and went to lie down in his tent. Those who were retained in captivity, no order having been given to take them back to Magdala, were kept on the barren top of Islamgyè; and having nothing to eat, they began to clamour for food. This enraged him to such a degree that, starting up in a drunken fury, he commanded them all to be put to death, and commenced the butchery by cutting down one with his sword, and shooting two others with his pistols. "The rest were hurled alive over the precipice of Islamgyè, and those who showed any signs of life were fired upon by the soldiers stationed below. The massacre lasted from about 4 till 6.30 P.M., and there were no less than 197 victims, only thirty-five of whom were criminals. . . . Theodore's valet asserts that he spent most of the night after this horrible massacre in prayer, and that he was heard confessing to God that he was drunk when he committed it, and pleading that it should not be laid to his charge."

Meantime the toils were being drawn closer round the doomed King. The 12th Bengal Cavalry and six companies of the 45th Regiment, having been ordered up from the coast by Sir Robert Napier, arrived at the camp on the 8th April. The 45th accomplished the distance from Mulkutto to the Beshilo river in twenty-five days. The force before Magdala, with these accessions, numbered upwards of 3,700 men, including a rocket brigade consisting of eighty sailors of H.M.S. *Dryad*. On the 9th April, the whole force being now concentrated on the Dalanta plateau, the approaches to Magdala were carefully reconnoitred. It was suggested to Sir Robert Napier to send a force round to the saddle connecting Magdala with the Tanta plateau, so as to cut off Theodore's retreat while he was attacked in front. But the Commander-in-Chief deemed that the force at his disposal was not large enough to allow of its being divided with safety. It was finally resolved to attack the position of Magdala by way of the great projecting mass of Fàla, from which the lower terrace of Islamgyè could be easily reached.

Early on the morning of the 10th April, Sir Charles Staveley led the 1st Brigade down the steep side of the Dalanta plateau, forded the Beshilo, and, mounting the bold spur of Gumbaji, proceeded along it in the direction of Fàla. His intention was to choose a suitable site for an encampment, and await the arrival of the 2nd Brigade, led by the Commander-in-Chief, which was to pass the night in the valley of the Beshilo. Meantime Colonel Phayre, with the pioneer force under his command, was moving up the Wark-Waha ravine, parallel with and to the left of the march of Sir Charles Staveley, in order to examine the position of the enemy. He ascertained that neither in the ravine, nor on any part of the great open slopes and terraces of which he obtained a view, right up to the ascent of Fàla, was there any trace of a hostile force; and he sent back a message to this effect to Sir Robert Napier, which on its way was read by Sir Charles Staveley. The latter officer, fearing nothing after this report for his left flank from the side of the Wark-Waha ravine, continued his march along the basaltic ridge leading, by the lower terraces of Aficho and Arogè, to the base of Fàla hill. Sir Robert, on receiving Colonel Phayre's report, ordered the Naval Brigade, Colonel Penn's battery of mountain guns, and the baggage of the 1st Brigade, which had been left at the Beshilo by Sir Charles waiting orders to advance, to press forward up the Wark-Waha ravine. They did so, the sailors leading the way. It was about four o'clock when the Naval Brigade, followed by the battery, emerged by a steep ascent from the ravine on to the diversified surface of the Arogè plains, just above which, to their right, on the Aficho terrace, the 1st Brigade was posted. Before them lay Theodore's fortress, its top dotted by white huts, rising above the nearer summits of Selassyè and Fàla. Behind the sailors and the guns, the baggage train was slowly winding along the road leading up from the ravine, protected by the Punjab Pioneers. Presently a gun, followed by several others in succession, was fired from the crest of Fàla; the direction being good, and the elevation from which the guns were discharged considerable, the shot came plunging into the ground near the English ranks. Then, from the top of the mountain, rushing down the steep sides of Fàla, came Theodore's warriors in headlong charge. There were about 1,000 musketeers, armed with double-barrel guns, 2,000 men carrying match-locks, and a multitude of spearmen. They reached the bottom of the hill, and began advancing towards the English, part plunging down a ravine called Dam-Wanz on the British left, to attack the baggage train.

With such an inequality of arms as existed between the combatants—an inequality far greater than that which gave the Prussians so decided an advantage in the

war of 1866—no real fighting was possible. The sailors, on seeing the enemy swarming down the hill, quickly got their rocket tubes into position, and opened upon them. Sir Charles Staveley ordered all the infantry of his brigade to come down the steep ascent from Aficho to Arogè, and advance firing against the enemy. Against the Sniders of the British infantry, what was the use of smooth-bore muzzle-loaders and undisciplined valour? The brave chief Gabriyè—Theodore's Fitaurari or Quartermaster-General—after doing all that man could do to encourage his followers, was shot down, and many other chiefs with him. Finding it impossible to get near their enemy, the Abyssinians after a time lost heart, and turned to flee. It was like, as Mr. Markham says, "fighting against machinery." Those who had gone down into the Dam-Wanz ravine were hemmed in there between the Punjab Pioneers and baggage guard in their front, and some companies of the 4th, whom Sir Charles Staveley had sent against their left flank, and mown down with terrible slaughter. As the fugitives retreated up the hill-side, the Naval Brigade advanced, and sent rockets among them with destructive effect. Evening closed in; Theodore, who had watched the action from the top of Fâla, knew that his army was destroyed, and his power at an end; the English army, seeing its task well-nigh accomplished, but full of anxiety for the fate of the captives, bivouacked that night (Good Friday, April 10) on the slopes of Aficho and Arogè.

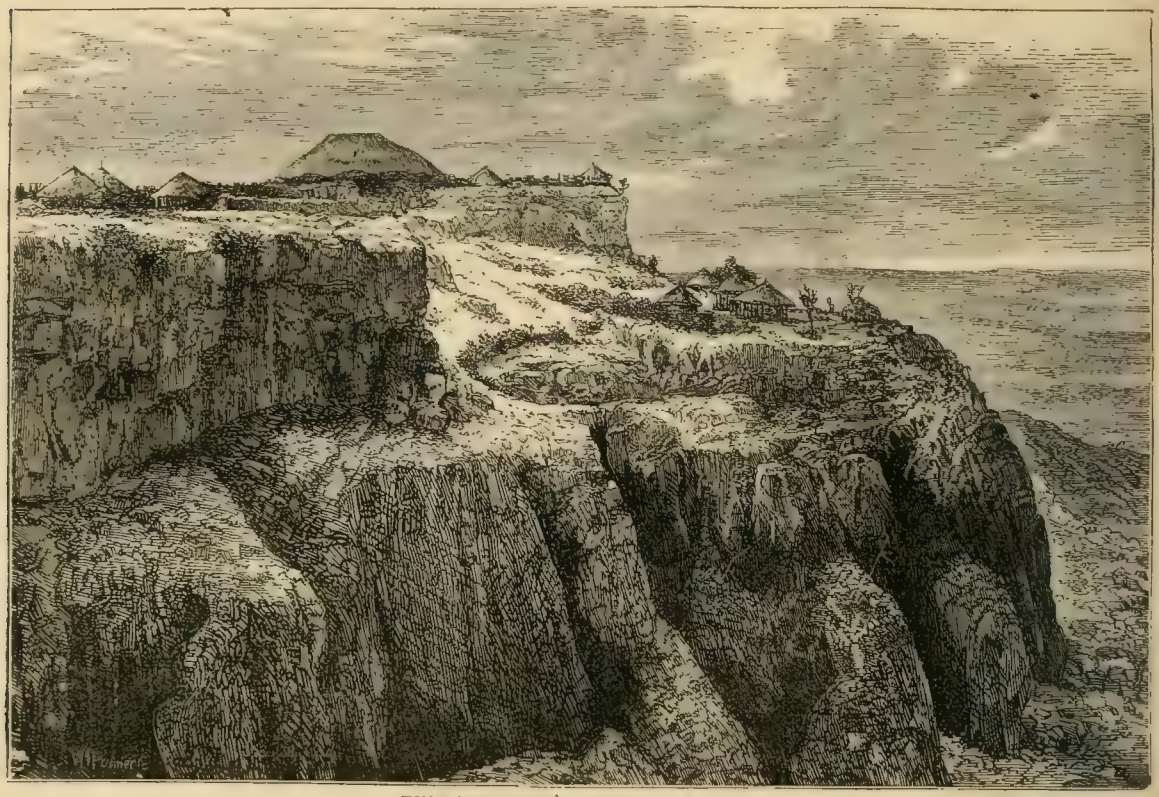
The loss of the Abyssinians in this action was estimated at between 700 and 800 killed, and 1,500 wounded. On the English side twenty men were wounded, two mortally.

Theodore, clearly perceiving all further resistance to be vain, now desired to come to terms with the British General. Early on the morning of April 11th, he sent down from Selassyè, where he had passed the night, two of the captives, Lieutenant Prideaux and Mr. Flad, to bear his proposals to the English camp. They were instructed to say that the King now desired to be reconciled with the English. The delight and enthusiasm caused by the presence of Lieutenant Prideaux in the camp may be easily imagined. But the "reconciliation" sought by the King, which would have left him seated on his throne, could not, it was thought, be granted. As far as England was concerned, if the captives were all given up, her honour was satisfied, her aims fulfilled, and her troops might have been at once withdrawn. But it was considered by the Commander-in-Chief that the English had been welcomed in their country by the Abyssinians, and that the various chiefs had abstained from impeding or molesting the march, on the tacit but clearly implied understanding that Theodore's power was to be destroyed, and that he was to be a king in Abyssinia no longer. No terms, therefore, could be granted which did not involve his absolute submission and deposition from the throne. Sir Robert sent back Lieutenant Prideaux with a letter to Theodore, thus expressed:—

"Your Majesty has fought like a brave man, and has been overcome by the superior power of the British army. It is my desire that no more blood may be shed. If, therefore, your Majesty will submit to the Queen of England, and bring all the Europeans now in your Majesty's hands, and deliver them safely this day in the British camp, I guarantee honourable treatment for yourself and all the members of your Majesty's family."

With this answer Lieutenant Prideaux returned to Theodore, and found him seated on the peak of Selassyè, dictating to his secretary a letter to the English commander. Sir Robert Napier's brief missive was read to him. He then completed the dictation of his letter, enclosed it and that from Sir Robert Napier in the same cover, and sent Prideaux again with them to the English camp. The meaning of his re-enclosing to Sir Robert his letter seems to have been, that the terms proposed by the General were terms to which he could not submit. If he were not to meet Sir Robert Napier except in virtue of an abject submission, and by coming as a beaten, humbled man to his camp, he would never meet him at all. Hence, in the letter which he wrote on the following day, he said, "The reason of my returning to you your letter yesterday was that I believed at that time that we should meet one another in heaven, but never on earth." Since he was resolved not to fall alive into the hands of the English, there remained to him only the alternatives of death in battle or self-destruction. But on this Saturday, the day after the battle, his army being destroyed or dispersed, fighting seemed no longer possible; and when he wrote to Sir Robert Napier, he had made up his mind to destroy himself. The letter, therefore, may be looked upon as his farewell to life, as the last genuine outpouring of what remained, in spite of aberrations, a noble heart. After the usual invocation of the Trinity, the letter opens thus: "Kâsa, whose trust is in Christ, thus speaks." He first of all recommends to the protection of the English the Christian people whom he had established in "this heathen spot." (For Magdala is in the country of the Wolo Gallas, who are either Mohammedans or heathens.) "See that you forsake not these people," he says. "It is a heathen land." Theodore's wish was so far complied with, that when the English General resolved to burn all the habitations on Magdala and to ruin its defences, he assigned a guard of English soldiers for the protection of the helpless multitude, numbering upwards of 30,000 souls, who, being thus rendered houseless, were compelled to return to their various districts; and who, but for such protection, would have been waylaid and murdered by the Gallas. The last sentences of the letter relate to the ruling passion of his life—hatred to Islam, and to his determination rather to die than become a prisoner. "I had hoped, after subduing all my enemies in Abyssinia, to lead my army against Jerusalem, and expel from it the Turks. A warrior who has dandled strong men in his arms like infants will never suffer himself to be dandled in the arms of others."

After he had dispatched his letter, Theodore sat for a long time in the open air without speaking. He was waiting, probably, till the messenger should have had time to reach the English camp, and place the letter,



KING THEODORE'S HOUSE AT MAGDALA.

INTERIOR OF MAGDALA, WITH SELASSYÈ IN THE DISTANCE.

containing the recommendation of his people to the General's protection, in Sir Robert Napier's hands; for he knew that as soon as his death were announced, everything would be in confusion. "He told his people to walk away to a distance. He then said a prayer, and bowed three times with his face to the ground, and afterwards drank some water. Suddenly he pulled a pistol out of his belt, and put it in his mouth. The soldiers ran up, clasped him round the waist, pulled back his arm, and the pistol went off, grazing his ear. It was all done in a second. Theodore struggled, and for a minute or two the King of Kings was rolling on the ground with his soldiers in a confused heap. He freed himself, composed his mind, and abandoned the idea of self-destruction for the time. 'It was not God's will,' he said." In the letter which he wrote to Sir Robert Napier the next day, Theodore described this attempt at suicide, and declared that after putting the pistol in his mouth, though he pulled and pulled at the trigger, it would not go off; but that when his soldiers rushed upon him, it was discharged just as they had drawn it from his mouth. He regarded the incident as providential, and his thoughts now turned in another direction. Perhaps, he thought, if I surrender the captives, I shall obtain peace from the English, even though I do not give them up in person. He held a council of war, and asked the opinions of the bravest and most influential of the surviving chiefs. Most of them gave counsel, like the soldiers on board St. Paul's vessel, "to kill the prisoners, lest they should escape," and then to fight to the last. It is to the credit of Theodore that he resisted this counsel. Doubtless he thought that their release might be the means of relieving him from further demands, but friendly feeling towards Mr. Rassam, and even towards his poor artisans, had probably much to do with his decision. About four o'clock in the afternoon (Saturday, April 11), the King sent the Governor of Magdala to Mr. Rassam and the other Europeans with the following message: "Go at once to your people; you can send for your property to-morrow." The prisoners made haste to depart, and descended the steep path from Magdala to the saddle of Islamgyè, and thence to Selassyè, where the King still was. Here Mr. Rassam had a final interview with him. Theodore acknowledged that he had behaved ill to the envoy, but said that it was through the conduct of bad men. "I want you to bear this in mind," he continued, "that unless you befriend me, I shall either kill myself or become a monk." By "befriending him" he evidently meant obtaining for him an honourable peace. Failing that, it seems that another alternative, besides that of self-destruction, had now presented itself to his mind—namely, to escape from Magdala, resign his crown, and enter a monastery. His manner to Mr. Rassam was extremely kind; and, in bidding him farewell, he entreated him to come and see him the next day.

CHURCH AT MAGDALA, WITH THEODORE'S GRAVE.

After the interview Mr. Rassam joined the other

prisoners, and they all proceeded to the English camp. They were ten in number—Mr. Rassam and his two companions; Consul Cameron, with his secretary Kerans, and his Italian servant Pietro; Mr. Stern, Mr. Flad, and Mr. and Mrs. Rosenthal, missionaries. All the captives were greeted with hearty applause and congratulations; and Mr. Rassam, Dr. Blanc, and Lieutenant Prideaux were invited to share the hospitality of General Merewether's tent.

Early on the following morning (Easter Sunday, April 12), Theodore sent down a letter to Sir Robert Napier, the object of which was (since he had now made up his mind to live) to do away with the effect of the defiant letter of the previous day, and to request the acceptance of a present. According to Abyssinian ideas, the acceptance of a present would mean that the receiver was satisfied, and granted peace to the giver. After describing his attempt at suicide, he proceeded: "God having thus signified to me that I should not die, but live, I sent to you Mr. Rassam that same evening, that your heart might be made easy. To-day is Easter, be pleased to let me send a few cows to you. . . . You require from me all the Europeans, even to my best friend Waldmeier. Well, be it so. They shall go. But now that we are friends, you must not leave me without artisans, as I am a lover of the mechanical arts."

This letter on reaching the camp was translated by the bearer from the Amharic into Arabic, and from Arabic by Mr. Rassam into English. Sir Robert Napier afterwards declared that he authorised no answer to be given that could have led Theodore to believe that he accepted one jot less than the terms of his first demand; and he ordered a letter to be prepared (which, however, was never sent), accepting the cows provisionally, upon the understanding that Theodore would surrender himself as well as all the Europeans. At the time, he verbally authorised Mr. Rassam—or the latter so understood him—to accept the present of cows. Theodore, upon hearing that his gift had not been spurned, was overjoyed. He believed that life and honour were now safe, and that the victorious General would not require of him the intolerable humiliation of a personal surrender. He sent down the present, consisting of 1,000 cows and 500 sheep, being all the live stock that he had in his possession; and in the course of the afternoon he sent down all the remaining Europeans and half-castes, fifty-seven in number, with their baggage to the English camp. With a truly royal magnanimity and open-handedness, he both made the sacrifice which was required of him complete, keeping back nothing, and he stripped himself of what he could ill spare in order to make up a princely gift.

But on that Sunday evening Theodore was informed by the chief whom he had sent down with the cattle, that the cows had been stopped at the first piquet, and had not been admitted into the camp. He saw at once that he had been misled, and that the English commander intended to abate nothing from the original terms. For the greater part of that night he is said to have walked about on the peak of Selassyè. Mr. Rassam had not visited him according to his request; did that also confirm his apprehensions, and deepen his despair? At dawn the next morning (Easter Monday, April 13), he called on the warriors who loved him to take nothing but their arms and follow him; the time had come, he said, to seek another home. Followed by four chiefs and a few soldiers, he went up into Magdala, passed through it and out at the other side through the gate leading to the saddle which communicated with the Tanta plateau. Whether this sudden movement really indicated a resolution to begin life over again, as the leader of a band, or whether it was connected with the thought that had arisen in his mind of becoming a monk, it is now impossible to say. But after having gone a little way, his men refused to follow him, and he returned with them into Magdala, and thence went down again to Islamgyè. Hither, on the previous day, he had caused his artillery to be brought up from Fâla.

Meantime information had reached the English camp that Theodore had fled from Magdala. The troops were immediately put in motion, while a notice was sent among the Gallas offering a reward for the King's capture. The two brigades scaled the steep ascent of the saddle connecting Fâla with Selassyè, meeting with no opposition whatever. Crowds of people covered the heights, and those among them who were armed were made to lay down their guns and spears. The English regiments slowly advanced until they reached the nearer end of the saddle of Islamgyè. Here they found the greater number of Theodore's guns with their ammunition. A number of chiefs, richly dressed, were seen at the farther end of Islamgyè, galloping wildly about and occasionally firing off their rifles. These in a short time were seen to ascend the steep path leading up into Magdala, pass through the gate called the Koket Bir, and close it after them. About this time authentic information reached the General that Theodore had not escaped, but was still in Magdala. He was one among those who had been just seen to ascend from Islamgyè into the fortress. Sir Robert Napier thought it necessary, under these circumstances, to cannonade Magdala with all the artillery at his disposal. The twelve mountain guns and the rocket tubes were disposed in a line across the saddle of Islamgyè, and commenced to cannonade the place, directing their fire chiefly at the gate and the defences near it. Theodore, and the few followers who remained faithful to him, upon entering the place at the Koket Bir, closed the gate and blocked it up with large stones. This gate stood some distance below the edge of the plateau, at the very brink of which was a second gate. On the rocks, between the two gates, attended by a faithful few, Theodore sat and watched the practice of the English guns. The shells burst all around him; his faithful minister Ras Engeda and his brother were killed by the same shell. No return could be made to the fire, for there had not been time, in consequence of Theodore's vacillation, to haul up any guns from Islamgyè to the fortress.

At 4 P.M. a storming party—consisting of the 33rd Regiment led by Major Cooper, the 10th company of Royal Engineers, and a company of Madras Sappers—

was ordered to attack the Koket Bir, which is described as "a roofed stone gateway, fifteen feet deep, with folding wooden doors." The long line of red-coats wound up the steep pathway, keeping up a hot fire on the hedge and gate above them. A feeble dropping fire was all that replied to them. For when the bombardment became too hot, nearly all Theodore's followers consulted their safety and fled, taking refuge in the huts on Magdala. The King, and about ten persons who still adhered to him, went down into the Koket Bir when the soldiers commenced to climb the steep, and fired upon them through some rudely-constructed loop-holes. Seven men were wounded by this fire. When the soldiers reached the gate, it was found impossible to force it, owing to the large stones with which it had been blocked up; but, after a short delay, a way was made through the hedge on either side of the gate, and the 33rd thus got within the place, removed the stones and opened the doors to admit the rest of the storming party. The King, meantime, had retired up the hill and passed within the second gate. Of his ten companions, six were wounded, more or less seriously.

"The English soldiers were now swarming through the Koket Bir. Theodore reached some huts on the *amba* about fifty yards from the second gate. Here he dismissed all his surviving followers, except his faithful valet Walda Gâbir, telling them to leave him and save their own lives. 'Flee,' he said, 'I release you from your allegiance; as for me, I shall never fall into the hands of the enemy.' As soon as they were gone, he turned to Walda Gàbir, and said, 'It is finished! Sooner than fall into their hands, I will kill myself.' He put a pistol into his mouth, fired it, and fell dead; the ball passing through the roof of the mouth and out at the back of the head. This was, as nearly as possible, at ten minutes past four in the afternoon." When the soldiers entered the *amba* through the second gate, there were many there to recognise the body and point it out to the English as that of the King. Presently Sir Charles Staveley entered the place. "The body was put into a litter and brought to Sir Charles, and the prisoners, first glancing at the face, and then taking up one hand and looking at a finger that had been broken, one and all exclaimed, 'Teôderos!' Sir Charles walked on, and a crowd came round the body, gave three cheers over it, as if it had been that of a dead fox, and then began to cut and tear the clothes to pieces until it was nearly naked." That so foul an indignity should have been offered, and offered with impunity, to the yet warm remains of a noble enemy, is creditable neither to English civilisation nor to English discipline. Some days afterwards the body received decent burial in the cloister of the church of Magdala.

So ended the career of a man who, if he had inherited a purer and more practical Christianity, and learned to control his passions, might have raised his country's name from obscurity, spread the influences of religion and civilisation through eastern Africa, and lived in history as one of the great benefactors of mankind. Wrath and sensuality were his ruin. There were an openness, a friendliness, a manly generosity in his character, which place him morally far above Henry VIII.; but of him too it might be said, as of the Tudor King, that "he spared no man in his anger, and no woman in his lust." Unhappily the clergy of the Abyssinian Church, so far from helping Theodore against his besetting temptations, either by precept or example, were themselves so corrupt as to tempt all who put faith in them to disjoin, like them, religious doctrine and ceremony from purity of life. Theodore himself accused the Bishop (the Abuna Salama) to Mr. Rassam of having made attempts upon the virtue of his Queen, and of a long list of other malpractices. Let us hope that if it shall be the will of Providence again to raise up in the midst of this interesting Christian people a man of genius, a true king of men, as Theodore was in his younger days, his overtures to England may fall into the hands of a minister more appreciative than Lord Russell, and his experience of the elevating influences of Christianity be derived from purer sources than the lives of such men as the Abuna Salama, or even as the respectable missionary mechanics who cast guns and mortars for Theodore.

The rest may be briefly told. The huts on Magdala were burnt by order of the English General, and this outpost of Christianity fell again into the hands of the ferocious Gallas. North of the river Beshilo, Sir Robert recognised the authority of the Wakshum Gobazyè. Theodore's Queen, Terunesh, and her little boy, Alamayahu, were among the inhabitants of Magdala at the time of its capture, and were consigned to the care of Mr. Rassam. The Queen said that it had been Theodore's last wish that his son should be taken charge of by the English; and this wish was complied with.* For her own part, she wished to return to her native province, Semyen; but on the way down she died, and was buried at Chelicut near Antalo. The English army commenced its return march on the 18th April. The arrangements for the march to the coast and the embarkation were made with great judgment and forethought, and the last man of the expedition had left Annesley Bay before the end of June. The landing-piers, wells, roads, and whatever plant had been left behind as not worth removal, came into the possession of the Egyptians, and Abyssinia was sealed up again from intercourse with the outer world, as before the expedition.

Honours were lavished freely on the chief officers in command of the expedition. Sir Robert Napier received the Grand Cross of the Bath and a pension, and was made a peer with the title of Lord Napier of Magdala. General Merewether was made an extra Knight Commander of the Star of India. In moving that the thanks of the House of Commons be given to Sir Robert Napier and his army, Mr. Disraeli, after an eloquent enumeration of the obstacles which they had surmounted, said that that had been accomplished which not one of them ten years ago could have fancied even in his dreams, and they had seen "the standard of St. George hoisted upon the mountains of Rasselas."

* The boy, who was about ten years old at the time of the fall of Magdala, is now (1874), we believe, in the charge of the Rev. Dr. Jex Blake, Principal of Cheltenham College.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Events of non-political interest in 1868—Attempt to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh: Execution of the Criminal—Visit of the Prince of Wales to Ireland—Murphy Riots at Birmingham and Ashton-under-Lyne—Mr. Disraeli at the Mansion House—Decision in the case of Martin *v.* Mackonochie—Death of Lord Brougham: Sketch of his Career—Death of Archbishop Longley, Sir James Brooke, Milman, and others—Rochefort and the *Lanterne*—Bismark on the Liberalism of Austria—The Russians take Samarcand—Progress of Russia in Central Asia—Cretan Insurrection—Assassination of Mr. M'Ghee—Progress of Reconstruction in the United States—Mr. Reverdy Johnson—Revolution in Spain: Serrano, Prim, and Topete assume power: Dethronement of Queen Isabella.

SOME events, non-political in their character, which belonged to the year 1868, together with a brief survey of such changes and disturbances, occurring in foreign countries, as affected the interests or fixed the attention of Englishmen, may here be thrown together in a separate chapter.

In the course of the spring, the intelligence of an attempt to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh while in Australia created much excitement in London. Prince Alfred, the second son of the Queen, having taken to a naval life, rose rapidly in the service, and at the time of the attempt was in command of the *Galatea*, a frigate attached to the Australian station. In the course of a long visit to the colony of New South Wales, the Prince had consented to be present at a large picnic at Clontarf (a place on Middle Harbour, Port Jackson), organised partly to do honour to His Royal Highness, partly to benefit the funds of a Sailors' Home. Here, under the bright Australian sky, while all was mirth and enjoyment around, the Prince being engaged in conversation with Sir William Manning, the Attorney-General, while the Governor (Lord Belmore) and the Lord Chief Justice were at a short distance, a person was observed to take deliberate aim at the Prince with a revolver. Before any one could interfere with him, the assassin had fired one barrel. He was within a few yards of His Royal Highness, and the shot therefore could not but take effect, striking the middle of the back, an inch or two to the right of the spine. The Duke fell forward on his hands and knees, exclaiming, "Good God! my back is broken." Sir William Manning rushed at the fellow to seize him, but, seeing him on the point of firing another barrel, stooped to evade the bullet, and in the act of stooping lost his balance and fell. But there were so many persons on the ground that the criminal had little or no chance of escape. A stalwart coachbuilder of the name of Vial ran up and seized him from behind, pinioning his arms to his side. The man struggled hard, attempting to liberate his right arm sufficiently to discharge the pistol at Vial over his shoulder; but, finding this impossible, he fired in the direction of the spot where the Duke was lying, with the supposed intention of wounding him again. The ball lodged in the foot of a gentleman named Thorne, one of the crowd who had gathered almost instantly round the Prince on seeing him fall. When the wound was examined, in the tent to which His Royal Highness had been carried, it was found that the bullet, having traversed the course of the ribs on the right side round to the abdomen, had lodged there just under the skin. The bullet appeared to have avoided the vitals; and it was therefore hoped from the first that if it could be successfully extracted, no serious consequences would ensue. After a time the patient was carried by sailors from the *Galatea* on a litter down to his barge, amidst warm demonstrations of loyal feeling on the part of the colonists. On the barge he was conveyed to the landing-place, and thence to Government House. The bullet was extracted without difficulty, and the progress of His Royal Highness to recovery was rapid and without check. While the Duke was being borne away, a painful scene occurred. Before the police could take him in charge, the misguided wretch was surrounded by a mob of infuriated loyalists, incapable of restraining either their feelings or their fists. By these the criminal was so mauled, so brutally beaten and bruised, that, when the police at last arrived, he was covered with blood from head to foot and scarcely retained the semblance of humanity. "Lynch him, hang him, string him up"—such were the cries that issued from a hundred throats. When he was brought down to the man-of-war from which he was to be removed to gaol, the sailors were about to hang him at the yard-arm incontinently; but Lord Newry interposed and saved him. After much preliminary investigation, in order to ascertain whether or not the man had accomplices, he was put on his trial on the 26th March. He gave his name as Henry James O'Farrel, admitted that he had intended to kill the Prince, as a prominent representative of English tyranny over his native land, and at first used language which pointed, like that of Mucius Scævola on a similar occasion, to a secret conspiracy in which he was but one of the adepts and accomplices. When, however, he was condemned to death, he wrote and signed on the day before his execution (April 21) a full and clear statement, declaring that he had had no accomplices, and that the design of assassinating the Duke had been conceived in his own brain, and communicated to no other person. He admitted that he was a Fenian, but denied that he was connected with, or even cognisant of the existence of, any Fenian organisation in New South Wales. Before he suffered, he was brought to a becoming sense of the guilt of the criminal act which he had so nearly consummated. The Duke of Edinburgh, after his recovery, interceded with the Colonial Government, but without effect, for the pardon of the culprit. Notwithstanding the rapidity of his recovery, it was apprehended that the Australian climate might not be favourable to his entire restoration to health; he was therefore, in accordance with the best medical opinions, ordered home with the *Galatea*.

In April, the Prince and Princess of Wales paid another visit to Ireland in the Queen's yacht. Their stay lasted over ten days, in the course of which they honoured the races at Punchestown with their presence, and the Prince was admitted with all the ancient formalities into the Order of the Knights of St. Patrick.

The scandalous scenes caused in 1867 by the discourses of the lecturer Murphy were renewed in the May of 1868 with yet more calamitous results. A traveller, passing through the streets of Birmingham, on the

night of June 19, 1867, saw Park Street in ruins; the traffic stopped in the great thoroughfare of High Street and Bull Street; Carr's Lane, Moor Street, &c., strongly occupied by soldiers, and Irish women weeping over the destruction of their little property and their wrecked homes. The force of religious hate is one of the strongest leverages of the moral world, and so far Lucretius might truly say :—

Tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum!

On the 9th May, 1868, the furious spirit of bigotry which Murphy's lectures had awakened in the breasts of his English auditors, at Dukinfield, Stalybridge, and Ashton-under-Lyne, important manufacturing towns in South Lancashire, found vent in a combined movement against the quarter inhabited by the Catholic Irish in the last-named town. Much fighting ensued, but the party of the assailants was in superior force, and, after having done considerable damage to a small chapel with its school in the Irish quarter, they attacked the principal chapel (St. Mary's). The chapel bell was rung, and the Irish flocked to the aid of their priest; but they were overpowered by numbers, and the fittings and window-frames of the chapel were destroyed. Shots were fired, but no lives were lost. On the 11th, there was a renewal of rioting; the English attacked Reyner's Row, the inhabitants of which were mostly Irish, and commenced systematically to sack and gut the houses, and destroy the furniture. Troops were at last sent for by the Mayor; the rioters cheered the soldiers, and adjourned to another street merely to renew the work of devastation. It was the riots of 1780 repeated on a smaller scale. In one of the rushes made by the mob a respectable woman was knocked down and trampled to death. A number of special constables were sworn in; the most mischievous of the rioters were arrested or disarmed, and the disturbance was gradually got under. An attempt was made to renew the same outrages at Stalybridge; but here the authorities were well prepared, and the mob was at once charged and dispersed by a combined force of constables and specials.

We have seen how, when the results of the elections in the autumn came to be clearly known, Mr. Disraeli resigned office; having but a few days before, with that happy mixture of banter and effrontery which so well became him, spoken at the Lord Mayor's dinner of the auspicious occasion, when, "this day *next* year, I shall have the honour of responding to the toast of Her Majesty's Government." Like Pitt, when he resigned in 1761, Mr. Disraeli declined a peerage for himself, but accepted it for Mrs. Disraeli, who was created Viscountess Beaconsfield.

In December, a decision, which had been awaited with deep interest by both the great parties in the Church, was delivered by Lord Cairns in the name of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The judgment was in the case of Martin *v.* Mackonochie. The latter, one of the leading Ritualist clergy in London, and the incumbent of St. Alban's, Holborn, was charged with lighting candles on the communion-table at the time of the celebration of the communion, and with superstitiously prostrating himself before the elements after pronouncing the prayer of consecration. On both the charges submitted the judgment was against Mr. Mackonochie. Lighted candles, according to the Judicial Committee, were not "ornaments" within the meaning of the Rubric; and with regard to the prostrations, it was evident that they introduced and implied an adoration to a supposed Divine presence, objectively understood, which the Reformers had carefully eliminated from the worship of the Anglican Church. Mr. Mackonochie was condemned in the costs of the appeal, as well as in the costs of the hearing in the court below.

One was taken from us in this year, at an extreme old age, whose name recalled the Liberal reaction which set in in this country at the very beginning of the century, who had worked with Mackintosh and Charles James Fox, and stood up to defend the unhappy Queen of George IV. Henry Brougham, descended on the father's side from an ancient Westmoreland family, and related through his mother to Robertson the Scottish historian, was born at Edinburgh in 1778. He received his early intellectual training entirely in Scotland—first at the High School (where he was a school-fellow of Sir Walter Scott), and afterwards at the University of Edinburgh. Through his school and college course he was noted as a youth of very remarkable powers; but it was chiefly mathematical and physical inquiries which at this early period enchained his attention. His first published writings were papers on Light communicated to the Royal Society. Called to the Scottish bar in 1800, he became at once a member of a choice circle of rarely gifted spirits, among whom Jeffrey and Sidney Smith were included. The horror and detestation which the acts of the Convention and the Reign of Terror had aroused in this country, driving it into a sort of unreasoning Toryism which resisted improvement simply because it was change, had now begun to subside. The clever thinkers and brilliant speakers collected at Edinburgh resolved to establish an organ which should attack political abuses wherever they were found; should expound the much-needed principles of political economy, and urge their application to the public life of the nation; and, finally, should wield with a vigorous impartiality the bâton of literary criticism. The idea was first suggested by Sydney Smith, and seriously discussed between him, Brougham, and Jeffrey one stormy night in March, 1802. But Jeffrey's timidity and excessive caution interposed all sorts of obstacles, and it was not till October, 1802, that the first number appeared. The importance of the *Review*, says Lord Brougham in his Autobiography, "can only be judged of by recollecting the state of things at the time Smith's bold and sagacious idea was started. Protection reigned triumphant—Parliamentary representation in Scotland had scarcely an existence—the Catholics were unemancipated—the Test Acts unrepealed—men were hung for stealing a few shillings in a dwelling-house—no counsel allowed to a prisoner accused of a capital offence—the horrors of the slave-trade tolerated—the prevailing tendencies of the age, jobbery and corruption. To the improvement of some, and to the removal of others, of these evils, the *Edinburgh Review* has not a little contributed."

After a few years Brougham removed to England, and was, in 1808, called to the English bar. He disliked the profession which he had chosen, chiefly, perhaps, because great eminence in it was not to be attained without a persevering drudgery which was distasteful to his lively and versatile intellect. But he proved himself to be a forcible and self-possessed speaker; and it was not long before the Duke of Bedford, beholding in the rising barrister a future ornament of the Whig party, placed one of his boroughs at his disposal. Under these auspices Mr. Brougham entered Parliament, in 1810, as member for Camelford. His maiden speech was delivered in support of Mr. Whitbread's motion of censure on the Government for having permitted Lord Chatham to lay a secret narrative of the Walcheren expedition before the King. Francis Horner, who heard the speech, wrote to Brougham's mother that "the manner in which he spoke was in every respect most parliamentary, and gave all his friends the most complete assurance of the success he will have in the House." In 1812, Brougham stood against Mr. Canning for Liverpool, and being defeated, was unable to re-enter Parliament till 1816, when he was returned for Winchilsea, through the influence of Lord Darlington. For several years he pursued a successful and consistent parliamentary career, advocating the adoption of liberal measures and the removal of abuses, and devoting himself with peculiar earnestness to the question of Parliamentary Reform. After the death of George IV., in 1830, he was invited to come forward as a candidate for the representation of Yorkshire. The countrymen of Wilberforce desired to honour the bold denouncer of the slave-trade; the great commercial and manufacturing interests of the county were favourable to the man whose eloquence had procured the revocation of the "Orders in Council;" the general population delighted to welcome the defender of the persecuted and, as they thought, the innocent Queen Caroline. He was returned, and he thus, in his Memoirs, describes the gratification he felt: "My return for the great county of York was my greatest victory, my most unsullied success. I may say, without hyperbole, that when, as knight of the shire, I was begirt with the sword, it was the proudest moment of my life. My return to Parliament by the greatest and most wealthy constituency in England was the highest compliment ever paid to a public man." No sooner had Parliament met than Mr. Brougham announced his intention of introducing, on the 16th of November, a comprehensive measure of Reform. But a few days afterwards the Ministry of the Duke of Wellington, weakened by the death of Huskisson, and having been defeated on a Government measure, resigned office. William IV. sent for Earl Grey and commissioned him to form a Ministry. The new Government could not dispense with the remarkable debating power of Mr. Brougham, and Earl Grey wished him to take the office of Attorney-General; this, however, he decidedly refused, and then, at the King's suggestion,

MAGDALA IN FLAMES.

THE SUICIDE OF THEODORE.

the Great Seal was offered him. At the age of fifty-two, Henry Brougham took his seat on the woolsack as Lord Chancellor, with the title of Lord Brougham and Vaux. Upon the value of his services as a judge in the Court of Chancery, opinions have widely differed. It is certain that, by dint of indefatigable labour, continued for three or four years, he cleared out all the arrears in the court, and left none when he resigned the seals. Out of more than seven hundred judgments which he delivered, an exceedingly small proportion, according to his own account of the matter, was ever reviewed or disturbed. On the other hand, he had not the fine legal mind of Lord Lyndhurst, nor were his judgments luminous oracles of jurisprudence like those of Lord Mansfield. In the House of Lords, Lord Brougham was of great service to the Government in promoting the passing of the Reform Bill. But when, after the short administration of Sir Robert Peel, the Whigs returned to power in 1835, Lord Melbourne preferred the milder temper and more winning manners of Lord Cottenham, as Speaker of the House of Lords, to the restlessness and eccentricity of Brougham. From that time till his death he never held office, though, as a private member of the House of Lords, he often made his power felt, especially by Lord Melbourne, towards whom, from the frequency and acrimony of his attacks, it is impossible not to conclude that he nourished a feeling of bitter resentment. As a law reformer, Brougham's services to his country were undoubtedly great. It was mainly owing to his exertions that imprisonment for debt was abolished, that various classes of crimes less than murder ceased to be visited with the punishment of death, and that many useful Acts for shortening legal documents and dispensing with cumbrous and obsolete forms were passed into law. In the department of literature, his activity was very great, but has left less mark upon his age. Besides various scientific papers, he wrote "Historic Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the reign of George III.," and "Lives of Men of Art and Science," during the same period; he was also the author of a Life of Voltaire, of Personal Memoirs down to the year 1834, and of an English translation of Demosthenes' oration De Coronâ. His writing generally commends itself as the work of an ingenious, clear, and unprejudiced mind; his style, however, is deficient in weight and dignity. Lord Brougham died at his villa near Cannes, in his ninetieth year, on the 7th May, 1868.

The good and gentle Longley, once Head-Master of Harrow, who since the death of Sumner had been Archbishop of Canterbury, died this year, and was succeeded by Dr. Tait, the Bishop of London. A life brilliantly commenced, but clouded latterly by many disappointments, was also closed this year—that of Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak. The adventurous story of his early life—how, finding himself possessed of wealth, and with no special work to do, he fitted out a yacht, and sailed to the Eastern Archipelago; how he settled down at Sarawak in Borneo, and, as a beneficent friend and lawgiver, taught the simple Dyaks the benefits of law, and the arts and enjoyments of a higher life; how he warred upon the pirates of the coast and the freebooters of the interior—all this is told, simply and well, in Captain Keppel's "Voyage of the *Dido*." Milman, the historian of the Jews and of Latin Christianity, also passed away; and Bishop Hampden, whose name recalls university controversies, and Bishop Jeune, whose name recalls university reform.

In France, the year passed over uneventfully, but there were many indications of growing discontent. Rochefort began to write in the *Lanterne* his withering satires against the Imperial Government; and at a public distribution of prizes at the Sorbonne, the son of Marshal Cavaignac, encouraged by his mother and by the sympathy of his fellow-students, refused to receive his prize from the hands of the Prince Imperial.

During the session of the Prussian Diet, some characteristic remarks, sarcastic but profound, fell from Count Bismark, in a speech replying to a member who, while fiercely attacking Count Beust personally, had eulogised, as if by way of contrast to the Prussian system, the *liberalism* of Austria. After observing that he could not conveniently undertake the defence of Count Beust without dilating upon the policy of Austria, which he did not feel called upon to do, Count Bismark proceeded: "Still I may observe that I am ignorant of the existence of personal hostility to myself or this Government in—if I may so call him—my Austrian colleague. In former years I was on a friendly footing with him, and have no reason to suppose that a change has occurred. I should therefore deem myself bound to vindicate his conduct against what has fallen from a preceding speaker, had I not reasons for wishing to steer clear of the quicksands of international policy in to-day's debate. As to Austria's liberalism, it consists in an army of eight hundred thousand men, demanded and voted for a period of ten years, and some municipal arrangements which were introduced in Prussia fifty years ago. Even these Count Beust has taken care to render innocuous by a vigorous supervision on the part of the administrative authorities. *Au reste*, there is this similarity between Liberal Governments and the reigning beauties of the season—that the last out usually carries the day."

The continual progress of Russia in Central Asia, silent mostly and unmarked, like the rising tide, arrested this year the attention of all Europe, when the news arrived that Samarcand, the ancient capital of Turkestan, and the favourite residence of Timour, had fallen before the arms of General Kaufmann. The Ameer of Bokhara was defeated in several engagements; and Bokhara itself was taken by the Russians, but not permanently occupied. Let any one open an atlas published forty years ago, and compare the limits of "Independent Tartary" as marked in it with those of Turkestan as shown in a correct map of the present day, and he will be in a position to form an estimate of the time that will probably elapse before the Russian and Anglo-Indian empires come into actual contact.

The Cretan insurrection—which broke out in the summer of 1866, and in which the insurgents, aided by the continual influx of volunteers and supplies from Greece, had resisted for two years and a half the utmost efforts of the Turkish monarchy for its suppression—

came to an end at the close of 1868, through the sheer exhaustion of the islanders. To Turkey also the situation of things had become intolerable, and the Turkish Minister at Athens delivered an ultimatum to the Greek Government on the 10th December, demanding the dispersion within five days of the volunteers enlisted for the Cretan insurgents, and a pledge that no more should be permitted to be enrolled; and requiring Greece to act for the future in conformity with existing treaties. Greece refused the ultimatum, and diplomatic relations were broken off between her and Turkey. The great Powers interposed, and it was arranged that a Conference should be held at Paris early in 1869, to treat of the relations between Turkey and Greece. At this Conference, which met on the 9th January, the discussion lasted over ten days. It was finally decided that Greece should abstain for the future from favouring or tolerating within its territory the formation of bands destined to act against Turkey; and should also take the necessary measures to prevent the equipment in its ports of vessels destined to aid or comfort, in whatever manner, insurrection within the dominions of the Sultan.

The dastardly spirit of the revolutionary assassin obtained this year one of its miserable triumphs in Canada, though it had failed to do so in Australia. Mr. Darcy M'Ghee, an eminent member of the Canadian Parliament, and an Irishman, was shot in the back at the door of his own house at Ottawa, and mortally wounded, just after he had delivered an eloquent speech in favour of loyalty and unity. A Fenian, named James Whelan, was convicted of the crime in September, and executed soon after. Whelan was a journeyman tailor at Montreal, and had been for several months on the watch for an opportunity to murder his victim, whose eloquent advocacy of British policy and the British connection was extremely distasteful to the Fenians.

In America, the gradual reconstruction of the Union was marked this year by the admission of the late Confederate states of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana to representation in Congress, on condition of their having ratified the constitutional amendments touching slavery and the basis of representation, and of never depriving of the suffrage those persons who were at that time entitled to vote. The bill admitting these states was called the "Omnibus" Bill. A separate Act of Congress admitted the state of Arkansas, under similar conditions. Each of these Acts was vetoed by the President, on the ground that the suffrage in each state was a matter of state concern, and that in other ways they involved an infringement of state rights; but both were passed over the President's veto by a two-thirds majority of Congress, and became law.

Mr. Reverdy Johnson was nominated by the President in June, with the approval of the Senate, to succeed Mr. Adams as the Minister of the United States in England. Mr. Johnson negotiated with Lord Stanley a settlement of the *Alabama* claims; but concerning that settlement, and the causes of its ultimate failure, it will be more convenient to speak when the subject again comes before us in connection with the Treaty of Washington and the Geneva Arbitration.

In Spain, the last Bourbon sovereign, driven from the throne this year by a successful revolution, was compelled to seek as an exile and a suppliant the land which had nursed her ancestors. For several years—with the exception of the brief interval during which O'Donnel was in power—the government of Spain had been in the hands of Marshal Narvaez, a coarse and violent soldier, who made it his business to repress all movement in the direction of political reform—to gag the Press—to play into the hands of the absolutist section among the clergy—in a word, to pursue a policy thoroughly reactionary. Narvaez died in April, 1868. Before his death he is said to have become convinced that the policy of repression was exhausted, and to have recommended a change.* His successor, Gonzalez Bravo, a man without the rough vigour of Narvaez, and who, as a civilian, had no influence with the army, attempted, nevertheless, with the Queen's support, to govern in the same or a still more arbitrary way. The leading men of all parties, except that fraction of the nation which adhered to the Government, discussed with deep anxiety the alarming condition of affairs. The Progressistas, who answer to the Radicals or Advanced Liberals of this country, desired a revolution, and the dethronement of the dynasty; but the Moderate party, represented by the Generals Serrano and Dulce, and Admiral Topete, hesitated long, and were indisposed to go so far. Prim was at this time an exile in England. Getting wind of the conferences that were being held, but ignorant of their real tenor, Gonzalez Bravo foolishly thought to stamp out the movement that seemed to be in preparation by an abusive stretch of power. He caused the leading Generals of the Moderate party, among whom were Serrano, Dulce, and Caballero di Roda, to be suddenly arrested, and then either sent into exile or "interned" in Spain or some Spanish possession. Serrano and Dulce were interned in one of the Canary Islands. By this monstrous act Bravo precipitated the very catastrophe which he was seeking to avert. The Generals had hesitated before; but, after such treatment, they had no longer any scruple about conspiring to overthrow the dynasty. Scarcely less arbitrary and ill-judged was the measure of expelling the Duke and Duchess de Montpensier from Spain (July 8), on the ground that they were engaged in stirring up disaffection against the Queen's government. As if this was not enough, the Spanish navy, which had never till now joined in any revolutionary movement, was disgusted by learning that the Ministry—money being very scarce—proposed to effect sweeping reductions in the naval service. Discontent and anxious foreboding pervaded the country; it was felt to be impossible that such a state of things could long continue. In August, the Queen went to St. Sebastian, and remained there for some time. It seems that she was possessed by an importunate desire to obtain an interview with the French Emperor, and to consult him on the state of her country, and the means of dissipating the

* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Septembre, 1868.

perils which surrounded her. She went, therefore, to a place close to the French frontier, in order that, when the Emperor should pay his annual summer visit to Biarritz, she might, without exciting too much observation, visit him there. But weeks passed on, and still the Emperor's visit to Biarritz was delayed. Before the interview could take place, the dreaded insurrection had broken out. On the 18th September, the plan of action having been carefully concerted between the exiled Generals and Topete, the discontented sailors of the fleet at Cadiz, with Topete and his officers at their head, broke out into open revolt against the Madrid Government. On the same day Serrano and Dulce arrived in a vessel from the Canaries; Prim also, leaving Southampton, reached Cadiz about the same time. The conspirators immediately published a manifesto, declaring that the tyranny of the Government had become intolerable; that the Bourbon dynasty must be dethroned; and that, in recognition of the principle of popular sovereignty, a constituent assembly, elected by universal suffrage, should be convened as soon as possible. Prim issued a separate proclamation to the people of Cadiz, thoroughly revolutionary in tone, and full of that sanguine claptrap, the value of which is now pretty well understood in France and Germany.

Meantime the Queen, dismayed by the intelligence from Cadiz, remained for some days irresolute at St. Sebastian. Gonzalez Bravo, terrified at the consequences of his own folly, resigned office and disappeared. The Queen appointed General Concha as her Prime Minister, and sent him to Madrid with dictatorial power. Why did she not proceed thither herself? More than once she entered the train with that intention but changed her purpose after having gone a little way, and returned to St. Sebastian. Concha gave her to understand that her presence at Madrid could but be advantageous to her cause, if she came alone. But there was a certain M. Marfori, the steward of her household, with whose name and that of the Queen public rumour had been busy for some time past; and it was respectfully intimated to Her Majesty by the faithful advisers still left to her that she must on no account take M. Marfori with her to Madrid. The Queen could not bring herself to assent to this condition; and in a short time, perceiving that her cause was desperate, she crossed the French frontier, and obtained at last her interview with the Emperor, but under widely different circumstances from any that had been in her original contemplation. The revolution in the south advanced almost without a check. At the bridge of Alcolea, near Cordova, General Pavia, Marquis of Novaliches, engaged, at the head of the troops that still remained faithful to their colours, the army under Marshal Serrano. But the troops of Novaliches had no heart in the cause; he himself was severely wounded, and his army dispersed. Serrano entered Madrid on the 3rd October. A Provisional Government, with the Marshal for President and Prim for Commander-in-Chief, was established. On the 20th October, the new Government issued a manifesto to the nation. "To legitimise the revolution," it said, "we have sought the sole criterion now considered infallible (!), namely, an appeal to universal suffrage." But the men in power did not conceal their own predilections, which were in favour of a constitutional monarchy. Spain was free to choose what government it liked; but they drew attention, approvingly, to the reserve with which the juntas (corporations) had treated monarchical institutions, meaning that they had abstained from attacking them. Nevertheless, if the popular decision should be against a monarchy, the Government would "respect the will of the national sovereignty." Except that they were not Republicans, the new rulers of Spain proceeded to adopt measures of the usual revolutionary hue. The absolute liberty of the press was decreed; and universal toleration was proclaimed, except for the Jesuits, whose colleges and institutions were ordered to be closed within three days in Spain and the Spanish colonies, the Order itself being suppressed and its property sequestrated to the State. The Republican party was dissatisfied, and rose in arms at Cadiz in December. General Caballero di Roda marched against them and persuaded them to submit to the Government. The disintegrating tendency was checked for the moment, only to re-appear afterwards in a more virulent form. The general sentiment of the Spanish people was in favour of monarchy, but no monarch could for a long time be found.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Year 1869—Difficulty of Disestablishing the Irish Church—Opening of Parliament—The Queen's Speech—Mr. Gladstone's Speech on introducing the Bill for Disestablishment: its Provisions relating to Persons and to Property—Private Endowments—Churches and Glebe-houses made over to the Church Body—Conversion of the Church Property into Money—Disposal of the Surplus—Arrangements for the Extinction of the *Regium Donum* and of the Maynooth Grant—Conclusion of Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Mr. Disraeli, Sir Roundell Palmer, and others oppose the Bill—The Second Reading is carried—Bill passed in the Commons—Lord Redesdale's Question about the Coronation Oath: Earl Granville's Reply—Debates on the Bill in the House of Lords—Speech of the Bishop of Peterborough—Important Amendments carried in Committee—Bill passed in the House of Lords—Mr. Gladstone moves to disagree with most of the Lords' Amendments—The House of Commons accedes to the Proposal—The House of Lords adheres to its Amendments—Danger of a Collision between the Houses—Conference between Lord Cairns and Earl Granville—A Compromise effected—The Bill passes into Law—Predictions respecting its results not verified by the event.

THE condition of the empire at the beginning of 1869 was externally far from unsatisfactory. The successful and complete accomplishment of the objects for which the Abyssinian expedition had been undertaken, was considered, even in foreign countries, to reflect credit on our military administration; the state of Ireland was so much improved, that the renewal of the Act suspending the Habeas Corpus in that country was deemed no longer necessary; above all, trade and finance were beginning to show signs of substantial recovery from the effects of the collapse of 1866, and to hold forth the promise of a new and vigorous expansion. With regard to the new Ministry which the deliberate preference of a large majority of the constituencies had just installed in power, confidence

in Mr. Gladstone, and in his power to deal adequately with the great question of the day, was widely felt and freely expressed. Yet the difficulty of carrying a just and adequate measure of disestablishment, which should carefully unravel the thousand threads that in the course of three centuries had variously linked the ecclesiastical with the civil establishment of Ireland—a measure which should satisfy the just claims of individuals, and wisely dispose of the portion of the exappropriated property not required for the purposes of compensation—was felt to be so great, that few expected it to be overcome in the present session. A succession of contests—a slow and painful adjustment—the attainment of a practical equilibrium after many trials, spread over two or three years,—such seemed to be the prospect before the country. That the result was different, and that this great work of demolition was accomplished in a single session, was due (whatever view we may take of the righteousness or otherwise of the question itself) to the conscientious thoroughness with which Mr. Gladstone laboured at the preparation of the necessary measure, and to his genius for the perfecting of details.

The formal business involved in the opening of a new Parliament had been dispatched, as we explained at the end of Chapter xxvii., in the month of December, 1868. On the 16th February, 1869, the real session began. On this unique occasion, the like of which had not occurred since the assembling of the first Parliament elected after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, it might have been expected that the Queen would be present and deliver the Royal Speech; that duty, however, was, as on so many previous occasions, discharged by the Lord Chancellor. Mr. Gladstone subsequently explained that it had been Her Majesty's earnest wish to meet her Parliament, but that her health, impaired by the severe nervous headaches to which Her Majesty was subject, was found unequal to the effort; should, however, the House agree to the Address, Her Majesty was desirous of coming to London, and receiving it in person from both Houses of Parliament. This proposal was warmly received on both sides of the House; but the serious illness of the youngest son of Her Majesty, Prince Leopold, occurring just about this time, prevented the execution of the design.

In the Royal Speech, after allusion had been made to the settlement of the rupture between Greece and Turkey lately effected in the Conference at Paris, and to some insignificant disturbances which had broken out in New Zealand, the great legislative project of the year was thus vaguely shadowed forth:—"The ecclesiastical arrangements of Ireland will be brought under your consideration at a very early date, and the legislation which will be necessary in order to their final adjustment will make the largest demands upon the wisdom of Parliament." By a wise and politic development of the principles that "the King can do no wrong," and that his ministers are responsible for his acts, we have seen of late years an increasing tendency to eliminate from the speeches with which the Sovereign opens Parliament announcements as to future measures of so positive a character as to challenge the Opposition to impugn or move amendments to them In this way all semblance of a collision between the Sovereign and Parliament is avoided, and the constitutional machine works all the easier. Thanks to this moderation, the Address was agreed to in both Houses without difficulty, Lord Cairns observing that he could not go into the subject of the Irish Church without more light than was afforded by the "rather fortuitous collocation of nouns and adjectives in which the Speech alluded to it." In the Commons, Mr. Gladstone, the new Premier, lost no time in giving notice that, on the 1st March, he should move that the Acts relating to the Irish Church Establishment and the grant to Maynooth College, and also the Resolutions of the House of Commons in 1868, be read; and that the House should then resolve itself into a committee to consider of the said Acts and Resolutions.

The appointed day arrived, and Mr. Gladstone, after causing the Clerk to read the titles of the Acts and the Commons' Resolutions of 1868, proceeded, in a speech of three hours' duration, to unfold to a crowded and expectant House the particulars of the scheme by which he proposed to redeem the pledge of disestablishing the Church of Ireland which he had induced the House to take in the preceding year. So perfect a mastery of all the details of a very complicated measure, joined to so rare a gift for marshalling and harmonising his matter, was perhaps never before found in an English statesman. There were facts to be told, explanatory narratives to be given, reasons to be unfolded, objections to be met, changes to be proposed, and arrangements necessitated by those changes to be precisely defined, as to times, places, and persons; and all these various requirements were to be satisfied in a single speech, and in such a manner that the thread of the exposition should never be broken, nor the interest of the hearer suffered to flag. All this was accomplished by Mr. Gladstone in this memorable speech.

Certain dates were first of all named, by keeping which in memory it became more easy to grasp the general bearing of the scheme. On the 1st January, 1871 (this, however, was a date which the speaker did not regard as unalterable), the disestablishment of the Irish Church was to take legal effect. At that date the union between the Churches of England and Ireland would be dissolved, all ecclesiastical corporations would be abolished, the ecclesiastical courts would be closed, and the ecclesiastical laws would no longer be binding as laws, although they would still be understood to exist as part of the terms of a voluntary contract subsisting between clergy and laity, till they were altered by the governing body of the disestablished Church. Secondly, from the date of the passing of the Act, the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission would cease and determine, and would be replaced by a temporary Commission, appointed for ten years, in which the property of the Irish Church would immediately vest. Thirdly, after a date which it was impossible exactly to define, but which would give time for the complete execution of all those complicated arrangements to which the satisfaction of vested interests under the Act would lead, the residue of the funds of the disendowed Church would be available for employment in such

manners and on such objects as would be specified in a subsequent portion of his statement.

From this point, since we cannot follow Mr. Gladstone into the extended exposition of every portion of his plan with which he favoured the House, we propose to describe the contents of the bill on a different principle, and to consider the leading features of the scheme—(1) in its application to persons; (2) in its application to property.

DR. TAIT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The persons to whom the provisions of the new measure were to be primarily applied, who from the official clergy of a State Church were to be converted into the ministers of a voluntary association, were these following—two archbishops, ten bishops, and about 2,380 parochial clergy and curates.* Before considering and guarding the rights of these persons, it was necessary to provide for the case of those who should, by nomination or election, be added to their number, in the interval between the passing of the Act and the date fixed for the legal disestablishment of the Church. It was provided that during this transition period the patronage exercised in favour of such persons should confer no freehold, and create for them no vested rights of any kind. In the case of episcopal vacancies, the Crown would still appoint, but only at the prayer of the bishops of the province in which the vacancy occurred for the consecration of an individual to be named by them. These interim appointments would carry with them no vested interest, and no rights of peerage. With regard to the existing prelates and clergy, the former, as has been already stated, would lose their right to seats in the House of Lords from the date of the legal disestablishment. Before the 1st January, 1871, the clergy and laity of the Church were invited to meet together and re-organise the institution on a voluntary basis, appointing at the same time a "governing body," through which it might communicate with the Government

* The statistics of the persons and property of the disestablished Church are clearly and accurately given in the Appendix to Mr. Leigh Bernard's "Decisions under the Irish Church Act" (1874).

of the day by the intervention of the Ecclesiastical Commission nominated in the Act. The Irish Convocation had not met, Mr. Gladstone said, for a period of fully a century and a half, if not of two centuries; and not only were there great technical difficulties in the way of its revival, but there also existed a special statute called the Convention Act, certain clauses of which rendered it doubtful whether the Convocation could be legally convoked at all. One of the earliest enactments in the bill for disestablishment, the provisions of the Act for satisfying the vested interests, not only of the Protestant clergy, but also of the students and professors of Maynooth, and of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church, would begin to take effect. What is a vested interest? Mr. Gladstone defined it thus, after stating that the "expectation of promotion" could not possibly be comprehended in the definition:—"The vested interest of the incumbent [whether of a see or a benefice] is this—it is a title to receive

SIR ROUNDELL PALMER.
(From a Photograph, by permission of the Stereoscopic Company.)

was, accordingly, the repeal of the Convention Act, so far as it affected the Irish Church, and the removal of all disabilities of whatever kind which might hinder the clergy and laity from meeting in synod and re-organising the Church as a voluntary society. The Government would take no power for the Crown to interfere in the election of the governing body, but would merely require that it should be truly representative, as resulting from the joint action of bishops, clergy, and laity. The governing body so appointed would be recognised by the Government, and it would become incorporated under the present Act.

When the 1st January, 1871, had arrived, the date fixed a certain net income from the property of the Church, in consideration of the discharge of certain duties to which he is bound as the equivalent he gives for that income, and subject to the laws by which he and the religious body to which he belongs are bound." In the possession of such net income, subject only to deductions for the curates whom he might have permanently employed, every incumbent was secured by the Act for the term of his natural life, so long as he continued to discharge the equivalent duties. He might, however, if he chose, commute his right to receive his net income annually from the State for a capital sum to be calculated at a rate of interest of three

and a half per cent. This commutation could only be made upon the application of the incumbent, and the sum of money would then be paid to the Church body, "subject to the legal trust of discharging the obligation or covenant which we had ourselves to discharge to the incumbent—namely, to give him the annuity in full so long as he discharged the duties." This commutation would be voluntary; but as it would be greatly to the interest of the State to relieve itself as quickly as possible from the task of maintaining relations of payment with the individual clergymen, the scale on which it was computed would be a liberal one; and Mr. Gladstone hoped that it would be very largely resorted to. The various incidents of the freehold tenure on which the existing incumbents now held their benefices or lands would be allowed to subsist during their lifetimes, with two exceptions. The Tithe Rent-charge (which, for various important reasons, it was desirable to have the power of dealing with immediately after disestablishment) would, from the date of the passing of the Act, vest in the new Commissioners without any intervening life-interest, the faith of Parliament being, of course, pledged to the payment of the whole proceeds which the clergymen could derive from it. The other exception related to ruined churches, the freehold of which might be in the incumbent; in these cases it would be taken from him and vested in the Irish Board of Works, with an allocation of funds necessary to preserve the churches from desecration or further injury. The vested interest of all incumbents, whether bishops or presbyters, was thus provided for. With regard to curates, Mr. Gladstone distinguished between those who were permanently, and those who were temporarily employed. The Act left it to the Commissioners to determine in each case whether a curate applying for compensation had really been in permanent employment, stipulating only that, in order to be entitled to that character, he should have been employed on the 1st January, 1869, and that he should continue to be so employed on the 1st January, 1871; or that, if he had ceased to be so employed, the cessation should be due to some cause other than his own free choice or misconduct. Such curates were to be held entitled to receive their stipends for life or to commute them, exactly on the same principles as the Act applied to incumbents. Curates of the transitory class were to be compensated by simple gratuities, on the principle recognised in the Civil Service Superannuation Acts.

We now proceed to the consideration of the manner in which the Act proposed to deal with the *property* of the Irish Church. The annual value of that property, roughly stated, came to about £670,000, and was derived from the following sources of income:—

Income of Ecclesiastical Commissioners	£13,950
Revenues of Episcopal See	85,879
Tithe Rent-charge	491,660
Glebe and Chapter lands let to Tenants	80,812
Other sources	5,199
	£676,500

To this must be added the annual value of glebe-lands farmed by incumbents, which was not, however, very considerable.

An important and difficult question immediately presented itself, to the solution of which Mr. Gladstone devoted all his powers of analysis and all his resources of expression. It was this: among the various endowments enjoyed by the Irish Church,—which were of a public nature, and had accrued to it as the representative of the ancient endowed Church of the country? which were, on the other hand, of a private nature, and were made with the full knowledge and intention of the donors that they were assisting by their benefactions the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland, bound by such and such articles, and using such and such a liturgy? In the adjustment of so complicated a matter, mathematical accuracy is out of the question; but Mr. Gladstone considered that substantial justice would be done by fixing a date, all endowments anterior to which should be deemed public, and those posterior to it private. This date he proposed to fix at the epoch of the Restoration, 1660, on the ground that the Irish Establishment did not attain its regular organisation and definite Protestant character much before that date. On the whole, he thought that the value of the private endowments, so limited, did not exceed half a million sterling; and this sum the Act awarded in compensation for them to the disestablished Church.

By drawing the line at the year 1660, Mr. Gladstone excluded from the category of private endowments the grants of lands in Ulster, which James I., after having planted in large numbers of his Scottish countrymen in the room of the exterminated native proprietors, assigned to the dominant Church. These lands were commonly known as the Ulster glebes. A strenuous effort was made in the House of Lords to effect their retention for the Church, on the ground that they partook rather of the nature of private than of public benefactions. But Mr. Gladstone stood firm, and refused to allow these royal grants, the original motive for which was unquestionably in large measure political, to be treated differently from the general mass of the Church property.

An important item of the material belongings of the Establishment, yet one which could not easily be made to enter into any financial estimate, consisted in the churches themselves. As to these, the Act provided that, wherever the "governing body" made an application, accompanied by a declaration that they meant either to maintain the church for public worship, or to remove it to some more convenient position, it would be handed over to them. In the case of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and about a dozen other churches partaking of the character of national monuments, the Commissioners were empowered to allot a moderate sum for their maintenance. Churches not in use, or in ruins, were to be handed over to the custody of the Board of Works.

With regard to glebe-houses, Mr. Gladstone announced that he had changed the opinion which he had expressed in the preceding year. Then he was inclined to consider them as "marketable property," like lands or tithes, and as such to withhold them from the disestablished Church, and allow only a life interest in them to their present possessors. But having investigated the matter more closely, and discovered that although an expenditure of

£1,200,000 upon them could be distinctly traced, their annual value could not be rated above £18,600, while there was a quarter of a million of building charges upon them, which the State would have to pay on coming into possession, he had come to the conclusion that the glebe-houses were not, in the strict sense of the words, "marketable property." The Act therefore proposed to hand over the glebe-houses to the Church body, on their paying the building charges; and they would also be allowed to purchase a certain amount of glebe-land round the houses at a fair valuation.

The burial-grounds adjacent to churches went with the churches, all existing rights being reserved; and other burial-grounds were to be handed over to the Poor Law Guardians.

The scheme being thus far developed, the aspect of affairs at the end of two years promised to be this—the churches and glebe-houses, together with strips of land around the latter, would then be the permanent property of the disestablished Church, while the tithes and Church lands, subject to various life-interests, would be vested in the State, through its organ, the "Commissioners of Irish Church Temporalities." But that the State should long retain all this mass of real property in its own hands was most undesirable. Mr. Gladstone therefore propounded an elaborate scheme for the final extinction of the tithe rent-charge within forty-five years, and for the conversion of the lands into money. Landlords would be allowed, if they chose, to purchase the rent-charge, so far as it affected their own properties, at twenty-two and a half years' purchase paid down; but if they declined to avail themselves of this option, power was taken for disposing of it to them by a compulsory sale, at a rate which would yield 4½ per cent. interest, they being at the same time credited with a loan at 3½, payable in instalments in forty-five years. Thus, if a landlord's property were burdened with the tithe rent-charge to the extent of £90 a year, the State would compel him to buy it out and out for the sum of £2,000; which sum, however, he would not have to pay immediately, but only by instalments coming in the shape of an annual rent of £70, and terminating at the end of forty-five years. How greatly the landlords were gainers by this transaction is obvious. With regard to the Church lands, the tenants on them were to have a right of pre-emption, and three-fourths of the purchase money might be left on the security of the land; one way or other, they were to be converted into money with all practicable dispatch.

When by these sales the property of the Irish Church should all have been realised, and its affairs wound up, Mr. Gladstone calculated that the balance-sheet would stand as follows. The tithe rent-charge would have yielded £9,000,000; the lands and perpetuity rents would have been sold for about £6,250,000; these sums, together with a balance of £750,000 in money, would make a grand total of £16,000,000.* Of this, the bill would dispose of £8,650,000—viz.: Vested interests of incumbents, £4,900,000; ditto of curates, £800,000; lay compensation, £900,000; private endowments, £500,000; building charges, £250,000. To these would have to be added the sums required for the commutation of the *Regium Donum* and the Maynooth Grant, the particulars of which will be given presently, amounting to £1,100,000; and, finally, the expenses of the Commission, £200,000. Consequently there would remain, after the satisfaction of all claims, a surplus of between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000.* After discussing various suggestions for the disposal of this surplus, and giving his reasons for not devoting any part of it to the endowment of any religious body or institution, Mr. Gladstone stated that, in the opinion of the Government, it would be most fitly and profitably applied to the relief of "unavoidable calamities and suffering," not provided for by the Poor Law. Assuming that the surplus fund would produce an annual return of about £311,000 a year, the Act would allot £185,000 of this revenue to lunatic asylums, £20,000 to idiot asylums, £30,000 to institutions for the harbouring and training of the blind, and of deaf mutes, £15,000 to training-schools for nurses, £10,000 to reformatories, and £51,000 to county infirmaries; thus disposing of the whole revenue.

The arrangements for the extinction of the *Regium Donum* and the Maynooth Grant have still to be considered. The sum to be dealt with amounted to about £70,000, of which £26,000 was the Maynooth Grant, and the remainder was distributed among the various denominations of Presbyterians. The expectation of life among the clergy being known to be between thirteen and fourteen years, Mr. Gladstone had fixed fourteen years' purchase as the basis of commutation in the case of the incumbents of the Irish Church, and he now adopted the same scale for the Presbyterian Churches and for Maynooth. A sum amounting to fourteen times the annual grant in each case was to be set aside out of the Irish Church Fund, and devoted to the satisfaction of life-interests, or to their commutation, on conditions substantially agreeing with those already explained in the case of the Establishment. About £1,100,000 would be required for the purpose, two-thirds of which would go to the Presbyterians.

At the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Gladstone invited criticisms and suggestions as to the details of the bill, which it was the desire of its framers to render as little harsh and onerous as possible, consistently with the complete and final execution of the task which they had undertaken. "I trust, Sir," he said, "that although its operation be stringent, and although we have not thought it either politic or allowable to attempt to diminish its stringency by making it incomplete, the spirit towards the Church of Ireland, as a religious communion, in which this measure has been considered and prepared by my colleagues and myself has not been a spirit of unkind-

* In the work by Mr. Leigh Bernard above cited, it is stated as the confident expectation of the Commissioners in 1873, that the Church property, when all sold, "will realise at least the approximate value of £16,000,000, placed thereon by the Prime Minister."

* The expenses having, chiefly owing to concessions made during the progress of the bill through Parliament, greatly exceeded this estimate, Mr. Leigh Bernard, in the passage cited in the preceding note, reckons on a surplus of £5,000,000 only.

ness. Perhaps at this time it would be too much to expect to obtain full credit for any declaration of that kind. We are undoubtedly asking an educated, highly respected, and generally pious and zealous body of clergymen to undergo a great transition; we are asking a powerful and intelligent minority of the laity in Ireland, in connection with the Established Church, to abate a great part of the exceptional privileges they have enjoyed; but I do not feel that in making this demand upon them we are seeking to inflict an injury. I do not believe they are exclusively or even mainly responsible for the errors of English policy towards Ireland; I am quite certain that in many vital respects they have suffered by it; I believe that the free air they will breathe under a system of equality and justice, giving scope for the development of their great energies, with all the powers of property and intelligence they will bring to bear, will make that Ireland which they love a country for them not less enviable and not less beloved in the future than it has been in the past. As respects the Church, I admit it is a case almost without exception. I don't know in what country so great a change, so great a transition has been proposed for the ministers of a religious communion who have enjoyed for many ages the preferred position of an Established Church. I can well understand that to many in the Irish Establishment such a change appears to be nothing less than ruin and destruction; from the height on which they now stand the future is to them an abyss, and their fears recall the words used in 'King Lear,' when Edgar endeavours to persuade Gloster that he has fallen over the cliffs of Dover, and says:—

> 'Ten masts at each make not the altitude
> Which thou hast perpendicularly fell;
> Thy life's a miracle!'

And yet but a little while after the old man is relieved from his delusion, and finds he has not fallen at all. So I trust that when, instead of the fictitious and adventurous aid on which we have too long taught the Irish Establishment to lean, it should come to place its trust in its own resources, in its own great mission, in all that it can draw from the energy of its ministers and its members, and the high hopes and promises of the Gospel that it teaches, it will find that it has entered on a new era—an era bright with hope and potent for good. . . . This measure is in every sense a great measure—great in its principles, great in the multitude of its dry, technical, but interesting details, and great as a testing measure; for it will show for one and all of us of what metal we are made. Upon us all it brings a great responsibility. We upon this bench are especially chargeable—nay, deeply guilty—if we have either dishonestly or even prematurely or unwisely challenged so gigantic an issue. I know well the punishments that follow rashness in public affairs, and that ought to fall upon those men, those Phaetons of politics, who, with hands unequal to the task, attempt to guide the chariot of the sun. But the responsibility passes beyond us, and rests on every man who has to take part in the discussion and decision on this bill. Every man approaches the discussion under the most solemn obligations to raise the level of his vision and expand its scope in proportion with the greatness of the matter in hand. The working of our constitutional government itself is upon its trial, for I do not believe there ever was a time when the wheels of legislative machinery were set in motion under conditions of peace and order and constitutional regularity to deal with a question greater or more profound. And more especially, Sir, is the credit and fame of this great assembly involved. This assembly, which has inherited through many ages the accumulated honours of brilliant triumphs, of peaceful but courageous legislation, is now called upon to address itself to a task which would indeed have demanded all the best energies of the very best among your fathers and your ancestors. I believe it will prove to be worthy of the task." The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill.

The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Disraeli, said that his own opinion, and that of his party, remained unaltered; they thought disestablishment was a political blunder, and disendowment a legalised robbery; but as the sense of the country had been clearly expressed in favour of dealing with the question, he should not object to the introduction of the bill, but should offer it a determined opposition on the second reading. The bill was then introduced, and read a first time, and the 18th March was fixed for the second reading. On that day Mr. Disraeli moved in the usual form that the bill be read a second time that day six months. In his speech there was little that was remarkable except where he protested against the confiscation of the Church property on the ground that it would probably end in the sole benefit of the landlords. He ridiculed in particular the project for the extinction of the tithe rent-charge, predicting that the end of the whole operation would be that the property of the Church would go into the pockets of the landlords; and the consequence of these sacrilegious proceedings must be such deep discontent, that either there must be restitution, or the same principles must be applied to the English Church,—and this, he declared, Mr. Gladstone by his language clearly contemplated. Our English experience of the absorption of commons and forests by the large landowners justified, it must be owned, a jealous and rigorous examination of this part of the measure; which on the very face of it, as above explained, made a present to the landlords of full twenty-two per cent. of the tithe rent-charge to which their properties were previously liable. Mr. Bright made a telling speech in favour of the measure; and the same may be said of Mr. Lowe. On the other side, Sir Roundell Palmer, who had braved the loss, or, to speak more correctly, the postponement of high professional promotion, because he could not go with Mr. Gladstone on this question, disputed the doctrine that the State had the power absolutely to strip the Church of its property, though he admitted its right to restrict or reapportion it. Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who, among the abler opponents of the bill, was perhaps the only one who spoke with absolute and entire conviction, delivered a bold and trenchant

philippic, based on the old data of the superiority of the Protestant religion, and the right and duty of England to govern Ireland, not according to the wishes of the Irish, but upon principles approved by the majority of Englishmen. After a four nights' debate, the House divided on the second reading, with the following -for the Government—triumphant result: for the second reading, 368; against it, 250; majority, 118. With so compact a majority against them, in a very full House, it was useless for the Conservatives to attempt to make considerable alterations in the bill in committee. Substantially unchanged it emerged from the ordeal of committee, and the third reading was carried by a majority of 114 votes.

When the bill reached the House of Lords, it found a tribunal disposed to view it with unfriendly eyes, and to subject it to a searching criticism. A question put to the Government by a noble lord before the Easter recess indicated the temper which largely prevailed in the Upper House. Lord Redesdale asked whether the Ministry intended to propose any alteration in the Coronation Oath, since according to the present form, as taken by Her Majesty at her accession, the sovereign undertook to maintain "to the utmost of his power," not merely the Church, but the Churches of his dominions in all their rights, the oath having been so modified at the date of the Union that the sovereign thenceforward was obliged to swear to maintain the *United* Church in the possession of all its rights and privileges. Lord Granville replied, on the part of the Government, that he entered with reluctance into the line of inquiry started by the noble lord. He conceived, however, that the Coronation Oath was somewhat in the nature of a compact between sovereign and people, and that if the people, through Parliament, expressed its wish and determination to modify the terms of the compact, the sovereign was thereby constitutionally released from the obligation of observing it more strictly than the altered mind of Parliament desired. Legislation would be ridiculous, whether the principle of the noble lord or that adopted by the Government were preferred. If the Government were right that the sovereign was released by the voice of the people, as shown by the votes of Parliament, then the passing of a bill in both Houses on the particular point in question, and its presentation to Her Majesty for her assent, relieved her *ipso facto* from the obligations of the oath. But if, as the noble lord seemed to think, there were some abstract obligation on the sovereign, something between her and her God, which no arrangement or compromise between her and her subjects could alter, it was clear that any bill altering the oath would be utterly inefficacious.

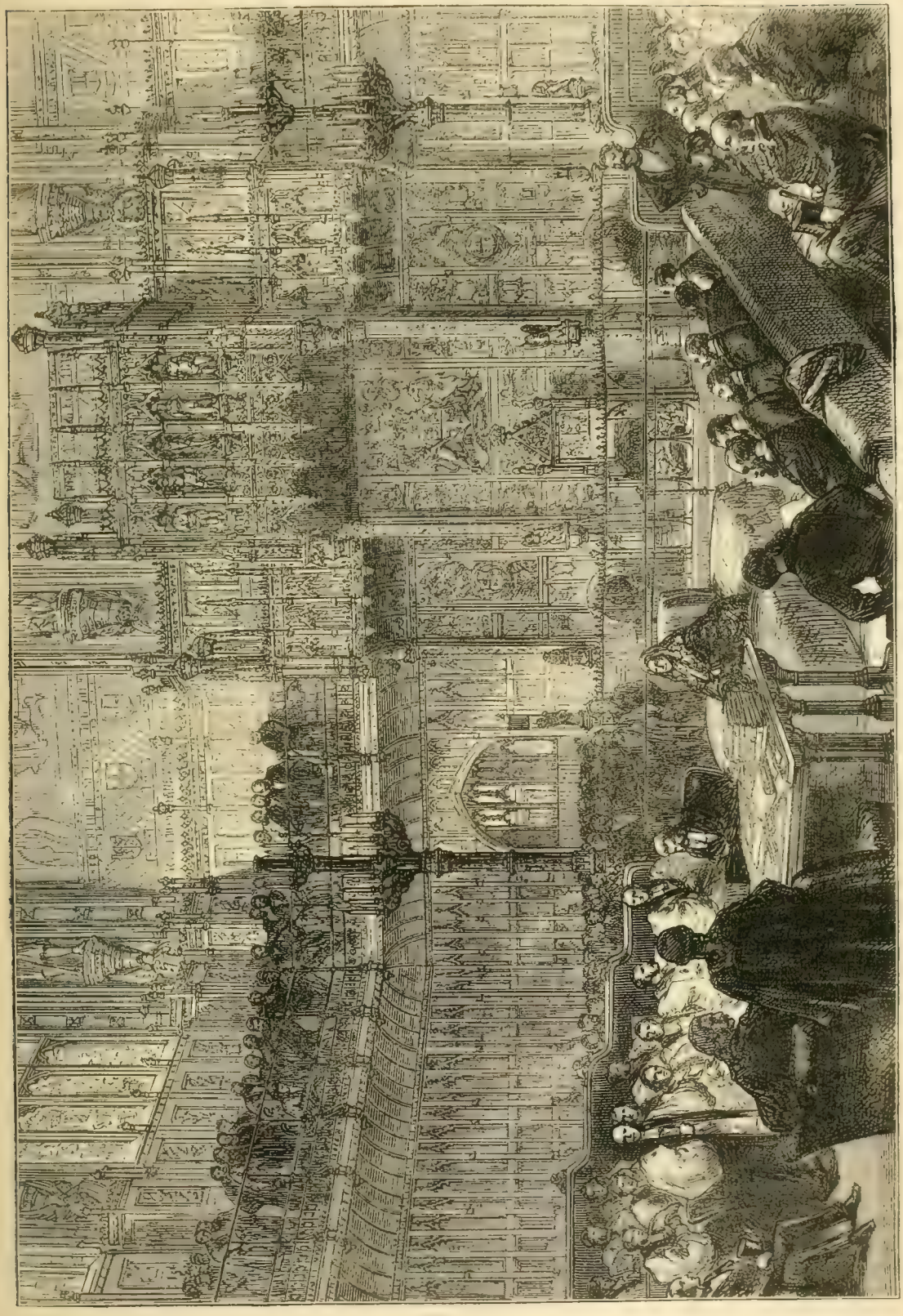
The chief brunt of the opposition to the bill in the House of Lords fell on the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait) and Lord Cairns. Warned, however, by the large majorities which had carried the bill through every stage in the Commons, the party of resistance renounced the idea of opposing the second reading, but indulged the hope that they would be able so to cut up and re-fashion the bill in committee, in the direction of granting more favourable terms to the Irish Church, that the disendowing clauses of the Act at any rate would become little more than nominal. Of course, there were many Tory lords who hoisted the flag of "No surrender," and would not yield a foot; nor could the Irish representative bishops be expected to be parties to their own political annihilation. An eloquent, and in every way remarkable, speech against the bill was made by the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee), who had been recently translated to that see from an Irish deanery by the Government of Mr. Disraeli. The Bishop probed the sores of Ireland deeply, and told the Government that they would get no thanks from the Irish people unless they carried the expropriation of land much farther than the present bill proposed to carry it. "How stands the case?" he argued. "At the time of the Rebellion, England confiscated large estates belonging to the Celtic rebels. On nine-tenths of those estates England planted laymen; on the remaining tenth she planted Anglican pastors. Now I ask this one question: Was the confiscation of the land of the rebels just or unjust? If it was unjust, then undo it all. If, in the name of justice, you are to trace back so far the roots of things in Irish history; if you are to make your resolutions in the sacred name of justice, then, in the name of that justice, give back to the descendants of those owners the confiscated estates that you took from them. But do not mock them—for it is mocking them—by telling them that Protestant ascendancy is an evil thing. And then, how do you propose to deal with it? By telling them their land is divided into nine-tenths and one-tenth—the nine-tenths in the hands of the Protestant landlords, and the one-tenth in the hands of the Protestant clergy—and we propose to satisfy their demand for justice by ousting from the land the one proprietor, who is the most popular, most constantly resident, and least offensive, while you retain, in all the bitter injustice of their original tenure, the proprietors who are the most detested, and whose possessions they most covet. Do your lordships imagine that the Irish people will be satisfied with that? Do not forget that you have to deal with the most quick-witted people in Europe—people whose eyes are intently fixed on this question—and do you think that they will feel other than the most bitter disappointment when you tell them that you are about to tear down the hateful flag of Protestant ascendancy, and they find that you only tear off a single corner of it—or about the fortieth part of the whole? The Irish peasant has already given his answer to your offer of pacification—your pacification consisting in refusing him the land which he does want, and giving him the destruction of the Church, which he does not—the Irish peasant writes his answer, and a terrible answer it is, in that dread handwriting which it needs no Daniel to interpret, and which so often makes English statesmen tremble; and in that answer he tells you that he will be satisfied with nothing else than the possession of the land—which I do the members of Her Majesty's Government the justice to believe they have no intention to give."

After having laboured to prove that the bill was unjust

and impolitic, the Bishop denounced it with withering sarcasm as ungenerous. "What a magnanimous sight! The first thing that this magnanimous British nation does in the performance of this act of justice and penitence, is to put into her pocket the annual sum she has been in the habit of paying to Maynooth, and to compensate Maynooth out of the funds of the Irish Church. The Presbyterian members for Scotland, while joining in this exercise of magnanimity, forgot the horror of Popery which was so largely relied on, and so loudly expressed, at the last elections in Scotland. They have changed their mind, on the theory that a bribe to Popery is nothing if preceded by plunder of the Protestant Episcopacy. Putting two sins together, they make one good action. Throughout its provisions this bill is characterised by a hard and niggardly spirit. I am surprised by the injustice and impolicy of the measure, but I am still more astonished at its intense shabbiness. It is a small and pitiful bill. It is not worthy of a great nation. This great nation in its act of magnanimity and penitence has done the talking, but has put the sackcloth and ashes on the Irish Church, and made the fasting be performed by the poor vergers and organists."

THE RIGHT REV. DR. MAGEE, BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.
(From a Photograph, by permission of the Stereoscopic Company.)

The opponents of the measure were not sufficiently numerous to prevent the second reading, which was carried (June 19), by a majority of 33. But now the real work of the adversaries of the bill began. The Archbishop of Canterbury moved that the Ulster glebes be regarded in the light of private endowments, and made over to the disestablished Church; and this was carried. The same prelate moved that the preamble be altered by the insertion of 1872 as the legal date of disestablishment, instead of 1871. This amendment also was carried by a large majority. Lord Carnarvon moved and carried an amendment to the clause respecting the redemption of life annuities, giving considerably more favourable terms to the Church. Lord Salisbury proposed and carried an amendment, by which the delivery of the glebe-houses to the Church would be made free of the building charges resting upon them. On the motion of Lord Cairns, the House made an important alteration in the preamble of the bill, wherein it was stated that no part of the surplus was to be devoted to religious or denominational purposes, but that it should be wholly applied to the relief of unavoidable calamities and infirmities. Lord Cairns moved, and successfully, that the whole question as to the disposal of the surplus should be reserved for the decision of a future Parliament. The question of the date was then again brought up, it being understood



THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

that the Irish clergy were themselves opposed to the postponement of the date of disestablishment as proposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the motion of Lord Cairns, the 1st May, 1871, was finally agreed to.

The object and effect of all the amendments hitherto described was to secure for the Church, after disestablishment, a large portion of its property, in addition to the sums required for the satisfaction of life-interests. Many peers saw clearly that if passed in this way, the bill, besides causing dissatisfaction among English Dissenters, would arouse feelings of disappointment and indignation among Irish Roman Catholics, who had been led to expect that the disendowment would be real and *bonâ fide*, no less than the disestablishment. Attempts were therefore made to keep the balance even by applying a portion of the surplus to the use and benefit of the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches in Ireland. A proposal of the Duke of Cleveland tending in this direction was rejected; but just before the bill was read a third time, Earl Stanhope moved and carried an amendment, authorising a certain measure of "concurrent endowment." By this amendment, the clause conveying the glebe-houses to the disestablished clergy received an enlarged scope, so that it should be in the power of the Commissioners to make provision for residences, in cases where they were wanting, for Roman Catholic priests and Presbyterian ministers, as well as for Protestant Episcopalian bishops and clergy. The Government, bound by their election pledges to the Dissenters, strenuously opposed this amendment; Lord Granard also, professing to speak for his Catholic countrymen in Ireland, refused his consent to it. On the other hand, Lord Dunraven, a Catholic peer, supported it; and Earl Russell expressed an opinion in its favour, drily remarking, that he doubted whether there would be much feeling of religious equality in Ireland so long as the Protestant clergy were comfortably housed, and the Roman Catholic priests lived in hovels. Lord Stanhope's amendment was carried by a narrow majority, and the bill was then read a third time and passed, a protest being first signed by Lord Derby and forty-three temporal and two spiritual peers.

The bill, as amended by the Lords, came back to the House of Commons; and it became the duty of the Government to consider how far they could give way, in order not to imperil the safety of the bill. In the main it was deemed impossible to accept the measure in the altered form in which it came from the hands of the Lords. Mr. Gladstone announced (July 15) that he should propose to disagree from all the more important amendments, with the exception that, in the case of Lord Carnarvon's proposal, the Government would consent to a modification of the original clause, so as to make it slightly more favourable to the clergy. A few amendments of minor importance he was willing to accept. The course proposed by the Prime Minister was approved by the House, and all the more important of the Lords' amendments were rejected by large majorities.

Violent language was heard in the House of Lords when the bill, restored nearly to its original shape, came back to them from the House of Commons. The Marquis of Salisbury said that "his reason for opposing the Government project for appropriating the surplus was that it was false and that it was foolish. In the first place, it implied a partial application of the fund for spiritual teaching; and, in the second place, it was a vain attempt of the House of Commons, which distrusted its own resolution against concurrent endowment, to bind itself, like a drunkard taking the pledge, against changing its mind in the future. In truth, the only argument for it was, that the House of Commons had passed it; and the only reason why that House had done so was, that the Prime Minister had bidden it. Why the Prime Minister bade it he could not search deep enough into the labyrinthine recesses of that mind to detect, unless it were that Mr. Gladstone had desired to give this House a slap on the face. So far from agreeing with the Earl of Shaftesbury's appeal to the House, to waive its amendments in deference to the Commons, he believed this was just an occasion on which it was the duty of this House to interfere between the country and the arrogant will of one man." The motion that the House should insist on its amendment, altering the preamble in relation to the surplus, was carried by a large majority.

The state of things was now very serious. A collision between the two Houses seemed to be on the point of taking place, which would have strained the constitution to the last point of tension. Plans for overcoming the resistance of the Lords were openly propounded and generally discussed. It was said that the Ministry would advise Her Majesty to bring the session immediately to a close, that Parliament would be summoned to meet again for the dispatch of business in the autumn, that Mr. Gladstone's bill for disestablishing the Irish Church would then be passed again by the House of Commons in its original shape, and again be sent up to the House of Lords; and that this process must and would be repeated until that House agreed to pass it. Lord Cairns anxiously watched the rising ferment; upon his shoulders, as at once the best-informed and the most earnest champion of the Irish Church, the burden of its defence chiefly lay; and, with the discernment of a true statesman, he recognised that it was impossible to push the victory just achieved any further, if any part of the ground which the Lords seemed to have gained was to be secured. In a private conference with Lord Granville he settled the terms of a compromise, in which the Government conceded, for the sake of peace, more than he had perhaps ventured to hope. On the 22nd July he announced the result of this negotiation to the House. The point about the date he was willing to waive, so that the legal disestablishment would take place, as originally fixed, on the 1st January, 1871. The Government had made various concessions which, while still thinking them inadequate to the justice of the case, he was willing to accept, rather than run the hazard of a collision between the two branches of the Legislature. They consented that the liabilities of incumbents for the salaries of curates should

be confined to the case where a curate had been employed for five years. As to diocesan commutation, the Government—which had already added seven per cent. to the amount of the annuities obtainable by commuting incumbents—now agreed to grant five per cent. more; this involved a diminution of the surplus by upwards of £700,000. Better terms for curates had been already conceded. The acceptance of commutation by three-fourths, instead of four-fifths, of the clergy of a diocese was to be held sufficient. The Government had also agreed to exempt from the commutation any residence and land in an incumbent's own occupation, if the incumbent should so desire. Lastly, there was the question of the disposal of the surplus. The Government, on this point, had consented to amend the 68th clause, so that it would provide for the employment of the surplus for the relief of unavoidable calamity, *and in such manner as Parliament should hereafter direct.*

A general sense of relief, mingled with admiration for the consummate ability and discretion with which Lord Cairns had managed his case, pervaded the House at this announcement. The compromise which he had agreed to on his own responsibility was adopted with hardly a dissentient voice, and the bill was then returned to the House of Commons, where (July 23) it received a final consideration. Mr. Gladstone did not conceal that he deemed the last grant of five per cent. in augmentation of the commutation fund to be a matter of great importance, and a concession against the principle of the bill. But looking to the mischief of leaving the controversy open, and in deference to the opinion of the House of Lords, and wishing to preserve the harmony between the two Houses (which had never been so severely tried, but which, he thanked God, had withstood the trial), the Government had not felt itself justified in refusing the overtures made to them on the point. The Lords' amendments were then agreed to; and the bill received the royal assent on the 26th July.

This important measure accordingly passed into law; and if, since it has come into operation, it has neither done all the good nor all the harm that its friends and its enemies predicted, a calm examination of the circumstances of the case will easily explain this neutral character of the results obtained. Those who declaimed against the disendowment of the Church as an act of spoliation—confiscation—sacrilege, and predicted that the disregard for the rights of property shown by the Government in this instance would fatally weaken the respect for property in the minds of the general community, forgot the fact, of which Mr. Chichester Fortescue took care to remind them, that "the bill was no more confiscation than the original transfer of the Church property from Roman Catholic to Protestant hands had been; and Parliament, which made that change, might now convert the property to other Irish purposes." On the other hand, the brilliant anticipations of future concord and contentment which Mr. Bright, in a laboured peroration, indulged in, have certainly not been realised. He said that the bill was put forward by the Government as the means of creating a true and solid union, and of removing Irish discontent, not only in Ireland, but across the Atlantic. Again: "When I look at this great measure . . . I look on it as a more true and solid union between Ireland and Great Britain. I see it giving tranquillity to our people. When you have a better remedy, I, at least, will consider it. I say, I see it giving tranquillity to our people, greater strength to the realm, and adding a new lustre and a new dignity to the Crown." That the measure was one which *tended* to do all this seems undeniable; but the subsequent development of the Home Rule movement, and the unreconciled and irreconcilable tone of the "National" portion of the Irish press, permitted us to see how little real progress had been made. In connection with this point, some remarks of the Archbishop of Dublin, in a charge to his clergy (September, 1868), are deserving of attention. The Irish Church, he said, was assailed by Englishmen because Irish outrages had overflowed into England. He asserted that the Roman Catholic priesthood would never allow the Roman Catholic population under their influence to be thoroughly reconciled to imperial rule. The proposal to disestablish the Irish Church was made, he thought, with levity and precipitation; the Roman Catholics would be but feebly and languidly pleased, whilst the Protestants would entertain the liveliest and most enduring resentment for the wrong inflicted upon them. Thus both parties in Ireland, the Protestants as well as the Roman Catholics, ascribed the proceedings of the Liberal Government to fear; by neither was it credited with a simple love of justice. The Irish Roman Catholics could not but see that the bill, while disposing of such vast masses of Irish property, conferred on them no direct benefit whatever; but, on the contrary, inflicted loss, because it deprived them, with but scanty compensation, of the grant of £26,000 a year to Maynooth. They saw that all the changes which the bill underwent in its progress through Parliament were in the direction of making fresh inroads upon the surplus in favour of the disestablished clergy. Even before the Lords' amendments had so greatly swelled the amounts to be given in commutation and compensation, the O'Donoghue observed, on behalf of his Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, that the compensation clauses went much farther than was the due of the Irish Protestants, and that to increase them would be an injustice to the Irish people. And while the disendowed Church was thus being, to a large extent, re-endowed, Lord Stanhope's clause—the one solitary indication of a friendly feeling towards the religion of the majority which the bill would have contained—was summarily and inexorably rejected. It is true that this rejection was promoted by the Irish members themselves. A compact had been entered into between the Irish Liberals and those English and Scotch members who viewed with uncompromising hostility all national establishment or endowment of religion, by which, on condition of the Irish members renouncing anything in the nature of an endowment for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, the English and Scotch Liberals agreed to support the Irish Land Bill when it should be brought forward. Among politicians this was

well understood; but to the masses of the Irish people the disestablishment of the Church must have seemed to be carried out in such a way as to establish no claim whatever on their gratitude.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Mr. Lowe's Budget for 1869: The Surplus swallowed up by the Abyssinian Expenditure: Remarkable Financial Device: Mr. Lowe creates a Surplus; and proposes a Remission of Taxes: The Budget carried—Discussion on the Enormous Cost of the Abyssinian Expedition: Explanation of Sir Stafford Northcote—The Endowed Schools Act of 1869: Speech of Mr. Forster: The Measure becomes Law—University Tests Bill: Passed in the House of Commons: Thrown out by the Lords—Conduct of Mr. O'Sullivan, Mayor of Cork: The O'Sullivan Disability Bill: The Mayor resigns his Office—Life Peerages Bill brought in by Lord Russell: Is thrown out on the Third Reading, on the Motion of Lord Malmesbury—State of the Country in 1869—Irish Disaffection—Death of Lord Derby: Sketch of his Career—Death of Lord Gough—France in 1869: Pacific Attitude of the Emperor's Government: Dissolution of the Chambers: General Election: *Senatus Consultum* abrogating Personal Government: Violent Language of M. Rochefort: Meeting of the New Chambers: Inquiry into the Validity of Elections—Progress of the Spanish Revolution: Murder of Don Gutierrez de Castro: Meeting of the Cortes: It affirms the Monarchical Principle: Serrano appointed Regent: Prim wishes to offer the Crown to the Duke of Genoa: The offer declined: Republican Risings: Eloquent Speech of Senor Castelar—General Grant inaugurated President of the United States.

THE new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lowe, brought forward his budget, in a speech of great ability, on the 8th April, 1869. The state of the revenue, he said, was moderately flourishing, although the receipts for the past financial year had fallen somewhat short (to the extent of about half a million) of Mr. Ward Hunt's estimate. His predecessor had calculated upon a revenue of £73,180,000, but the actual amount received did not quite reach £72,600,000. Passing now to the current year, Mr. Lowe estimated the expenditure at £68,223,000, and the revenue at £72,855,000, which would leave an available surplus of £4,632,000 at the end of the year. Nothing could be more satisfactory than such a prospect. Visions of a lowered income tax, of enlarged grants for special purposes, of general easiness in money matters, must have flitted before the minds of the assembled legislators. But Mr. Lowe had no sooner raised the hopes of his hearers than he dashed them to the ground. The whole of this large surplus, it appeared, except the trifling sum of £32,000, would be required to defray the cost of the Abyssinian expedition. The real cost of that expedition was now for the first time made known. Mr. Disraeli had asked for and obtained a vote of £3,000,000, in November, 1867, and a further sum of £2,000,000 had been voted for the expedition in the early part of the session of 1868. During 1868 every one supposed that £5,000,000 would cover the cost; but this was found to be by no means the case, and a third vote of £3,600,000 was taken in February, 1869. The total cost, Mr. Lowe feared, would hardly fall short of £9,000,000. Now, of the £8,600,000 that had been voted, ways and means had been found only for £4,000,000, so that £4,600,000 had still to be provided for. This sum would just be covered by the anticipated surplus, leaving a balance of £32,000.

Here an ordinary financier would have stopped, content to have balanced the revenue, and to have defrayed out of current receipts, so as not to add a penny to the National Debt, the heavy and unforeseen charges entailed by the Abyssinian expedition. But Mr. Lowe was not an ordinary financier, and, as a surplus did not exist, he resolved that one should be created. He proceeded to unfold a plan for the more economical collection of the revenue, by concentrating in one payment, to be made in January, the income tax and the assessed taxes, instead of dividing the former into two instalments, payable in April and October. This plan he proposed to bring into operation for the first time in January, 1870; so that (no collection being made in October, 1869) the taxes for three quarters, ending the 31st March, 1870, should be paid next January, in which month the whole of the income tax and the assessed taxes would have to be paid in future years. That is to say, Mr. Lowe proposed to collect five quarters' taxes within twelve months. The reader will think that it is not difficult to create a surplus in this way. Nevertheless, Mr. Lowe showed that the proposed change in the mode of collecting these taxes was based on common sense and sound economy, and that a sum of £100,000 would be saved merely by having one collection instead of two, and employing the Excise officials instead of amateur collectors. He also discussed the assessed taxes with great force and acuteness, and proposed to convert most of them into license duties, following the successful precedent of the dog tax, and that they should be payable for the future at the beginning of each year, instead of by two instalments in April and October. Assuming that the House adopted his scheme, Mr. Lowe calculated that before the end of the financial year (March 31, 1870) there would have been paid into the Exchequer £600,000 of the Excise licenses, £950,000 of the land tax and assessed taxes, and £1,800,000 of the income tax—in all £3,350,000—which, with the £32,000 surplus of revenue over expenditure, would put the Government in possession of a surplus of £3,382,000. How was this surplus (which Mr. Lowe might well describe as a "windfall") to be disposed of? As the chief inconvenience attending the transition from the semestrial to the annual method of payment would fall on the income tax payers, Mr. Lowe thought that they had the first claim to relief from the surplus; he therefore proposed to take off a penny from the income tax. Next he proposed to abolish the import duty of one shilling on every quarter of corn, left by Sir Robert Peel when he repealed the Corn Laws in 1846. This duty, though it produced £900,000 a year, combined in Mr. Lowe's opinion all the bad qualities which a tax could possibly have, and prevented this country becoming a great entrepôt of corn. The fire insurance duties were also to be given up, though this reduction would not take effect till after Midsummer. The total remission of taxes thus foreshadowed would amount to £2,940,000, leaving, when deducted from the estimated surplus, a balance of

£442,000. Mr. Lowe admitted that his plan was attended by certain drawbacks. Under its operation the Treasury would be in a state of plethora at one part of the year and starved at another; and there might be taxpayers to whom the concentration and unification of the State's demands on their purses might be inconvenient. But he had various expedients *in petto* to meet the first objection, the chief among which was that during the non-productive months of the year the Government should be empowered to borrow at their discretion from the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; while with regard to the second objection, the taxpayer, like the eel in the adage, would find the change nothing when he had become used to it. Mr. Lowe's budget was, of course, sharply criticised, and the delusive character of a surplus obtained by a financial trick was loudly insisted upon; but the real merits of the scheme, which were undoubtedly great, carried it through.

The statement made by Mr. Lowe, *en passant*, with regard to the aggregate expenditure on the Abyssinian expedition naturally attracted much attention. The Conservative Government had estimated that the total cost would not exceed £5,000,000; how then, when no unforeseen circumstance had occurred, none but the most shadowy opposition been encountered, and no reinforcements been needed, could the expenses have shot up to the enormous figure of £9,000,000? It appeared that by far the greater portion of the money—more than £7,000,000—had been spent by the Bombay Government. The duty of explanation accordingly fell on Sir Stafford Northcote, Secretary for India in the late Government. Sir Stafford Northcote stated that when the first estimate was framed (that for £3,000,000, laid before the House by Mr. Disraeli, in November, 1867), the expedition had not left India; and that the second estimate (for £2,000,000 additional) was necessarily vague and loose, and exceeded, in fact, the information furnished by the departments. He pointed out, among the reasons for the insufficiency of the estimate, our entire ignorance of the country into which the expedition was dispatched, its actual barrenness of supplies, and the necessity of taking precautions against events which never occurred. Much of the excess, he added, had arisen since the period up to which the estimate extended, and in conveying the troops from Abyssinia to India after the expedition was over. These explanations failed to remove the suspicion that there had been culpable laxity on the part of the Bombay Government. The *suddenness* of the last rise in the estimate was quite mysterious. Mr. Ward Hunt stated, in the discussion which took place in March, 1869, when the supplementary vote of £3,600,000 was demanded, that so recently as the 8th December, 1868, the Indian Government had telegraphed to this country that they had only spent £5,000,000.

Although the time of Parliament was too much taken up with discussions arising out of the Irish Church Act to allow of any comprehensive educational measure being brought forward in this session, yet an important Act was passed, by which a machinery fitted to grapple with the long-standing abuses connected with the endowed schools of the country was successfully established. The condition of these schools had lately been inquired into by a royal commission, the report of which had been laid before the House. Upon the basis of this report the Government was now prepared to legislate, and the duty of preparing a bill fell into the hands of Mr. W. E. Forster, the Vice-President of the Council. The recommendations of the commissioners had been of a very sweeping character; besides advising that full power of inquiring into the efficiency of every endowed school, and of putting an end to waste and abuse of trust funds, should be taken by the Government, they had recommended the formation of a central examining council, and the formation of provincial boards throughout the country under the control of the central authority. But the Government itself did not see its way to the appointment of provincial boards for the present; and the select committee to which the bill was referred, after the second reading, struck out all the clauses which proposed to constitute an examining council. What remained, however, of the bill was sufficient to make a useful working measure of reform.

In moving the second reading of the bill, Mr. Forster took occasion to explain in general terms the principal conclusions at which the Commission of Inquiry into Secondary Education, of which he had been himself a member, had arrived. In estimating the provision already existing in the country for the education of the "middle classes," the commissioners found that the schools which came under their observation naturally fell into three groups —denominated by them respectively first grade, second grade, and third grade schools, according to the age at which the scholars whom they instructed usually left them. In the first grade schools the average age of leaving was between eighteen and nineteen; in the second grade schools, between sixteen and seventeen; while in those of the third grade, constituting the immense majority in point of numbers, the age of leaving was about fourteen years. As a rule, the parents of boys in the first grade schools were persons of wealth, to whom money was little if at all an object in the education of their children. The schools themselves were pretty much on a par with the Public Schools, whose condition had been inquired into by a separate commission; and, as in the case of these, a considerable proportion of the scholars left school for the universities. Schools of the second grade were attended chiefly by the sons of professional persons, and of those engaged in commercial pursuits, whose sons were destined to follow similar avocations. In the third grade schools the scholars were found to be for the most part the sons of small farmers, small tradesmen and shopkeepers, and superior artisans. In the schools of all three grades a thorough education was found to be hardly ever imparted, except in Latin and Greek; and efficiency even in these branches was chiefly confined to schools of the first grade. Mr. Forster quoted the evidence of many competent witnesses who had been examined by the commission, to the effect that secondary education in England, considered as a preparation for any of the learned professions or for an industrial career, laboured

under grievous deficiencies; yet there was probably no country in Europe in which the bounty of individuals in past ages had provided such liberal endowments for secondary education as was the case in this country. Taking these two facts together—the low standard of actual education, and the liberal provision made for it in endowed schools—Mr. Forster drew the obvious conclusion that these schools, under their existing management, failed both to fulfil the intentions of their founders, and to satisfy the needs of society. In support of this conclusion, he adduced some curious evidence from the report of the commission. The head master of a certain endowed school told an assistant commissioner that "it was not worth his while to push the school, as with the endowment (about £200 a year) and some other small source of income, he had enough to live on comfortably without troubling to do so." In the case of another school, with an endowment of £651 per annum, the master put his nephew and son into the posts of second and third masters. The assistant commissioner "found the discipline most inefficient, and the instruction slovenly, unmethodical, and unintelligent; there was no one subject in which the boys seemed to take an interest, or which had been taught with average care or success." At another school, where the endowment was £613 a year, there were thirteen pupils. At another, enjoying an income of £792 from the charity, the head master taught three boarders and no others, and the under master attended when he chose. In a school where the endowment was £300 a year and a house, one boy was found under instruction, while there was a private school with eighty boarders close by. To facts of this kind—lamentable as they were—Mr. Forster did not desire to attach undue weight; he did not conceal from the House that among the endowed schools of every grade many excellent and useful institutions might be found; but he

MR. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE, M.P.

maintained that a case had been made out for interference on the part of the State, in order that where, through negligence or worse, the charitable intentions of a founder were defeated, the endowments might be restored to the beneficial use from which they had been diverted. Since the plan of provincial boards had been given up, the organisation which the bill proposed to create was exceedingly simple. A small commission, consisting of only three persons, would be appointed; this commission would send round inspectors to inquire into the local circumstances of the endowed institutions, and on receiving their report, would, if change were necessary, draw up schemes for the future government and conduct of the schools. The schemes, when prepared, were to be communicated to the trustees of the different endowments, that they might suggest alterations or modifications; they were then to be submitted to the Education Department, and that department would, after approval, lay them before Parliament. After having lain for a certain time on the table of each House, and not been objected to, a scheme would *ipso facto* come into operation.

In the course of the fuller explanations which were required of Mr. Forster by various members during the debate, he stated that the bill dealt with three thousand schools, viz., 782 grammar schools and 2,175 foundations, mostly elementary, with a gross income of £592,000, and a net income for education of £340,000, a sum which, well applied, might effect much; but the money was to a great extent wasted. Requested to name the three commissioners to whom he proposed to entrust the preparation of the schemes, Mr. Forster gave the names of Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Arthur Hobhouse, and Canon Robinson. After being passed in the Commons, the bill was subjected to a searching examination in the House of Lords. Lord Salisbury proposed to exempt from the jurisdiction of the new commissioners all endowed schools founded within the last hundred years, the period named in the bill being fifty years. But the amendment was lost on a division, and this valuable measure soon afterwards became law.

EARL RUSSELL.

(From a Photograph, by permission of Messrs. Elliott and Fry.)

A bill for the abolition of religious tests in the universities and colleges of Oxford and Cambridge was brought in this year (February, 1869) by the Solicitor-General, Sir John Coleridge. With regard to the universities, the bill rendered unlawful, not only the requirement of any subscription or other test from the candidate for any university degree, but also the exaction of any declaration in the nature of a religious test from any professor, teacher, lecturer, or university officer of any

kind, as a condition of his taking or holding office. With regard to the colleges, the bill only removed all restrictions upon their freedom of action which had been imposed on them from time to time by the authority of Parliament itself. "It leaves the colleges," said the Solicitor-General, "controlled by their statutes; it leaves them controlled by the feelings of their members; it leaves them controlled by all the associations which gather round them, and which are, after all, upon most men's minds as effective as any parliamentary action can be; and it relieves them only from those restrictions which have been imposed from time to time by Acts of Parliament." He mentioned the case of a Jew who had come out Senior Wrangler at Cambridge that very year, but was deprived by his religion of that natural culmination and reward of great academical distinction which a fellowship usually conferred. Other cases, he added, had come under his knowledge of Oxford men who had renounced fellowships and other offices of emolument sooner than subscribe their belief unreservedly to every part of the Thirty-nine Articles. In cases such as these, should a college desire to open its doors more widely, it would no longer, should his bill become law, be impeded in doing so by the operation of any law of the land. Its own statutes might still hamper its action in the direction of liberty, but a method of altering these, should the great majority of the governing body desire it, had already been provided by the University Reform Act of 1854. It was true that there were certain colleges the statutes of which could not be altered without the consent of their respective visitors, and that these visitors were sometimes bishops, who were professionally unlikely to be willing to extend the benefit of the foundation to Nonconformists. This defect the present bill did not deal with, but the Solicitor-General pretty clearly intimated that it would be made the subject of future legislation.

Mr. Mowbray, the new Conservative member for the University of Oxford (who had lately been elected to the seat held for many years with so much dignity and suavity by the excellent Sir William Heathcote), spoke in opposition to the bill; but the general feeling of the House was strongly in its favour. It even received the powerful support of Sir Roundell Palmer, who announced that, since the question was last discussed in the House, reflection had induced him considerably to modify the point of view from which he had formerly regarded it. He was now opposed to tests, partly because they were ineffective for the purpose intended; partly because, even if effective, they were impolitic. They were ineffective to keep out the unprincipled atheist or sceptic, who was ready to swallow with a philosophic smile the toughest theological formula that might be presented to him. Nor were they of the slightest use in the case of a man who was orthodox at the time of taking the test, but had subsequently become a free-thinker, since neither law nor custom permitted that a man who had once become a member of Convocation should be liable to any further questioning. But even if they were supposed to operate effectually to the exclusion of all but orthodox Churchmen, Sir Roundell Palmer was now disposed to doubt the policy of retaining them. It was vain, he thought, to endeavour to keep the universities up to a level of churchmanship essentially higher than that which prevailed in society at large. In proportion as members of the Nonconformist body forced their way to the front in all departments of political and social life, in that, or nearly in that, proportion it was desirable that they should be found also among the governing and representative men of the universities. If Churchmen had no cause to dread the competition of Nonconformists on the former fields, neither need they dread it on the latter. These remarkable admissions show that, even in the mind of so sound a Churchman as Sir Roundell Palmer, the questions at issue between the Church and Dissent no longer appeared as questions of principle. For if he had deemed the principles of Dissenters, as such, to be false and pernicious, and the principles of Churchmen to be true and salutary, the circumstance that the former were making their way in general society would not have induced him to open the seats of the higher education to their influence, but rather to keep their atmosphere untainted as long as possible. A man might consistently allow his children to try several different systems of diet, but he would not be justified in allowing them to feed on what he knew to be poisonous. If Sir Roundell Palmer, with many Conservatives, was willing to throw open the universities to the Dissenters, it must have been because they recognised the fact, that no vital differences of principle separated them from members of the Church of England. At the same time, in order to guard the principle of religious education, and give to it more prominent expression in the language of the bill itself, Sir Roundell Palmer proposed a slight alteration in the preamble, and the introduction of two new clauses. By the first, the established system of religious worship, education, and discipline within the colleges was expressly reserved intact. By the second, it was provided that every professor, tutor, or lecturer in an English university should, after his appointment, and before entering on the duties of his office, make and subscribe a declaration before the Vice-Chancellor, or before the head of his college, that he would "never endeavour, directly or indirectly, to teach or inculcate any opinion opposed to the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, or to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England as by law established." A test similar to this, but omitting, of course, all reference to the Church of England, was substituted in 1853 in lieu of the old and rigid Calvinistic test for lay professors in the Scotch universities. After an admirable speech from Dr. Lyon Playfair in support of the bill, it was considered in committee. Sir Roundell Palmer carried the first of his two clauses without difficulty, but abandoned the second, mainly, it would seem, in consequence of an appeal from Dr. Lyon Playfair, whose long and intimate acquaintance with the Scotch universities enabled him to speak with authority. The corresponding declaration required of lay professors in Scotland was, he admitted, not felt nor objected to, because it was considered to be, on the whole, "innocent and irrelevant;" but it had degenerated into a mere formality, and could not be

supposed to exercise the slightest preservative effect on the religious belief of either professors or students. "It is not that test," added the honourable gentleman, "which preserves religion in our Scotch universities, but the inherent truths of religion itself." The bill then passed through committee, and was read a third time.

When, however, the University Tests Bill reached the Lords, it was treated with little ceremony. It was past the middle of July, and the Peers were still smarting under the sense of the disrespectful treatment which their amendments to the Irish Church Bill had met with in the other House, and indignant at the menacing comments of the press. Farther in the road of Liberalism they were resolved not to be pushed this session. Lord Carnarvon, when the bill came on for the second reading, moved the previous question, and, after a short and unimportant debate, his motion was carried on a division by a majority of 91 to 54.

The attention of Parliament was taken up on many nights during this session by a singular incident, half painful, half ludicrous, which occurred in the sister island. While the Parliament sitting at Westminster was endeavouring, in the midst of difficulty and opposition, to remedy a long-standing grievance affecting the majority of the Irish people, a perverse faction in Ireland, as if to show that neither justice nor equity would ever satisfy them, but that they hated for hatred's sake, was applauding a magistrate for publicly expressing his sympathy with the act of the Fenian assassin who shot at the Duke of Edinburgh. Mr. Daniel O'Sullivan had been elected by the corporation Mayor of Cork for the year 1869. Under the Municipal Act for Ireland, the Mayor is a justice of peace for the city of Cork during his year of office, and cannot be removed either by the Lord Lieutenant or by the Government. Soon after the beginning of the year Mr. O'Sullivan commenced to sit as a magistrate in the police court of Cork. From almost the first day that he took his seat on the bench down to the beginning of May his conduct was systematically devoted to lowering the administration of the law and bringing it into contempt, and in using insulting and abusive language towards his brother magistrates. He would say that "he was there by the will of the people;" "his opinion on that bench was as good as the biggest Orangeman's in the country;" "the prejudices of the other magistrates were against the people;" "he would apply to have all the magistrates suspended." But all this was a trifle compared to what followed. On the 27th April, the Mayor presided at a banquet given in Cork in honour of two discharged Fenian prisoners, called Colonel Warren and Costello. In proposing the toast of "Our exiled countrymen," the Mayor said that "he believed a spirit of concession had been aroused on the part of the dominant race. He did not say whether it was owing to Fenianism, or to the barrel placed outside the prison at Clerkenwell; but he believed he paid a solemn act of justice to his own countrymen—as solemn an act of justice as if he were a high priest—when he said those noble men, Allen, Barrett, Larkin, and O'Brien, who sacrificed their lives for their country, ought to be remembered and respected as good Catholics and good patriots. There was at this moment in the country a young prince of the Irish nation. When that noble Irishman, O'Farrell, fired at the Prince in Australia, he was imbued with as noble and patriotic feelings as Larkin, Allen, and O'Brien were." (Here the speaker was interrupted by great cheering, and cries of "He was.") "He believed that O'Farrell would be as highly thought of as any of the men who had sacrificed their lives for Ireland. They all saw how a noble Pole had fired at the Emperor of Russia,* because he thought that the Emperor was trampling upon the liberties of the people. Well, O'Farrell probably was actuated by the same noble impulses when he fired at the Prince. O'Farrell was as noble an Irishman as the Pole, and as true to his country, for each was impelled by the same sentiment to do what they did." This foolish and criminal rant was received with loud demonstrations of applause by Mr. O'Sullivan's audience. The Government was soon informed of what had happened, and the conduct of the Mayor formed the subject of more than one interpellation in Parliament. It was not to be borne that these incitements to assassination should be addressed to an excitable population by the responsible upholder of law and order in an important city. The hands of the Government were presently strengthened by receiving a memorial addressed to the Irish Executive by more than thirty magistrates of the city of Cork, presided over by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, Lord Fermoy, in which complaint was made of the seditious language and disorderly behaviour of the Mayor, as tending to spread disaffection, and to throw contempt on the administration of justice. There was not much time to be lost, for the Mayor of Cork is entitled by his office to sit as first commissioner in any commission to be executed within the county of Cork; so that, unless promptly deposed or disenabled, Mr. O'Sullivan would be associated with Her Majesty's judges in the Commission of Assize during the ensuing summer. What, then, was to be done? No executive authority, either in England or Ireland, possessed the power by law of dismissing the Mayor. The Attorney-General for Ireland might be instructed to file a bill against him, but the process would be too dilatory, since the trial could hardly come on before October. There was no resource but legislation; a general law might be passed, placing the mayors of all Irish corporations under the control of the Crown; or else a short Act, disqualifying Mr. O'Sullivan by name, but affecting the rights of no other person. The Government preferred the latter course, and the "O'Sullivan Disability Bill" was prepared accordingly, and leave to introduce it was moved for by the Irish Attorney-General (Mr. Sullivan) on the 5th May. The learned gentleman admitted that this mode of dealing with the offence charged was exceptional, but he maintained that the circumstances of the case were exceptional in the highest degree. Nor was precedent entirely wanting, for in the reign of George II. the Government of the day had procured the enactment of a similar special law, for the purpose of deposing the Lord Provost of Edinburgh from his office, that functionary

* See page 281.

being held to have shown weakness and timidity in dealing with the mob on the occasion of the celebrated Porteous riots. A long and animated discussion followed; but in the end leave was given to bring in the bill, a copy of which, and of the order for the second reading, was ordered to be forthwith served on Mr. O'Sullivan. The bill purported to disable Daniel O'Sullivan, Esq., from holding, enjoying, or taking the office of mayor or justice of the peace, or any office or place of magistracy, in the city of Cork or elsewhere in Ireland. The bill was read a first time, and witnesses were ordered to attend and be examined at the bar of the House on the occasion of the second reading. But on the day appointed for the second reading, when counsel in support of the bill were about to be heard, and witnesses examined, Mr. Maguire, one of the members for Cork, rose and produced a letter, which he read, from Mr. O'Sullivan, placing his resignation of the mayoralty in the hands of Mr. Maguire and the O'Donoghue. In fairness to the Mayor, one or two sentences from this letter ought to be quoted. He declared, in the most solemn and emphatic manner, that the language attributed to him did not in any way express or represent his real meaning; and, further, he solemnly declared that he would himself be the first person to rush to the protection of human life if he knew it to be in danger. "I may also state that I look to the regeneration of my country through constitutional and remedial measures such as that [the Irish Church Act] now passing through the House of Commons, and my belief that the battle of my country is to be fought on the floor of that House." Mr. O'Sullivan must surely have held with the cynic philosopher, that "language was given to man to conceal his thoughts;" for if these were indeed his sentiments, no language could have been devised better calculated to disguise them than that which he used at the Fenian banquet. After hearing the letter, Mr. Gladstone rose and said that, assuming Mr. O'Sullivan's resignation to be, though not technically, yet really and substantially complete, the Government would proceed no further with the Disability Bill.

A fresh attempt was made this year, and was very nearly succeeding, to obtain legislative sanction for the creation of life peerages by the Crown. The subject had slept since the celebrated resolution of the House of Lords in the case of Lord Wensleydale, to the effect that he, having been created a peer for the term of his natural life only, was not entitled to sit and vote in that House. Lord Wensleydale's patent of creation was then altered into the usual form, and everything remained as before. Now the subject was revived by Lord Russell, and the bill which he introduced was at first received with much favour on both sides of the House. The Crown was to be authorised to create peers for life, subject to certain restrictions, the chief of which were, that not more than twenty-eight such peers should sit in the House at the same time, and that not more than four should ever be created in the same year. The bill made slow but sure progress; it was read a second time; its mover showed an open and conciliatory spirit in reference to various amendments that were proposed, and accepted one, limiting the creation of life peers to two in one year; and even the ordeal of committee was safely passed. The last stage was at hand; but when (July 8) Earl Russell moved that the bill be read a third time, Lord Malmesbury moved, as an amendment, to add the words, "that day three months." The noble lord ably paraded the reasons which made it, in his opinion, unnecessary and undesirable to admit life peers to the enjoyment of the privileges of the Upper House. Unnecessary—because that House did not, as was asserted, require to be "popularised," since it possessed, besides great landowners, numerous representatives of the great commercial, manufacturing, mining, and banking interests of the country, and also many distinguished officers of the army and navy, besides fifty peers, at the very least, who had formerly sat in the House of Commons, so that there could be no pretence that on any subject on which they were called upon to deliberate with a view to legislation, numbers of persons would not be found in that House possessed of every qualification for offering an opinion which experience, ability, and personal interest could supply. Undesirable—because those who held these transitory dignities would not be really the "peers" of the older members of the House,—because they would be destitute of that which was the very essence of nobility, the power to transmit their rank and privileges to their descendants,—and because, since those whom the House would gladly see added to its numbers would decline to accept so equivocal a position, the life peers whom the influence of a Ministry might cause to be created would probably be such persons as the House would not deem a desirable accession, and would therefore, instead of adding to, impair the lustre of that august assembly, and weaken its influence in the country. This unexpected attack was feebly met by Earls Russell and Granville, and on a division Lord Malmesbury's motion was carried by a majority of thirty (Contents, 76; Not-contents, 106), and the bill was consequently lost.

This year was one of considerable suffering to large masses of the population, as the increase of pauperism too plainly showed. Trade was in a state of stagnation, but partially revived towards the close of the year, and gave indications of a more prosperous future. Although Fenianism had been so far suppressed in Ireland that the Government ventured to allow the Act for the suspension of Habeas Corpus to expire, the temper of disaffection was as widely spread as ever, and now took the form of an agitation to obtain the release of the Fenian prisoners. The same revolutionary spirit, though under strangely different forms, which caused sympathy to be widely felt in Italy for the conspirators who blew up the Serristori barracks, filled thousands of Irish hearts with a wild desire to obtain the liberation of the heroes of Clerkenwell. Agrarian discontent also was rife, and several agrarian murders were committed in the latter part of the year. Some of the Fenian convicts who were less deeply implicated than the rest, were released by the Government; but so far was this lenity from having any good effect, that the first use which the liberated prisoners made of their freedom was to proclaim their unabated hostility

to the British Government, and, so far as in them lay, before taking their departure for America, to stimulate the minds of their countrymen whom they left behind with exhortations to undying animosity. There was an election for the County Tipperary in the autumn, with the following result:—O'Donovan Rossa, a Fenian, who was at the time in prison, was returned at the head of the poll, beating Mr. Heron, a distinguished Queen's Counsel and a Roman Catholic, by 103 votes. As a matter of course, the election was declared null and void, and the returning officer required to make a fresh return.

In October, 1869, a noble and commanding figure, which had occupied for many years a prominent place in the eyes and thoughts of Englishmen, disappeared from the scene. Edward Geoffrey Stanley, fourteenth Earl of Derby, was sprung from one of the oldest and most renowned of English families. His ancestor came over with the Conqueror; in the fifteenth century his house intermarried with the royal line, through the union of Lord Stanley to Margaret, mother of Henry VII.; in the seventeenth century the seventh Lord Derby lost his head for his fidelity to Charles I. The Stanleys, however, of the age of James II. took a Whig turn, and were strenuous supporters of William of Orange; and since then, down to our own time, they have always been reckoned as one of the great Whig families. Born in 1799, and educated in the proper aristocratic fashion at Eton and Christ Church, Mr. Stanley entered Parliament as member for Stockbridge in 1824. He had grown up to manhood amidst the agitations and the glories of the contest which England waged against Napoleon at the beginning of the century, and he retained to the last, and exhibited on many a momentous occasion, the chivalrous temper of a warlike age. His first speech, made not till after he had sat two years in the House, was upon the Manchester Gas Bill, and the clearness and decision with which he spoke, based as they were on a perfect and laborious mastering of the details of the measure, drew forth the admiration of the veteran Mackintosh. In 1826 there was a general election, and Mr. Stanley resolved to stand for Preston. A large part of this ancient and illustrious borough belonged to his family, which at that time kept up and occasionally resided in an ancestral mansion, named Patton House, in one of the principal streets. William Cobbett, the author of the "Weekly Register," was his opponent; and the bitter tongue of that uncompromising democrat, during the fifteen days for which the poll was kept open, was unsparing in denunciations of the pride, arrogance, bloated wealth, and despotic temper of the House of Stanley. With a cheerful, headlong impetuosity which characterised the man, and delighted, though it sometimes alarmed, his friends, Mr. Stanley flung himself into the contest, and met taunt with gibe, and invective with satire and scorn, until he exasperated Cobbett and his partisans to the last extremity. Free fighting began in the streets, and might have ended seriously for the friends of Mr. Stanley, since the mob were all on the side of Cobbett; but a signal flag, raised on the high church tower, brought in a party of dragoons from Kirkham, just in time to prevent bloodshed. The result of the election was that Stanley was returned for Preston by a large majority. Faithful to the Whig politics of his family, he actively supported in Parliament the party of Reform; and when Lord Grey came into power at the end of 1830, that able and discerning statesman enlisted in the ranks of the Whig Government the energetic young heir of Knowsley, in the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland. But now an unexpected and disagreeable incident occurred. Going down to Preston to offer himself for re-election, since he had, of course, vacated his seat by taking office, he found himself opposed by Henry Hunt, the well-known demagogue, whose name was then famous in connection with the "Peterloo massacre." Hunt was a blacking manufacturer, and he solicited the votes of the Preston constituency on the platform of thorough-going Radicalism. The friends of the sitting member were little apprehensive for the result, for Hunt had contested the seat in the previous spring, and had been ignominiously beaten. But since then the revolution of the Three Days had broken out in Paris, the hearts of the toiling millions were thrilled with resentment and agitated by a new-born hope, and the scent of organic change was on the wind. At Preston, by an ancient franchise, every resident householder had a vote, so that there was something very near to universal suffrage. At the close of the first day's polling Mr. Stanley's committee were astounded to find that Hunt was ahead by a large majority. And though this majority was afterwards reduced, all the efforts of the Whigs could not prevent the triumph of Hunt, who was greatly aided by the partial proceedings of the Mayor of Preston, a violent Tory. The election might easily have been petitioned against, for it was proved that hundreds of non-residents voted for Hunt, and in one case it was ascertained that a man from Blackburn had voted for Hunt thirteen times.* But the pride of the Stanleys was too deeply hurt to permit of their resorting to so commonplace a form of redress as an election petition. Preston had made its choice, and Preston should abide by it, and take the consequences. The great old family mansion was shut up, the staff of servants withdrawn, the Preston races were no longer supported by a subscription from Knowsley, nor honoured by the presence of its inmates, and in all possible ways the family broke off all connection with the town. Meantime Mr. Stanley, through the retirement of Sir Hussey Vivian, had been provided with a seat at the royal borough of Windsor.†

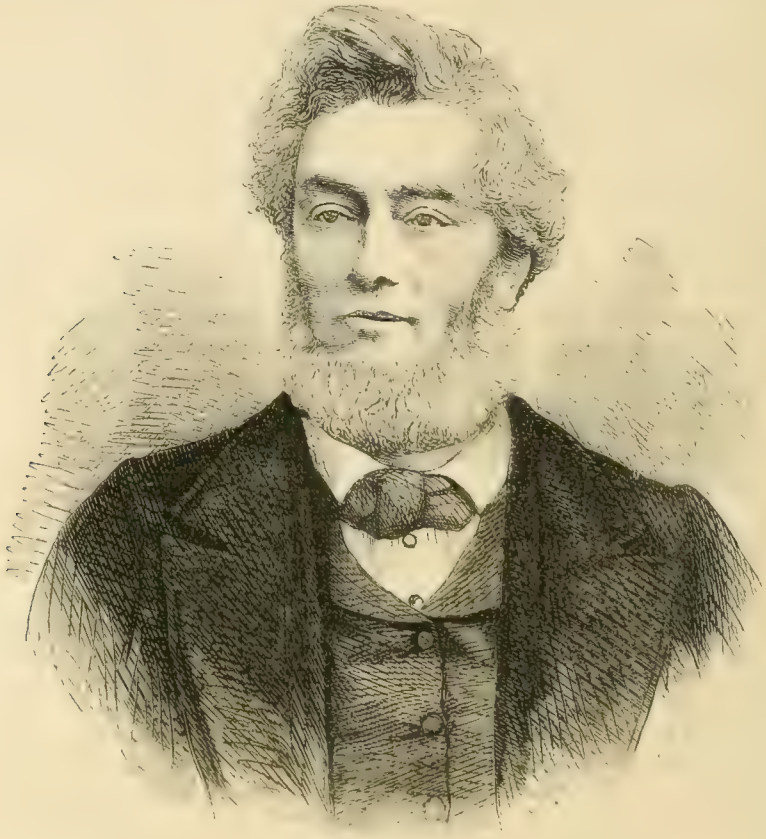
* Pollard's "Stanleys of Knowsley," p. 133.

† There is some point in a satirical poem which appeared soon after the Preston election. "Wood" was the other member.

"Oh! Preston, Preston, once the proud,
Hast thou not now proclaimed aloud,
In honour thou art lacking?
Reject the noble Stanley's son,
And let thy choice be fixed upon
A blackguard son of blacking!
* * * *
"Oh, Preston, not yet *quantum suff.*,
To make thyself quite black enough,
And prove that thou art barren
In all that's counted great and good,
Thou'st only now to turn out Wood,
And bring in Robert Warren!"

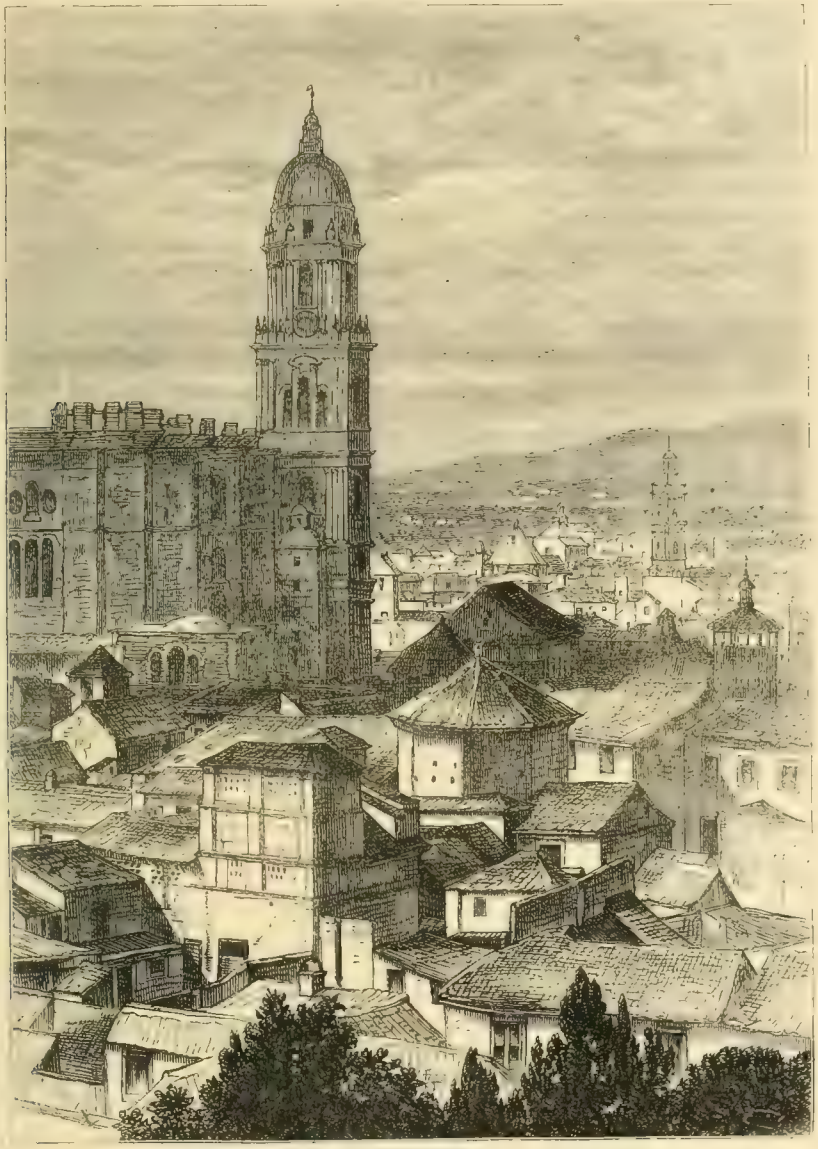
In the Reform debates of 1831 and 1832 Stanley's intrepidity, energy, and fluency were of the greatest service to the government of Lord Grey. In one of his speeches he replied very forcibly to the charge that the measure was "revolutionary." He was not likely himself, he said, to consent to any such measure, nor was his noble friend at the head of the Government. "Look around," he continued, "at the other members of His Majesty's Government, and at those who have come forward to support them on this occasion; are they men of no fortune, mere adventurers, who would have everything to gain and nothing to lose by a revolution? Or are they not men who have large stakes in the country, and whose individual interests are bound up with the permanent peace and security of the State? What, then, could they gain by the chance medley of a revolution?" No sooner was the labour of carrying the Reform Bill disposed of, than Stanley applied himself, with all the energy and acuteness of which he was master, to the task of elaborating a great scheme of National Education for Ireland. This measure he succeeded in carrying through Parliament in 1832. Under it the National Board was established in Dublin, and commenced its beneficent operations; and although the ardent hope, that fusion of denominations and oblivion of religious differences would result from its labours, has not been realised, the Board still exists; it can point to a land covered with school-houses, and can declare with just pride that the Irish, in spite of a thousand obstacles, have been made by this system an instructed people. To the praise of this, the noblest of all triumphs, Mr. Stanley, more than any other statesman or philanthropist, was entitled.

But the state of Ireland at this time was such as to cause terrible embarrassment to any Government, however strong and well-intentioned it might be. Agrarian murders and tithe outrages were being perpetrated in every part of the country, and collisions between the hostile factions of Orangeman and Romanist were of almost daily occurrence. Mr. Stanley was compelled to frame and bring in the Irish Coercion Bill. But both he and Lord Grey were resolved that, while this necessary measure of repression was temporarily resorted to, attempts should be made, *pari passu*, to grapple with the chronic evils of Ireland. The cumbrous organisation and enormous wealth of an Established Church, from whose doctrines the great majority of the population dissented, were a continual provocation, a continual source of danger and scandal, and Mr. Stanley brought in a bill calculated to diminish the scandal and avert the danger. This was the Irish Church Temporalities Bill, by which two archbishopries and ten bishopries in the Irish Church were



M. JULES FAVRE.

suppressed. In carrying the Coercion Bill through the House, Stanley had to encounter the fierce opposition of O'Connell, who was accustomed to speak at this time of the party in power as the "base, brutal, and bloody Whigs," and had attached to the Irish Secretary the soubriquet of Scorpion Stanley. But the pluck and pride of the young English patrician shrank not from the contest; he never let a speech of O'Connell's go unanswered, and the great agitator used to say that he had no opponent of whose eloquence and powers of satire he stood in so much dread. Both the Coercion Bill and the Church Temporalities Bill became law. And now Mr. Stanley was brought over to England and made Secretary of State for the Colonies, for there was a question of bringing in a working measure to effect the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies. The industry and rapid practical insight which had stood him in good stead in his former legislative achievements, now enabled him to frame a measure which satisfactorily adjusted the details of the compensation to be awarded to the planters, and abolished—we may hope, for ever—within the British empire, the slavery of man to man. Mr. Wilberforce just lingered on to see this day; the last public intelligence imparted to him was the success of Mr. Stanley's bill in the House of Commons (July, 1833). "Thank God!" said he, "that I should have lived to witness a day in which England is willing to pay twenty millions sterling for the Abolition of Slavery."



MALAGA.

There is a letter to Lord Grey, in Lord Brougham's "Memoirs" (vol. iii., p. 266), in which the writer, Lord

Brougham himself, draws an amusing picture of the state of things on the Treasury Bench of the House of Commons in this session of 1833. He is complaining of the *silence* of Cabinet Ministers under the frequent attacks that were made on the Government. As to Lord Althorp, no one indeed could deny that he fulfilled ably and conscientiously all that duty required of him; but he had no *zeal* in the cause of his party; he was so sincerely religious that he thought nothing mattered very much here below. Then there was Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg), who seemed as if glued to the bench by mere laziness and inertia. Sir James Graham, again, with all his gifts of mind and person, was agitated by so many fanciful apprehensions, or else filled with such a disdain of the Opposition speakers, that he let them say anything they pleased. Thus, from Althorp's indifference, Grant's indolence, and Graham's alarms, the government was left entirely to Stanley and Spring Rice. "The former," Brougham continues, "*is a host in himself.*" In other passages, both in Brougham's own letters, and in those which he prints from Lord Grey, strong incidental testimony is borne to Stanley's weight and worth as a politician. Yet in the short character which he gives of him, a less favourable opinion is expressed. He says that he "required much cheering and backing, and never could fight an up-hill battle." This is hardly consistent with what Brougham himself says, as to the value of Stanley's services to the Government, in the letter from which we have already quoted. Nor is it easy to conceive how a man incapable of "fighting an up-hill battle" could have carried through the House two measures so fiercely assailed, so searchingly criticised by men of the highest ability, as were the Irish Coercion Bill and the Church Temporalities Bill. Brougham also says that in debate Stanley "stuck at nothing in order to snatch an advantage;" that "with the gravest face he would invent what he assumed his adversary to have said, but what he notoriously never did say." That there may have been in him some inaccuracy of mind, and that this, joined to his natural impetuosity, may have sometimes led to precipitancy of assertion, is quite possible; but Lord Brougham's words leave the impression of something much beyond this, and far more disagreeable—something which we find it impossible to reconcile with the unquestioned honour and manly straightforwardness which those who knew him best recognised in him most ardently.

In 1834, the government of Lord Grey was much weakened, even before the memorable secession of which we are about to speak. The clamour of Radicals and "root and branch" reformers increased in proportion as their wishes were gratified; the English Church was now in its turn assailed; and the Ministry were reproached with tergiversation, cowardice, inconsistency, and every political sin that has a name, because they did not proceed with the demolition and reconstruction of all the institutions of the country as fast as the "advanced thinkers" of the party desired. On the other hand, a great Conservative reaction was silently preparing throughout the land. A majority in the Cabinet was in favour of pursuing the policy of conciliation to Ireland by appropriating the surplus revenues of the Irish Church, obtained by the suppression of bishoprics lately effected, to the purposes of general education. To this measure Stanley was resolutely opposed. He had no objection to suppressing sees that were not wanted, and transferring church funds that were in excess in one place to another quarter where they were deficient; but to secularise those funds altogether, or any considerable portion of them, was what he could not bring himself to consent to. He therefore, along with Sir James Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Ripon, seceded from the Ministry in May, 1834. That he was perfectly sincere in his opposition, and that this was the true cause of his secession, there is no reason to doubt. Though a Whig, Stanley was conscientiously and warmly devoted to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, as the tenor of his whole life proved; and when he had convinced himself that a particular measure was hostile to that Church and to the Protestant religion, his "non possumus" was as decided as any that ever came from the Vatican. No testimony can be more positive than that which O'Connell, a magnanimous opponent if there ever was one, rendered at the time to the *bona fides* of Stanley's secession. "I think," he said, "his policy most erroneous; I think he has pursued a course of measures most pernicious to my country. I think he has swamped the Government on its commencement; but I see in him an inflexible integrity of purpose; I behold him faithful and true to his principles, bold and manly in the avowal of his opinions, able and eloquent in the vindication of them, high in his sense of honour, and firm and disinterested in the assertion of that which he thinks to be the sacred duty of conscience."

In 1835, Sir Robert Peel, upon coming into power, made overtures to Lord Stanley—his grandfather had died in the previous October—with the view of obtaining his powerful aid as a member of the Tory Administration. But Lord Stanley declared that he was still a Whig, differing only in respect of one important question from his former colleagues, and that he could not join the Tory party. Six years passed; Peel was again Prime Minister, and again he made overtures to Lord Stanley, and this time successfully. The feeble leadership of Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell during those six years appears to have finally disgusted Lord Stanley with Whiggism. He became Secretary for the Colonies, and in the strong Administration of 1841 was one of the main elements of strength. But at the end of 1845 Peel declared to his colleagues that he could no longer resist the movement for the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and from that time Stanley broke with him. He had none of Peel's intellectual docility; having once for all made up his mind that the retention of the Corn Laws was necessary to the welfare of the agricultural interest, and believing that what was good for that interest was good for the nation, he suffered no arguments, no tumults, no panic fears, no popular pressure, to shake him in his conviction. Peel carried the Repeal of the Corn Laws by the aid of the Liberals; and from this time Lord

Stanley was the recognised chief of the Tory party. Owing to dissensions among the Liberal chiefs, Lord Derby—he had come to the title on his father's death in 1851—came into power for a short time in 1852, but soon had to make way for the Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen. In 1858 he again was at the head of affairs, in conjunction with Mr. Disraeli; and the important measure of that year, for abolishing the Board of Control and the political power of the East India Company, was the work of his short administration. Falling before a vote of want of confidence, he was for some years in Opposition, till unexpectedly restored to power in June, 1866, as has been related in this history. He appears to have felt no reluctance in joining Mr. Disraeli to bring in the Reform Bill of 1867. Parliamentary Reform and extension of the suffrage were the watchwords, the rallying cries, of his joyous and stirring youth; no wonder if they still possessed some charm for him even in old age. He retired from office, as we have seen, in February, 1868. The last occasion on which he spoke in the House of Lords was during the debate on the Irish Church Bill. With a solemn earnestness he protested against the measure. "My lords," he said, "I am an old man, and, like many of your lordships, past the allotted span of three score years and ten. My official life is at an end, my political life is nearly closed, and in the course of nature my natural life cannot be long. . . . If it be for the last time that I have the honour of addressing your lordships, I declare that it will be to my dying day a satisfaction that I have been able to lift up my voice against the adoption of a measure, the political impolicy of which is equalled only by its moral iniquity." This speech was made in June; in the October following Lord Derby died.

The author of the sketch of his life given in the *Times* thus eloquently sums up the enumeration of his eminent qualities: "We have spoken of Lord Derby chiefly as a statesman. But, after all, it was the man—ever brilliant and impulsive—that most won the admiration of his countrymen. He was a splendid specimen of an Englishman; and whether he was engaged in furious debate with demagogues, or in lowly conversation on religion with little children, or in parley with jockeys, while training Toxophilite, or rendering 'Homer' into English verse, or in stately Latin discourse as the Chancellor of his University, or in joyous talk in a drawing-room among ladies, whom he delighted to chaff, or in caring for the needs of Lancashire operatives—there were a force and a fire about him that acted like a spell. Of all his public acts none did him more honour, and none made a deeper impression on the minds of his countrymen, than his conduct on the occasion of the cotton famine in Lancashire. No man in the kingdom sympathised more truly than he with the distress of the poor Lancashire spinners, and perhaps no man did so much as he for their relief. It was not simply that he gave them a princely donation: he worked hard for them in the committee which was established in their aid; he was indeed the life and soul of the committee; and for months at that bitter time he went about doing good by precept and example, so that myriads in Lancashire now bless his name. He will long live in memory as one of the most remarkable, and indeed irresistible, men of our time—a man privately beloved and publicly admired; who showed extraordinary cleverness in many ways; was the greatest orator of his day, and the most brilliant, though not the most successful, parliamentary leader of the last half-century."

The death of the gallant Irishman, Lord Gough, recalled the thoughts of many to the tumultuous scenes in which the earlier portion of the veteran's life was passed. Born in 1779, he bore a part in the operations which terminated in the cession by the Dutch of the Cape colony in 1795. He served through the Peninsular War, under Wellington, in command of the 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers, sharing in the glory of the stubborn defence of Tarifa, and being severely wounded both at Talavera and at the Nivelle. In the crowning success at Vittoria, the bâton of the French commander, Marshal Jourdan, came into the possession of his regiment. To Sir Hugh Gough was entrusted the command of the land forces in the opium war with China in 1842, when he took Canton, Amoy, Ning-po, and Chin-Kiang-Foo, forced his way, in conjunction with Admiral Sir W. Parker, for a hundred and seventy miles up the Yang-tse-Kiang, and dictated peace to the Emperor of China at Nankin. After this he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India, and held that office during the Sikh War in 1845, though to the tactics of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, who consented to serve under Gough, the decisive victories of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon are usually ascribed. When the Sikhs rebelled at the beginning of 1849, Gough marched against them, and, though he met with a severe check at Chilianwallah, inflicted such a crushing blow on the enemy at Goojerat, a few weeks later, that the war was practically brought to an end. A grateful country did not fail to recognise and reward his military achievements. He was created a Viscount, received a pension both from the Crown and from the East India Company, and was raised, in 1862, to the dignity of a Field Marshal.

All through the year 1869 France remained at peace with all her neighbours, and the Emperor and his ministers vied with each other in making pacific declarations on every suitable occasion. Yet there was a different ring about a speech which he made to the soldiers at the camp at Chalons. He told them always to keep alive in their hearts the remembrance of the battles fought by their fathers, and those in which they had been themselves engaged, "since the history of our wars is the history of the progress of civilisation." According to this doctrine, though all things now wore a peaceful appearance, yet if France were to go to war for whatever cause (for the justice of a war was superbly ignored by the speaker), the interests of civilisation would necessarily be advanced. But for the present the French Government was content to live quietly. In Italy, according to an announcement made by the Foreign Minister, Marquis de Lavalette, though the Pope's Government was making progress in

the organisation of its forces, the time had not yet arrived for France to return purely and simply to the September Convention, and to evacuate the Pontifical territory. With regard to Prussia, the language of the Emperor and of the French Foreign Office was uniformly friendly.

The Chambers which had been elected in 1863 were dissolved in April of this year, and new elections were ordered. This was a favourable opportunity for the Emperor's Government to put in practice the aspirations towards greater liberty and a more constitutional system with which the Emperor had declared himself to be animated. If the Government had left the people alone, and allowed them to return the representatives of their choice, it might have been believed that there was some sincerity in those aspirations. But, on the contrary, as will be presently seen, there never were elections at which the system of official candidates was more unsparingly resorted to, nor where the freedom of the electors was more unblushingly interfered with. The elections were going on all through May. Thiers and Jules Favre were returned for Paris, and Gambetta, Picard, Jules Simon, and other Liberals for the department of the Seine; yet so Conservative were the instincts of the general population, and so assiduously did the Government by its action labour to encourage and reward these instincts, that the number of Opposition candidates returned for the Legislative Body did not much exceed thirty. Napoleon seems to have felt that his government was *too* successful. Though the Imperial system was founded on the crime of the 2nd December, the Emperor, to do him justice, earnestly desired to make its origin forgotten by conforming it to the march of ideas and to the needs of French society. It may be questioned whether, in thus acting, he was really consulting its stability. Perhaps if he had carried on the government silently and resolutely, keeping the army in good humour by bribes and flatteries, and not trying to make compromises either with Liberalism or with the honest patriotism of men like Guizot, he might have given to it a longer duration. But he wished to be two things at the same time—a ruler supported on bayonets, and a ruler supported on ideas; and this was not a feat easy of accomplishment. In the summer he announced his intention of introducing the system of the responsibility of the ministers to the majority in the Chambers, together with various other privileges and liberties which the French Legislature had been deprived of since the *coup d'état*; he declared that the system of personal government was distasteful to him, and that he desired to abandon it. A *Senatus Consultum* embodying these reforms was introduced into and discussed in the Senate with great parade in the month of September. It was received with something of coldness and reserve by the majority of the Senators, for which they were rebuked by Prince Napoleon, in a speech which, while expressing gratitude to the Emperor for what he had conceded, disgusted by its broad Radicalism the Emperor's best friends and supporters in both Chambers. Several of the ministers—among whom were Rouher, Lavalette, and Baroche—unable to see their way to a practical reconciliation between the Empire and the maxims of constitutional government, resigned their posts on the introduction of the *Senatus Consultum*. It was, however, carried, and with a good effect, doubtless, so far as foreign opinion was concerned; in France, the measure and motives of the Emperor's liberalism were so well understood that the new project awakened little interest. The Emperor laboured hard, and his ministers seconded him faithfully, to persuade the country that his most earnest wish was to give it liberty —*true* liberty. In his speech on opening the new Chambers, in November, he said, "France desires liberty, but liberty united with order. For order I will answer. Assist me, gentlemen, to save liberty; and to attain this object let us keep at an equal distance from reaction and revolutionary theories." The Minister of the Interior, M. Forcade de la Roquette, told the Legislative Body that the Government "intended now to make it its glory to found liberty." This new-born zeal may perhaps be traced to a remarkable letter written by M. Thiers in May to the electors of the second circumscription, in reply to their request that he would appear before them and address them. He declined to comply with their wishes. "What," he said, "is the question at this moment? One sole subject, as you have yourselves recognised in your printed programme—liberty. Freedom is the indispensable instrument of all truth, but at present we are deprived of it, and the object is to achieve it." "I offer you," the Emperor seems to say in the *Senatus Consultum*, "the liberty which M. Thiers deems so indispensable; only it must be *true* liberty—that is, it must assume myself and my dynasty as the solid and unquestionable basis on which its structures are to be reared." But those who remembered the *coup d'état* could not take liberty altogether in this sense. And so the breach between the Emperor and the virtue and statesmanship of France remained as wide as ever.

But the Opposition included many elements; violent revolutionists like Rochefort sat on the same bench with cool-headed statesmen like Thiers. Returned for the city of Paris, Rochefort—who, to escape the severities which his writing in the *Lanterne* would have brought upon him, had fled to Belgium and been condemned *par contumace*—was permitted by the Government, at the express desire of the Emperor, to return and take his seat in the Chamber. During a debate on a bill for a new organisation of the Constitution which had been brought in by Rochefort and Raspail, the former, nettled by some contemptuous observations let fall by the Minister of the Interior, replied, "If I am ridiculous, I shall never equal in that way the gentleman who walked on the sands of Boulogne with an eagle on his shoulder and a bit of bacon in his hat." Such rude and coarse speeches, coming from one who was unquestionably the elect of the people, must have tended to make the system of official candidatures rather less intolerable.

An incident which occurred in connection with the opening of the Chambers showed how little the system of autocracy was really altered. According to the

Constitution, the latest day to which the meeting of the newly-elected Chambers could be legally postponed was the 26th October; but a decree appeared in the official journal on the 3rd of that month convoking the Assembly for the 29th November. A more gratuitous and annoying exhibition of the very system of personal government which the Emperor had professed himself determined to abandon could not well be conceived.

The Corps Legislatif, as soon as it was assembled, proceeded to examine questions connected with election returns. Illegalities and stretches of power were reported from all parts of the country. That odious tool of despotism, the "official candidate," had never been so generally and so offensively put forward. One election in particular, that for the Haute Garonne, in which the Government nominee, an obscure marquis, had defeated the illustrious M. de Remusat, attracted special attention from the impudent illegalities that had been resorted to in order to secure the seat. In one parish 141 electors had deposited their voting-papers in the electoral urn, which the Mayor then put away in his bedroom! When the votes came to be examined, 133 were found to be for the official candidate, and only five for M. de Remusat. But forty-one of the electors went before a notary and signed a solemn declaration that they had voted for M. de Remusat. But in spite of corrupt practices of all kinds, which a scrutiny brought to light in this and other elections, the servile majority in the Chamber usually sustained their validity. Nevertheless, the position of the Minister of the Interior, after all these disclosures, was not an agreeable one; and M. Forcade de la Roquette, together with his colleagues, resigned office. The Emperor accepted their resignations and addressed himself (December 27) to M. Emile Ollivier, requesting him to form an Administration and submit for his approval the names of those who were to fill the different offices.

In Spain, the revolution continued its desolating course. Early in the year a republican insurrection broke out at Malaga, and was not suppressed without much bloodshed. A frightful reactionary crime was committed towards the end of January, when the Civil Governor of Burgos, Don Gutierrez de Castro, who had made himself obnoxious to the clergy by his mode of executing a decree of the Provisional Government, declaring all collections of art in churches and cathedrals to be national property, was murdered by a mob of furious priests in the cathedral of Burgos. The constituent Cortes, for the election and assembling of which careful preparations had been made by Serrano and Prim in the preceding year, met at Madrid on the 11th February. In a House of 350 members, about 240 (of whom nearly two-thirds were Progressistas and the rest Unionists) were found to be supporters of the Government, 70 or 80 were Republicans, and about 20 Carlists. A committee was appointed to prepare a new constitution. Its report was read on the 31st March; it proposed the retention of monarchy and of the principle of hereditary succession, the adoption of the system of two Chambers, and of ministerial responsibility; the Catholic religion to continue to be the religion of Spain, but all other forms of belief and worship to be tolerated, subject only to the laws of universal morality. The article of the Constitution establishing a monarchy was finally carried (May 20) by 214 to 71 votes. But the difficulty of finding a monarch remained for the time insuperable. Till an eligible candidate could be found, it was thought desirable, in order to give greater solidity to the Government, to raise Serrano to the Regency. The ceremony of his installation was performed with great pomp and ceremony on the 13th June. Divergences of opinion manifested themselves among the prime movers of the September revolution. Prim, the ablest and most daring among them, publicly declared that the late dynasty should never reascend the throne of Spain, and that he would never, directly or indirectly, aid in any endeavours in favour of the Prince of Asturias. Serrano was more cautious; he was generally supposed to be a secret adherent of the said Prince. Topete was an avowed supporter of the Duke of Montpensier. The crown was first offered to the King of Portugal, but he declined to accept it. Prim then conceived the strange notion of offering it to the Duke of Genoa, a boy of fifteen, then being educated at Harrow. The young Duke is the nephew of Victor Emmanuel, and the brother of the Princess Marguerite, the wife of Prince Humbert. With his usual energy Prim overcame all opposition among his colleagues to this extraordinary scheme, except so far as Topete was concerned. The sturdy Admiral thought it absurd, and quitted the Ministry rather than have a hand in carrying it out. But the opposition of the King of Italy and of the young Duke's mother caused this plan to fall to the ground.

In the autumn republican risings took place in many of the large towns. The insurgents at Valencia proclaimed the democratic and federal Republic in a high-flown and flowery manifesto, the chief parts of which consisted in an infatuated and ridiculous eulogy on their own brilliant virtues. But the troops remained faithful to the Government; Valencia was reduced after a three hours' bombardment, and in the other cities revolt was ultimately put down. A law was passed in October, similar in its object to a Habeas Corpus Suspension Act in England, for the suspension of individual guarantees. Against this law, and against the project of raising to the throne a Prince of the house of Savoy, a speech of marvellous eloquence was made in the Cortes, in December, by the great republican orator Señor Emilio Castelar. "I know not how it is," he said, "but as often as I pronounce those words, 'the Revolution of September,' I feel a bitter pain enter into my soul. Ah, Señores, this assembly should be converted into a temple, and this house of political business into a house of prayer, the eloquence of politics into the eloquence of religious fervour, and one should be able to borrow the inspirations of Jeremiah to lament appropriately the fate of a revolution engendered yesterday in the purest fire of the new ideas, and agonising to-day in the cabinets of monarchical diplomacy, to die to-morrow in the barracks! It was said fundamental rights should be inviolable, and all

have been violated; it was said the magistrate, and not the police, should enter our dwellings, and our homes have been invaded; it was said that under the empire of our Constitution no citizen should be transported more than 250 kilométres from his domicile, and multitudes have been taken so far beyond that radius that their feet scarce touch the soil of their mother country, but the solitude of ocean has begun; it was said that the press should be entirely free, and the military authorities have suppressed and insulted the newspapers; it was said the rights of meeting and of association should suffer no eclipse, and they have suffered a night of two months

United States on the 4th March, 1869. The convention for the settlement of the *Alabama* and other claims, which had been agreed to by Lord Stanley and Mr. Reverdy Johnson, was rejected by the Senate in the course of the year, and an important diplomatic correspondence on the subject passed between Mr. Fish, the American Secretary of State, and Lord Clarendon. But, according to the intention already intimated,* we postpone a fuller notice of these transactions in order that we may consider them in connection with the Treaty of 1871, and the Geneva Arbitration, by which these claims were finally disposed of.

BURGOS.

long!" Speaking of the youthful candidate whom Prim had proposed for the throne, Castelar said, "This setting up of the Duke of Genoa proves to me that you do not understand one word of monarchical theology. Your king reminds me of that fantastical being, created artificially by Wagner, the disciple of Faust, who came out of an alchemistic composition of acids, phosphorus, and other substances, in the midst of grand cabalistic words, and in conjunction with I know not how many stars; and the very first thing he did on bursting the retort was to fly off in the arms of the devil, and leave his *padre scientifico* in abandonment and despair. Yes, your artificial king differs from natural kings as the creation of Wagner differs from the grand creations moulded in the bosom of the universe."

General Grant was inaugurated President of the

CHAPTER XXXII.

Parliamentary History of the Year—The Queen's Speech—The Irish Land Question—General Interest in the Question—The Government Bill is introduced by Mr. Gladstone: Its Provisions—Bill read a first time—Debate on the Second Reading—Attitude of the Opposition—Mr. Disraeli's Objections—The Bill is read a second time—Committee—Amendments in the Commons—General Success of the Government—The Third Reading—The Bill in the Lords—Lord Salisbury's and other Amendments—Compromises—The Bill sent down—Its Final Stages—It is read a third time.

By the side of the vast continental events which have made the year 1870 one of the memorable years of the world, domestic politics look small and feeble. And yet they are by no means small; few recent years, in fact, have so much to show of work actually done and finished

* See page 333.

by the cumbrous parliamentary machine. It is a well-known maxim of English politics, that a Ministry can never depend upon carrying more than one measure of first-rate importance in a single session. Whatever nominal majority may sit behind a minister, he knows that in the present state of society interests are so complicated, prejudice so manysided, that it is hard enough to lead the majority into the lobby once in the year on a great question, and he seldom attempts to do more. Yet the year 1870 presents the strange phenomenon of a session marked by the carrying of two great measures, each of them met by vigorous opposition, each of them full of interference with vested interests—the Irish Land Act, and the Education Act. Mr. Bright expressed the general sense of the difficulty of much legislation when he said at Birmingham, in January, "You cannot easily drive six omnibuses abreast through Temple Bar." But Mr. Forster happily took up his metaphor a short time after: "Let the Irish Land omnibus pass through first, and Lord de Grey and I will drive our Education omnibus in afterwards."

In the first month of the year, before Parliament met, a terrible catastrophe occurred in the Eastern seas, through which a fine ship-of-war belonging to a friendly nation was run down by an English mail steamer, and sunk, the accident being attended by a lamentable loss of life. The United States steam corvette *Oneida* left the anchorage at Yokohama, the port of Jeddo, in Japan, at about five o'clock on the evening of the 24th Jan., 1870. The ship was homeward-bound, the wind was fair, and as she moved out of the harbour, with all sails set and under full steam, the crews of the various vessels at anchor cheered her loudly, and wished her a prosperous voyage.

NIGHT SCENE IN THE BAY OF JEDDO: FISHING BY FIRE.

Two hours later, the noble vessel had sunk beneath the waves, and the greater part of her crew had been swept into eternity. It was nearly 7 P.M.; the officers were at dinner below, when the look-out man shouted, "Steamer lights ahead," and the midshipman on watch gave the order to port the helm. The approaching vessel (which proved to be the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamship *Bombay*) was steering due north, and making for the port of Yokohama; the *Oneida* appears to have been steering a south-easterly course. Captain Eyre, commanding the *Bombay*, afterwards deposed on oath, that when the *Oneida* was first sighted, she was about a mile distant, and that he immediately ported his helm,

and kept porting it for a considerable time, in order to clear her. There must be some error on one side or the other in the accounts of the movements of the two vessels, for if both ships had kept the helm ported from the time that they first observed each other, no collision could possibly have taken place. While the *Bombay* was still heading off to starboard, Captain Eyre deposed that he saw the stranger putting her helm hard a-starboard, and crossing the bow of the *Bombay* with full sails and steam. The night being dark, the vessels were at that moment not more than a hundred feet apart. Captain Eyre instantly stopped his engines, and put his helm hard a-starboard, hoping to go clear of the approaching vessel. Unfortunately, the vessels were too close together for this, and a collision occurred; the bows of the *Bombay* cutting into the starboard side of the *Oneida*, about the mizen rigging. Neither ship was entangled with the other; and Captain Eyre, not hearing or seeing, as he said, any signal of distress from the other ship, and being informed that the *Bombay* was making water, ordered the engines to be set going at full speed, and made the best of his way for Yokohama. The unfortunate crew of the *Oneida* felt themselves to be cruelly abandoned; for, besides the shock and the danger of the collision itself—in consideration of which the unharmed or slightly harmed vessel ought in common humanity to have waited to ascertain the effects of the accident upon the other, before proceeding on her course—several of the *Oneida's* guns, which happened to be loaded at the time, were almost instantly fired, to attract the attention of the *Bombay*, and bring her back. No one on board the *Oneida* could have supposed it possible that the sound of the guns would not reach the *Bombay*. Within ten minutes after the collision, the *Oneida* went down. The few who were saved reported that, when it became evident that there was no hope of saving the ship, the officers gathered round Captain Williams, and he was heard to say, that if the ship went down, he would go down with her. Two of the ship's boats, containing fifty-six men, floated after she had gone down, and were picked up and brought safely to Yokohama; the rest of the officers and crew—a hundred and twenty in number—went down with the ship. A court of inquiry was held at Kanagawa, in Japan, to investigate the circumstances of the collision, and the result was that Captain Eyre's certificate was suspended for six months. The Board of Trade afterwards ratified the finding of the court of inquiry, and expressed their opinion that the sentence of suspension was "inadequate to the gravity of the offence."

Parliament met on the 8th February, and the great measure of the session—the Irish Land Bill—was soon afterwards brought forward. Of the three branches which, according to Mr. Gladstone's figure, had grown upon the tree of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, one—the Church—had fallen; there remained the Land and Education. The last, which, as we know, proved in the end the most difficult question, was to be left to a future year; but with regard to the Land, the Queen's Speech was explicit. "It will be proposed to you," it said, "to amend the laws respecting the occupation and acquisition of land in Ireland, in a manner adapted to the peculiar circumstances of that country, and calculated, as Her Majesty believes, to bring about improved relations between the several classes concerned in Irish agriculture, which collectively constitute the great bulk of the people. These provisions, when matured by your impartiality and wisdom, as Her Majesty trusts, will tend to inspire, among persons with whom such sentiments may still be wanting, that steady confidence in the law, and that desire to render assistance in its effective administration, which mark her subjects in general; and thus will aid in consolidating the fabric of the Empire."

This utterance, clothed in the English peculiar to Queen's Speeches, showed definitely that the Government was committed to a measure of a comprehensive kind. All through the previous autumn and winter, in fact, public opinion had been ripening for such a measure. The newspapers began to be full of articles on the subject; statistics—official, semi-official, and unofficial—were being collected and published in all directions. The *Times* sent a special commissioner to Ireland, and published his letters in a place of honour. Pamphleteers abounded; every one, from crotchety landlords or crotchety tenant-right-men or peasant-proprietor-men, up to such authorities as Mr. George Campbell, the well-known Indian administrator, wrote down their views. The class in possession were uneasy; and yet, as the event proved, there was very little for them to be uneasy about—or rather, the limitations that were finally imposed on them were not very severe. In fact, the history of the treatment of the Irish Land question is throughout extremely singular. It is perfectly true, as Lord Cairns said, that "at all times and in all countries there is no kind of agitation which ever has been so serious or so difficult to deal with as an agitation on the subject of land." It is also true in a measure, to continue his words, that "for fourteen months this subject had been exciting the minds of the people." Agrarian crime was rife in Ireland—the Fenian spirit was for the moment all the more savage for the attempt at conciliation made in the passing of the Church Disestablishment Act. Fifty-nine grave cases—cases of *delicta majora*—were recorded in 1869; and of these, eighteen were murders, most of them agrarian. On the other hand, as we have said, the public press, both in England and in Ireland, was teeming with discussion of land-problems. Yet, in spite of all this evidence of excitement, it is undoubtedly true that the Land Bill was passed through both Houses with far less difficulty than had been the case with the Church Bill; and that the debates upon it, the criticisms passed on it, and the reception it met with, were, on the whole, quiet, satisfactory, and dignified. The "agitation" of which Lord Cairns spoke was, except for the numerous single crimes which accompanied rather than belonged to it, singularly temperate. The importance of the occasion, the strong sense in almost every mind of a dangerous existing injustice, seemed to compel the advocates of both sides into a course of mutual forbearance. Feniani m had done at least that good: it had shown that Irish

discontent was a reality, and that its first element was an agrarian element.

The debate on the Address showed clearly what the expectations of both parties in Parliament were: Mr. Disraeli's speech consisted of indications of what, according to him, the Government bill ought not to be; and Mr. Gladstone's answer was an appeal for a patient hearing. On the 15th February, Mr. Gladstone brought forward his Land Bill—the anti-Fenian character of which was shown by a motion proposed a short time before by him, to the effect that O'Donovan Rossa, the Fenian convict, who had been elected member for Tipperary, "had become, and continued incapable of being elected or returned as a member of the House," and 293 members had voted for this motion, against 16 on the other side. The formal motion of the Prime Minister was "to obtain leave to bring in a bill to amend the law relating to the occupation and ownership of land in Ireland," and the bill which he brought forward was divided into five parts. The first part (secs. 1—31) deals with the Law of Compensation to Tenants, giving a legal status to the "customs" known as the Ulster tenant-right custom and others that prevail in different parts of Ireland, and establishing the principle of compensation to the tenant for improvements and for disturbance by the act of the landlord. The second part deals with the Sale of Lands to Tenants; the third, with Advances by, and Powers of, the Board of Works; the fourth, with Legal Proceedings and the Court which was to try cases; the fifth, with miscellaneous questions relating to new tenancies. In his speech—as lucid and interesting as his great expository speeches always are—Mr. Gladstone began by a review of the history of the parliamentary treatment of the question since the first Reform Act. That history was to be summed up in one word—procrastination. "What I hope is," he said, "that having witnessed the disaster and difficulty which have arisen from this long procrastination, we shall resolve in mind and heart by a manful effort to close and seal up for ever, if it may be, this great question which so intimately concerns the welfare and happiness of the people of Ireland." The Government had certainly made, he declared, and were making, this "manful effort;" they had cleared their mind of all the anti-Celtic prepossessions so common in England; they had made themselves masters of all the facts which the recent voluminous literature of the question had brought to light. Then he passed to the "present sensitiveness" of Ireland, which he traced to recent interruptions of Irish prosperity, to evictions, and to the conversion of much land from tillage to pasture. But the flaws of existing legislation had much to do with it also; notably the Act which in some respects had done much good, the Encumbered Estates Act. This Act had sprung from a desire to introduce capital into Ireland, and it created great facilities in the sale of land owned by impoverished proprietors. But it contained "one fatal oversight." Lord Devon's Commission in 1845, endorsed by Sir Robert Peel's Government, had recognised the right of the tenant to be invested with a title to improvements—that is, to claim a full allowance for the value of improvements effected by him in the land he occupied. This claim, Mr. Gladstone said, was doubtless generally admitted by the landlords; but when the properties came, as they so often did, into the Encumbered Estates Court, the tenant found himself legally robbed of his equitable claim. The Court sold the lands just as they were, and took no notice of the distinction between the soil itself and the improvements made by the tenant. "So," he went on to say, "the improvements were sold away from the tenant to persons who paid a price for them, and the price was paid to the outgoing landlord, who undoubtedly ought not to have been entitled to claim the property in them, and would not have been so entitled if the legislation recommended in 1845 had been adopted." In this and similar ways the Prime Minister showed that Acts which had been passed at various times with the most benevolent intentions towards Ireland, had defeated themselves, and helped to ruin, instead of strengthening, the peace and prosperity of the country. The same thing, he added, might be said about emigration—a process natural and divinely beneficial when voluntary and free; but when compulsory, as was practically the case with Ireland, hardly to be distinguished from banishment.

These being some among the practical grievances of the Irish people with regard to their land, it was proposed to do away with them, or at least to diminish their force, by law. Free contract, said Mr. Gladstone, is undoubtedly the best arrangement, ideally speaking, in the relations between landlord and tenant, as in the other relations of life; but free contract is often practically impossible, and in some cases is with general approval overridden by the law. "You will not allow the man who has a factory to contract with the persons he employs on terms which suits their inclinations, but which you have forbidden. . . . These are cases which justify interference; but much stronger is the case for Ireland, because in substance these contracts, though nominally free, have not been really free under the peculiar conditions of life which that country offers." The Irishman is practically dependent on the soil—he has no choice of careers as he has in a mining and manufacturing country. "Strict freedom of contract, then, having been proved to be a great evil, what is the precise nature of that evil? The Devon Commission has pointed it out. It is that insecurity of tenure which not only abridges the comforts of the cultivator of the soil, but which limits and paralyses his industry, and at the same time vitiates his relations in a number of cases with the landlord, and in a still greater number with the law under which and the society in which he lives." To remedy this insecurity, a number of plans were extant; and already some were crying out for stability, some for perpetuity, some for fixity of tenure—phrases which all meant the same thing, the conversion of occupiers into owners. These plans Mr. Gladstone rejected, and went on to ask if no more moderate arrangement had been discovered, or could be found in the actual facts of Ireland. Certainly such arrangement could be found, notably in the "Custom of Ulster," and in the customs more or less analogous to it

prevailing in other parts of Ireland; and to lands held under those customs Mr. Gladstone first looked. "It is not necessary at present," he said, "to investigate the history of the Ulster custom; whether it represents the ancient Irish ideas derived from the period of tribal possession; whether it represents the covenants which were inserted by James I. in the charters granted to the settlers in the province; whether it has grown out of the happy political relations subsisting, for the most part, between the landlords and the occupiers, which have induced landlords to view favourably the growth of such an usage; or whether, lastly, it represents the payment of a kind of insurance for the safety of the incoming tenant when he obtains that possession of land which is so prized and valued in that country." Whatever were the origin of the custom, the Government was content to take the Ulster custom as matter of fact, to convert it into a law, and to allow it to be examined into as a simple question of fact, in cases where a dispute might arise, by the Courts which would be established under this bill. As such the Ulster custom would be regarded, where it existed, as including two elements—compensation for improvements, and the price of goodwill. The customs which prevailed in other parts of Ireland, being all of them much more partial, vague, and uncertain, were only to be made law under certain conditions. First, under such customs, a tenant was only to be allowed to claim payment of money on leaving his holding, if he was disturbed in his tenancy by the act of his landlord. Secondly, he was not to be allowed to claim if evicted for non-payment of rent. Thirdly, he was not to be allowed to claim if he sublet his land (except for cottages) without his landlord's consent. Fourthly, not only arrears of rent, but damages done to the farm might be pleaded by the landlord as a set-off. Fifthly, a landlord might bar the pleading of any such custom if he gave the tenant a lease, under certain conditions, of not less than thirty-one years.

But what was to be done where no such protecting custom could be pleaded? Outside Ulster—outside the shelter of similar usages—the tenant, if not protected by any lease, "felt the full force of that tremendous evil of insecurity of tenure." To meet the case of such persons, the Government proposed a scale of damages for evictions, with power to those tenants "having a farm not rented, but valued in the public valuation at £100 and upwards, to contract themselves out of this section of the Act." This was the most important clause in the bill, and, as will appear, the most memorable divisions afterwards took place upon it and in connection with it in committee and in the Lords. The compensation was, of course, to be decided by the Courts established by the bill; and in applying the scale, the judge, said Mr. Gladstone, "is required by the Act to have regard to two things—first, the improvements which have been executed by the tenant on his farm; and, secondly, the loss which the occupier is about to sustain by being ejected from his holding." The "improvements" were to include ordinary improvements, such as draining and fencing, and also the greater improvements, such as permanent buildings and reclamation of land. The scale was to be—if the holding was valued in the public valuation at over £10, the judge might award to the tenant a sum not exceeding seven years' rent; if the holding was between £10 and £50, he might award a sum not exceeding five years' rent; if between £50 and £100, a sum not exceeding three years' rent; if above £100, a sum not exceeding two years' rent. "In the ordinary case of eviction for non-payment of rent," Mr. Gladstone added, "or for subdividing the land, the House will understand that the scale does not apply at all." Moreover, the word "improvement" was rigidly defined, and was to be taken to mean "something which would add to the letting value of the land, and suitable to the nature of the holding as an agricultural holding"—not any fancy improvements which were not suitable to the purposes of agriculture. The great change which the bill effected was, in fact, a change in the legal presumption. Previously, as Mr. Gladstone said, the law had presumed all improvements to be the work of the landlord, and had given them to him. The bill proposed to reverse this presumption, and to presume that improvements were the work of the occupier, giving to the landlord the business of showing the presumption wrong in any special case.

The importance which the Government attached to these enactments about improvements is shown by the elaborate machinery which they devised to enable the landlord, if he chose, to bar the claim. This was a machinery of leasehold tenure, which was to allow the landlord to keep the general claim for goodwill off his estate. "This cannot be done by one lease," said Mr. Gladstone, "for if the landlord, at the end of one of these statutory leases, does not think fit to continue the system of leases, goodwill will immediately grow up as a plant grows from the ground." A series of leases would be required to do it, and, by continuous leases, a landlord might keep his land perfectly free from any claim to goodwill.

"I may now, perhaps, be asked," added Mr. Gladstone, "what we have done for the Irish labourer. For him we have done what the case will permit. We have allowed the tenant to subdivide and sublet for cottages and gardens. . . . We have offered advances from the Public Funds. . . . But the one great boon—and it is a great boon—which it is in the power of the Legislature to give to the agricultural labourer in Ireland, is to increase the demand for his labour, and, by imparting a stimulus to that part of the country, to insure its requiring more strong arms to carry it on, and thereby to bring more bidders into the market for those arms, and raise the natural and legitimate price of their labour. . . . If we can only convince every man that, from the time this Act passes, he will be able to prosecute his industry in security and in the manner most advantageous to himself, we shall confer upon the agricultural labourer the greatest boon which it is in our power to bestow."

These were the main features of the bill which Mr. Gladstone committed to the House in a peroration singularly dignified and self-restrained. It was not, he said,

to be expected that evils of such long standing as Irish evils were should be cured in a day, and it was impossible that they should be cured if the bill were to be "poisoned by the malignant agency of angry or bitter passions." The passing of the bill was to be looked on, not as the triumph of party over party, but "as a common work of common love and goodwill to the common good of our common country." "With such objects and in such a spirit," he concluded, "the House will address itself to the work and sustain the feeble efforts of the Government. And my hope, at least, is high and ardent that we shall live to see our work prosper in our hand; and that in that Ireland which we desire to unite to England and Scotland by the only enduring ties —those of free will and free affection—peace, order, and a settled and cheerful industry will diffuse their blessings from year to year and from day to day over a smiling land."

A bill of this complicated kind could obviously not be discussed on the first reading, so no debate took place until the second reading on March 7. From the reception given to Mr. Gladstone's statement on February 15, it was clear that the Conservatives did not mean to offer a point-blank opposition to the principle of the bill. Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who acted as leader of the Opposition on that night, owned that his party "had a keen sense of the evils existing among the landlords, tenants, and labourers of Ireland at present," and hinted that they would reserve their principal criticisms till the bill was in committee. The direct hostility to the bill came from another quarter—from the extreme "Irish" party, who have since then consistently raised the cry of Home Rule. Mr. Bryan, who was one of them, and Captain White, member for Tipperary, proposed and seconded an amendment to the second reading, to the effect that the bill should be read again that day six months. But the views of members who protested against the principle of a landlord being ever allowed to raise his rents, and who openly asked not only for "fixity of tenure," but for fixity at nominal payments, could hardly hope to find favour in a Parliament of landlords. The principal speakers who criticised the Government plan were men of quite other views. Dr. Ball, Colonel Wilson-Patten, Mr. Henley, Mr. Ward Hunt, and Mr. Disraeli protested, not against the insufficient rights bestowed upon the occupier, but against the injury done to the landlord. Dr. Ball, the member for Dublin University, who brought to the Conservative side a remarkable contribution of eloquence and force, protested very strongly against the principle of interfering with freedom of contract. "You in England," he said, "have been working for centuries to make landlord and tenant not ascertain their rights by litigation, but have them established on the solid basis of contract. . . . I say you have got the best system; and I believe it to be the best because I believe that Englishmen, having set their hearts on the best system, would be content with nothing less. What do I ask for my country? I ask the right to rise to the same standard as yourselves. I demand that you will not lay down a rule of this kind and say, 'This is good enough for Ireland. There is a positive incapacity in the Irish landlord to deal with his tenants by contract, and in the Irish tenant to take care of himself by contract. The Scotch and English are able to do it. Therefore the true system shall be reserved as a *privilegium* for them; but the Irish shall not be able to attempt it, because we shall put a clause in an Act of Parliament to prevent it.'" And Mr. Disraeli, in a similar strain, protested both against legalising the custom of Ulster ("Because it does not exist," he said) and against interference with the freedom of contract. And yet, as we said, it was plain that the Conservative party were too well convinced of the strength of the Government to attempt a wholesale rejection of the bill. In the division that closed the debate on the second reading, Mr. Gladstone carried them into the lobby with him, and the principle of the bill was affirmed by 442 against 11.

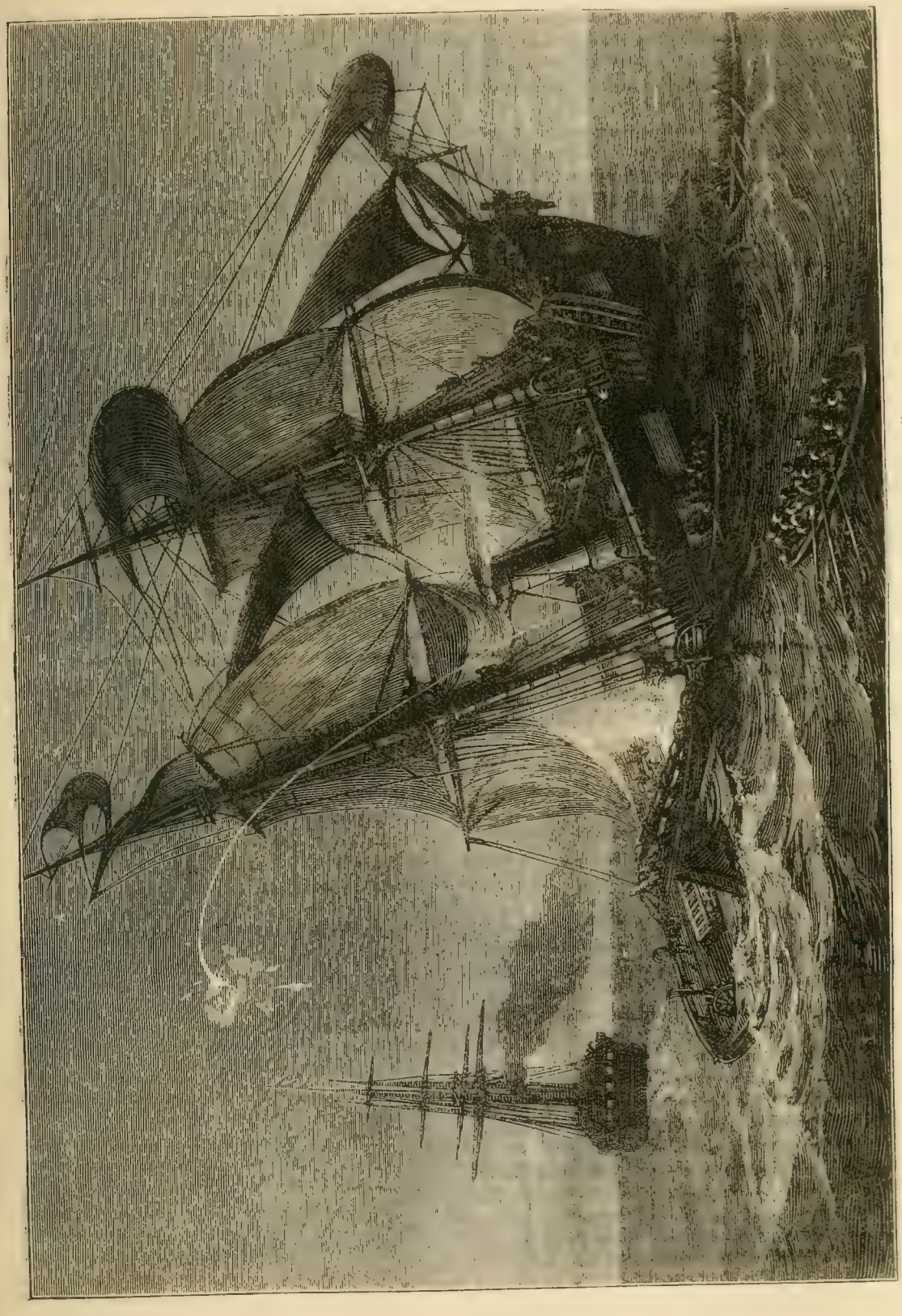
This majority was a clear enough intimation that the principles of the Government bill were accepted by the House. Among the eleven "Noes" were found only three Tories—among them the veteran Mr. Henley, whose staunch adherence to landlord-right was not to be shaken by any amount of "political necessity," such as Mr. Disraeli talked of. But Mr. Henley, Sir W. Bagge, and Mr. Lowther—who for once found themselves in the strange company of the Extreme Left of Home Rulers and Roman Catholics—could only offer an ineffectual protest against the "tenants' bill." The principle, that of legalising customs of compensation where found, and of making a statutory scale of compensation for loss of occupancy in the absence of any custom, had been once for all affirmed. It was evident, however, that the bill would be severely handled in committee; and the prospect became all the clearer from certain fresh signs of agrarian terrorism which began to appear just after the second reading. County Mayo began to be disturbed by the visits of masked and armed men to the farmhouses, with the object of making the farmers swear to "break up their pasture lands." These outrages—more like the proceedings of Australian bushrangers or American Ku-klux men than of inhabitants of these islands—did not dispose Parliament to leniency in regard to Irish disaffection. Mr. Chichester Fortescue proposed, on March 17, a bill which would effectually meet these agrarian cases; and in a fortnight it became law. Its effect was to place certain districts of Ireland practically in a state of siege; it forbade the possession of firearms by unlicensed persons; it gave rights of search to constables; it took more stringent measures against threatening letters; it allowed discretionary arrests of suspected persons; it allowed the grand jury to give damages, chargeable on the county, to the families of murdered men; and it increased almost indefinitely the right of the Government to seize newspapers. This bill, which nothing but extreme necessity could have justified, passed Commons and Lords almost without a struggle; the Lords especially agreeing with Lord Salisbury, who said, "You must teach the Irish people to *fear* the law before you can induce them to *like* it."

Never has a bill been visited with a more imposing

show of amendments than the Land Bill in committee. Three hundred alterations, like the three hundred conspirators against King Porsenna, were banded together to work its fall, or at least to hamper its activity. The Ulster custom was debated for many hours, and met with all kinds of observations—from those alike who said with Mr. Disraeli, "You cannot legalise the custom of Ulster, because it does not exist," and those who regarded the bill as a poor instalment of reform, to be accepted under protest. When the third clause came

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.
(From a Photograph, by permission of the London Stereoscopic Company.)

before the House, Mr. Disraeli brought forward an important amendment, directed against the principle of compensation for eviction as distinguished from compensation for improvements. He wished to insert the words, limiting the compensation, "in respect of inexhausted improvements made by him, or any predecessor in title, and of interruption in the completion of any course of husbandry suited to the holding." Mr. Disraeli charged the Government with changing their original bill in one most important point—namely, with intending to bring in a new clause practically extending the Ulster custom to the other parts of Ireland. The third clause, as originally drawn, proposed to give the outgoing tenant compensation for the improvements—"a subject on which both sides were unanimous; the marrow of all Land Bills; the result on which investigation and discussion have enabled the country to arrive at a mature conclusion, and which, if secured," said Mr. Disraeli, "would, in my opinion, do all that in justice is required." But there were words at the end of the original clause which were ambiguous; "that compensation should be given for the loss sustained by the tenant on quitting his holding." These words Mr. Disraeli declared that he and his friends had understood to mean what his amendment now stated—namely, that over and above receiving compensation for his improvements, "the tenant would, on quitting his holding, be secured the fair usufruct of any husbandry or skill in the tillage of the land which he had not yet received." So that Mr. Disraeli had originally intended his amendment to be a mere declaratory amendment, for the removal of a verbal ambiguity. But to his great surprise, he finds that at the last moment the Government have themselves amended the clause; that they have thrown the proposal for compensation for improvements into the background, and bring out as a chief part of the clause "that



COLLISION BETWEEN THE "BOMBAY" AND THE "ONEIDA."

compensation is to be given to any tenant at the termination of his lease, on the assumption that the termination of his occupancy is a grievance for which the tenant ought to be compensated. This clause, then, at present, is a clause which does not conceal that, in the opinion of the framers of the bill, *occupation involves a right of property*."

Here was ground on which the question of the bill might very well have been fought on the second reading; and it is not unlikely that, if the clause had originally been drawn as it afterwards was, the Government would not have been allowed to wait so long without a struggle. That "occupation should be held to involve a right of property"—that a tenant should have a right to claim part-ownership in the land he occupied—is a notion which the English landlord shudders to contemplate. Mr. Disraeli played very skilfully upon that landlord sentiment. He dwelt upon the fact that the principle was "opposed to all the fundamental principles of our legislation for the country generally;" and protested against applying principles to Ireland without considering their effect upon England and Scotland. And even in Ireland, he maintained, this admission of tenant-right in so extreme a form would have disastrous results. The landlord, finding that the new law gave his tenant a right to a third of his freehold—seven years' rent; twenty-one years' rent being the average value of a freehold in Ireland—and seeing an escape from this claim in the clause which barred the right in the case of non-payment of rent, would take advantage of this, "the only position of strength left him." He would wait till the tenant did not pay his rent—a very frequent occurrence in Ireland—and then he would evict mercilessly. To escape a repetition of the danger, he would consolidate his farms, and the old tenants would have to wander away to new homes. They, to avoid this last extremity, would appeal to "those rural ethics with the consequences of which we are all familiar." The rural logic of the Irish tenant would run thus: "I have lost my holding because I did not pay my rent. Can anything be more flagrantly unjust than that a man should be deprived of his contingent right to a third of the freehold because he does not pay his rent?" Or in other words, "Am I to lose seven years' rent because I have failed to pay half a year's?" As a consequence the Irish tenant would act upon his rural ethics, and either have his landlord's land or his life. "So far from the improvement of the country, so far from terminating all these misunderstandings and heartburnings which we seem now so anxious upon both sides of the House to bring to a close, you will have the same controversies still raging, only with increased acerbity, and under circumstances and conditions which inevitably must lead to increased bitterness and increased perils to society."

Mr. Disraeli's speech, which, clever as it was, struck rather at the exclusion of tenants evicted for non-payment of rent from the benefits of the bill than at the compensation given for eviction on other grounds, was answered both by Mr. Lowe and Mr. Chichester Fortescue. Mr. Lowe called his language a "declaration of war;" and, indeed, an amendment moved by the leader of the Opposition upon a Government bill is seldom anything else. Mr. Lowe dwelt upon the "terrible state of Ireland" springing from the habit of wholesale eviction; upon the need of sometimes transgressing the strict laws of political economy; upon the happy mean of the Government bill, which verged neither towards the Scylla of Mr. Disraeli nor towards the Charybdis of the advocates of fixity of tenure. "There is no doubt," he said, "that harsh conduct by the landlord, and evictions in times long past, have popularised murder in Ireland, and have made people look upon a murderer as a man not entirely in the wrong. When this feeling has once been created, observe the progress it makes. It has now passed from the landlord and tenant to the people themselves; outrages which used to be mainly directed against the landlord and persons in his employ are now directed against others: no injury is too slight—the discarding of a servant, the dismissal of a porter by a railway official, underselling by a tradesman—anything is a sufficient excuse for shedding blood. What is the fountain of bitterness from which these waters first flowed? Has not this demoralising practice sprung up mainly because the law did not give the tenant relief, and the tenant grew to think he was entitled to take the law into his own hands?" Again, what better established rule of political economy was there than that every man should be free to exercise any calling he liked? Yet we had a system of trade licenses—a plain violation of this rule; and other rules might be found similarly violated for purposes of State necessity—the Government monopoly of the Post Office, for instance. And as to the "middle course" of the Government, "we have gone," said Mr. Lowe, "to neither extreme. We have endeavoured, without shaking the foundations of property, to give adequate relief to the tenants; we have entirely repudiated the notion of fixity of tenure; and I think the Irish landlords are very wise in acquiescing. What would be the only result suppose the bill failed? Why, they would be in this most miserable position: they would find themselves in the claws of the right honourable gentleman who would then be at the head of the Government, with a fine working minority in the House. When that time came," said the speaker, in allusion to Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill, and his power of "educating his party"—"when that time came they might indeed tremble. I think I already hear the speech which the right honourable gentleman would make to the House. He would say it was a mockery and a delusion to give compensation to the tenant in case of eviction; such a remedy would fail because it did not go deep enough; and the only panacea for Ireland was fixity of tenure, with a periodical re-valuation of rents."

This gloomy prospect, however, was not to be realised. It was not reserved for Mr. Disraeli to repeat the tactics of 1866 and 1867, and first to turn out a Government on Conservative grounds, and then out-Herod their liberalism by a bill of his own. The debate flowed on. Mr. Hardy was furious with Mr. Lowe, and then went on to denounce the clause: "I say that by doing this you are creating a property that did not exist before. You are giving a man something which he never had before;

and you cannot give it him without taking it from somebody else."

Sir Roundell Palmer, who, on questions of property as on ecclesiastical questions, was always rather Conservative than Liberal, took the opportunity of criticising the whole bill from the point of view of "caution," and suggested many difficulties in the way of the treatment of prospective tenancies. But Mr. Chichester Fortescue, and Mr. Gladstone after him, maintained both the moderate character of the bill generally, and the fact that "this clause was the central and essential part, without which it would not be worth the while of Parliament to pass the bill." Mr. Gladstone's speech was at once temperate and firm. He dwelt upon the fact which Mr. Disraeli had slighted—the fact that the bill was "wholly and absolutely exceptional." He did not attempt an abstract justification of its principles; on the contrary, he admitted fully that such interference with the laws of political economy was only to be justified by stern necessity. In fact, the Government hoped that this measure might soon work such a cure in the Irish temper as to cut away the ground of necessity from under its own feet, in which case it would naturally fall into abeyance. "Twenty years, and thereafter until Parliament shall otherwise determine"—that was to be the limit of the operation of the bill: a limit clearly showing both the conviction of the Government as to its exceptional character, and their hope that it would one day cease to be necessary. But at present no such alteration could be made in it as that which Mr. Disraeli proposed, armed, as it was, against "one of the main pillars of the bill." "One of the grand provisions of the bill was the confirmation of Irish customs. Another grand principle was that improvements made by the tenant were the property of the tenant. And a third principle of the bill, which was by far the most prominent in the lengthened statement it was my duty to inflict upon the House, was that damages for eviction were to be paid to the tenant."

The division which followed upon this debate was perhaps the most important of the session, and it was a great triumph for the Government. The Ayes were 220; the Noes, 296; so that by a majority of 76 the new principle, which did most undoubtedly confer a new property upon the Irish tenant, was affirmed by the House of Commons. With this great victory the success of the Government bill became assured; and the frequent divisions upon the later clauses, and upon amendments moved from both sides of the House, were one and all Government successes. The next night to that on which Mr. Disraeli's amendment was lost, Mr. Gladstone carried his own amendment, inserting after the word "compensation," the words, "for the loss which the Court shall find to have been sustained by him in quitting his holding," by a majority of 111. The further alteration which the clause underwent, was that all tenants of holdings at £50 a year and upwards were placed in the class of those with whose freedom of contract the bill did not interfere,—a different thing from excluding them altogether from the right to claim damages for eviction in the absence of contract. The former amendment was consented to by Mr. Gladstone, although unwillingly; the latter, proposed by Mr. W. Fowler, was lost by a majority of 32. But there is no necessity for us to follow the bill through every little stage of its progress through committee. On the 30th of May it appeared in its amended shape, waiting for the third reading; and it passed without a division, amid murmurs of protest from the Conservative benches, and articulate protest from Mr. Hardy, who confessed that he looked to the Lords to assert themselves in the interest of landed property, and remedy the injustice of "damages for eviction." Mr. Gladstone knew his strength, and said little on that point. He only appealed to the consciences of the Irish landlords. "If," he said, "we were to put to the Irish landlords, categorically, the question, 'Will you take the bill as it is, or will you have it lost?' I may be wrong, but my firm conviction is, that the cry of those landlords would be, 'Let the bill pass into law!'" And, so far as the House of Commons was concerned, it did pass into law that night.

There remained the House of Lords. The second reading was moved by Lord Granville, who had, of course, a much less difficult task to perform than Mr. Gladstone had had on the first introduction of the bill in the House of Commons. The subject had been so long before the public, the discussion of it had been so full, that not only did the Lords know the details of the bill already, but their own opinions of it were pretty well known to one another. Lord Granville did not expect much opposition to the main outlines of the bill, nor did he meet with much. The Duke of Richmond, the Conservative leader, fixed mainly upon the duration of the leases specified by the bill, and wanted to shorten the length of those leases which would exempt parties from its operation from thirty-one to twenty-one years. When this was the chief objection made by the leader of the Opposition, it was evident that the bill would not be seriously imperilled, though Lord Salisbury might "condemn with his whole heart" the principle of compensation for eviction; though Lord Leitrim might object to "every part of it, from the title downwards;" and though Lord Clancarty might cry out that "it was a bill of pains and penalties against the Irish landlord." The second reading passed without a division, though the Opposition declared their intention of making serious alterations in committee. Committee, indeed, is the proper battle-ground—the only possible battle-ground—for a bill of this nature. A bill may be rejected on the second reading when it is a bill of one principle, definite and unmistakable; but the Irish Land Bill had three principles at least, according to Mr. Gladstone's enumeration; and according to the Lord Chancellor's, it had six. To reject it on the second reading, therefore, would have been to reject not one principle, but three, or even six, which, as the Houseof Commons was not composed entirely of Mr. Henleys, nor the House of Lords of Lord Leitrims, was hardly possible.

In committee the Duke of Richmond appeared much more hostile than he had appeared on the second reading. He carried, by 92 to 71—not large numbers, considering

the importance of the question and the number of the Peers who actually compose the House—a most important amendment, reducing the scale of compensation for eviction. He demanded that the full scale of seven years' rent should only be awarded in the case of holdings under £4 a year—not under £10, as the Government figure stood; and the rest of the compensation clause was altered by him in a similar spirit. Of the other amendments carried by him, the most notable were—one which forbade a tenant to claim compensation if he had "assigned," *i.e.* let, his farm to another, without the landlord's approval; another, which aroused a feeling of indignation in many hearts, forbade a tenant to let gardens to his labourers under penalty of losing the protection of the Act; another was the same as that which he had given notice of at the time of the second reading. Two other amendments of great importance were also carried—one, by Lord Salisbury, fixing £50, instead of £100, as the maximum rental under which a tenant might claim compensation for eviction; and one, by Lord Clanricarde, removing the legal presumption which the bill had declared was to be in favour of the tenant, and providing that all claims for compensation for improvements should be proved by actual evidence. But before the bill was finally sent down to the Commons, the chances of a collision between the two Houses, which seemed threatening, were very much lessened by the spontaneous reversal by the Lords of many of their own amendments. In particular, that of Lord Salisbury—which he had carried in defiance of the nominal chief of his party; and which, if persisted in, would have robbed the measure of half its force—was withdrawn. In the end, the only one of the Lords' amendments which was allowed to remain in the bill was that which assured to the landlord a modified veto on his tenant's right to assign; and with this alteration the bill was read for the third time. It received the royal assent on the 1st of August—a memorable day in the history of emancipation; and thus this measure, so novel in principle, so bold and yet so temperate in design, took its place among the laws of the United Kingdom. To say that it had much immediate effect in quieting the temper of the Irish people would be untrue; but it must be remembered that the bitterness of centuries is not cured in a year.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 Introduced by Mr. Forster The existing state of Education described Deficiencies in the System—The Union and the League Mr. Forster's Speech—Inspection to be no longer Denominational The Conscience Clause Power to compel attendance Machinery of School Boards How to be elected School Fees and School Rates The Twenty-fifth Clause—Religious Teaching in Board Schools—The Bill is Favourably received as a whole Mr Dixon moves an Amendment to the Second Reading Speech of Mr Winterbotham He advocates Secular Education Mr Dixon's Amendment withdrawn The Bill in Committee—The Government accepts Mr. Cowper Temple's Amendment—Other Amendments—The Bill read a Third Time and passed—Is carried through the House of Lords, and becomes law.

Two days after the introduction of the Irish Land Bill, on the 17th of February, Mr. Forster, the Vice-President of the Council, brought in his Elementary Education Bill, a measure which, fair as were its opening prospects, was destined ultimately to become far more of a bone of contention in England than any Irish question. Mr. Forster had kept his secret admirably. It was, of course, known that the Government had pledged themselves to deal with the Education question during the session, and that the construction of an Education Bill had been long ago entrusted to Mr. Forster. As the Radical member for Bradford, Mr. Forster had many times proved his Liberal principles, and had already gained the respect and attention of the House before taking office. His vigorous Yorkshire character, his capacity for hard work, and his known ability, seemed to point him out as specially fitted to deal with the vexed and intricate problem of National Education. But how was he going to deal with it? What line was the Government, as represented by him, about to take up with regard to the great questions of free education, compulsion, and State aid to denominational schools? The London newspapers guessed in vain. No one out of the Cabinet had any idea of the provisions of the bill before the night of the 17th of February, when Mr. Forster disclosed his scheme to a crowded House. His speech, as a speech, was perhaps a greater success than any he had achieved before. Perfect mastery of his subject gave a freedom and self-possession to his manner in which it had sometimes been wanting, and his whole demeanour was that of a man who had gone to the bottom of a great question, and who felt himself to be the most competent person to lead the opinion of the House and the country to a satisfactory decision with regard to it.

Before describing the means by which the Government hoped to effect a radical change in the educational condition of the country, it may be as well to glance over the system of National Education as it existed at the time of Mr. Forster's speech. "In no other country," said an able contemporary article in the *Quarterly Review*, "is primary education provided for as it is in England. Whether children in England shall go to school or not is optional. Whether a parish shall have a school or not for them to go to depends here (but in no other country) on whether any benevolent person will come forward and establish one by himself or with the assistance of his neighbours. In either case he may have help from the State. . . . The subscription of the State (to the school) is not otherwise different from that of any other subscriber than in its being *conditional*. It has no power over the school *as a State*, but only as a subscriber. If its annual subscription were withdrawn, its power would cease." And again, "It is only during the last twenty-five or thirty years that *voluntary efforts* for the education of the people and the action of the State have been brought into presence of one another, and that the State has come to the help of education. Its relations to it are necessarily difficult, especially as regards its religious objects. The early policy of the Committee of Council experienced frequent discomfitures, and the existence of more than one Administration was perilled by it." The whole system of National Education in England, then, before the Act of 1870, was a matter of voluntary effort. In bygone ages,

Greek philosophy had held the education of children to be one of the most essential duties of the State as such—a duty which could not be relegated to private hands, and which the State was bound to conduct with reference to the general welfare of the community. In more modern times, Prussia had recognised this political view of education, and had made the training of every Prussian child a State matter. In England alone, with her over-fondness for self-government, and her love for the system of local provision for local needs, voluntaryism remained intact; and the education of the poor was left wholly at the discretion and in the hands of their richer and more intelligent neighbours. Voluntary effort must come first; then, indeed, State help would follow in the shape of Building Grants or Annual Grants, coupled with the condition of Government inspection; but in all cases the help given by the State had to be called forth by the prior voluntary action of some particular individual or some particular neighbourhood. It had long been felt that the results of this system were most unsatisfactory and inadequate; and as the Reform question advanced, and political enfranchisement had to be yielded step by step to the working classes, the gross and widespread ignorance prevailing among the lower orders began to force itself more and more strongly upon the attention of the country. Mr. Lowe only expressed the general feeling in a bitter and cynical way when, after the passing of the Reform Bill of '67, he pointed out the power which it had conferred upon the working-man, and uttered the now famous phrase, "Let us educate our masters!" The amount of educational destitution existing in England in 1870 may be roughly gathered from the following statistics. From the Census of 1851, it appeared that about one-fourth of the population of England were of an age to go to school—that is to say, from the ages of three to thirteen or four to fourteen. In 1870 the population of England was twenty-one millions, so that about five millions and a half of children would be of what is technically called the school age. Of these, 23 per cent. had to be allowed for as absent from school from allowable causes, such as sickness; half a million were at school for the upper or middle classes; and rather less than two millions and a half of the remaining three and a half millions were actually at school. There remained about one million one hundred thousand children who were not at school at all. Nor did this represent by any means the whole extent of the deficiency. Of the two and a half millions represented as actually at school, only a very small proportion indeed could possibly derive real benefit from the education offered them, because, as was abundantly proved by statistics, far the greater number of children were removed from school before their twelfth year—that is to say, before the age when the average child, much more the child of poor and uneducated parents, becomes capable of anything like lasting and profitable learning. This evil of short-lived and irregular attendance had been increasing during the years preceding 1870 rather than diminishing, and it was admitted on all hands to form one of the most serious elements of the educational difficulty. With regard to local deficiencies, especially to the educational needs of our large towns, let Mr. Forster speak for himself. "It is calculated," he said, "that in Liverpool the number of children between five and thirteen who ought to receive an elementary education is 80,000; but, as far as we can make out, 20,000 of them attend no school whatever, while at least another 20,000 attend schools where they get an education not worth having. In Manchester—that is, in the borough of Manchester, not including Salford—there are about 65,000 children who might be at school; and of this number, 16,000 go to no school at all. . . . As a Yorkshireman, I am sorry to say that, from what I hear, Leeds appears to be as bad as Liverpool; and so also, I fear, is Birmingham." The educational need, then, could scarcely be denied, though extreme Conservatives, like Lord Robert Montagu, might attempt to palliate it. But the question of "how is this need to be supplied?" admitted of very different answers; and opinion was indeed divided into at least two hostile camps with regard to it, represented by the National Education Union and the famous Birmingham League. The avowed object of both was "to bring a good education within the reach of every child in the country." But the Union proposed to accomplish this by means of the existing system, supplemented and reformed; the League, on the contrary, aimed at the destruction of the existing system, and at the gradual erection of something wholly different upon its ruins. The Union desired, above all things, to keep education in England denominational and founded upon religious teaching; while the League asserted strongly that education ought to be wholly undenominational, that State aid should only be given to secular instruction, and that religion should be provided by the voluntary efforts of all religious sects, the Church of England included. The doctrines of the League were supported inside the House of Commons by men like Mr. Mundella, Mr. Dixon, and Mr. Fawcett; and outside it, by the bulk of the Dissenting communities, who saw in the programme of the League a protest against the undisputed supremacy of the Church in education. On the other hand, the sequel showed that the partisans of the more moderate policy advocated by the Union had Mr. Forster himself in the main on their side, a large majority (both Liberals and Conservatives) in the House, and the whole influence and power of the Church of England. The Church talked of her "claims," and pointed triumphantly to the work done by her, and by her alone, in the cause of education; while the Dissenters complained of grievances, accused the clergy of intentional violations of the Conscience Clause then existing, and professed to regard their zeal for education as a mere cloak for widespread projects of priestly aggrandisement. Between these contending factions Mr. Forster had to take his stand, and to frame a bill which should if possible satisfy both. Many sanguine persons, perhaps even Mr. Forster himself, imagined that it *was* possible to content both, and that the quarrel was in a great measure one of words. Time, alas! has brought out only too plainly the strength and bitterness of the feelings involved in the dispute.

We cannot do better than let Mr. Forster describe his bill mainly in his own words. The first problem, then, to

be solved, said the Vice-President of the Council, was this: "How can we cover the country with good schools?" The answer to this must be influenced by three considerations—considerations of the duties of parents to their children, of the duty of the Government to the taxpayer, and of the duty of every educational reformer to those who were already labouring in the cause of education, and to the system which they, at great cost, had built up and supported. That is to say, "in solving this problem, there must be, consistently with the attainment of our object, the least possible expenditure of public money, the utmost endeavour not to injure existing and efficient schools, and the most careful absence of all encouragement to parents to neglect their children." The principles upon which the present bill is founded, he continued, "are two in number—legal enactment that there shall be efficient schools everywhere throughout the kingdom; and compulsory provision of such schools, if and where needed, but not unless proved to be needed. So much for the principles of the bill. Coming now to the actual provisions by which they are to be enforced, it will suggest itself to the minds of all that there must be to begin with a system of organisation throughout the country. We take care that the country shall be properly mapped and divided so that its wants may be duly ascertained. For this we take present known divisions and declare them to be school districts, so that upon the passing of this bill there will be no portion of England or Wales not included in one school district or another. We have taken the boundaries of boroughs as regards towns, and parishes as regards the country,—and when I say parish, I mean the civil parish, and not the ecclesiastical district. With regard to the metropolis, we have come to the conclusion, subject to the counsel and advice of the Metropolitan members, that the best districts we can take in the metropolis are, where they exist, the school districts already formed for workhouse schools; and where they do not exist, the boundaries of the vestries. Having thus got our districts, our next duty is to ascertain their educational condition, and for that

PROFESSOR HENRY FAWCETT, M.P.

purpose we take power to collect returns which will show us what in each district is the number of schools, of scholars, and of children requiring education. We also take power to send down inspectors and officers to test the quality of the schools and of the education given in them. Then if in any one of these districts we find the elementary education to be sufficient in quantity, efficient in quality, and suitable in character, that is to say, hampered by no religious or other restriction to which parents can reasonably object, we leave that district alone; and we shall continue to leave it alone so long as it fulfils those conditions. And I may as well state, that for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of a district, we count all schools that will receive our inspectors, whether private or public, whether aided or unaided by Government, whether secular or denominational."

MR. W. E. FORSTER, M.P.
(From a Photograph, by permission of Messrs. Elliott and Fry.)

Here Mr. Forster, before describing in detail the means by which districts insufficiently supplied with schools were to be sufficiently supplied, proceeded first of all to explain an important change in the character of Government inspection to be introduced by the bill. "Hitherto," he said, "the inspection has been denominational; we propose that it should no longer be so." The reasons for this change were indeed obvious. In the first place, under the then existing system, an invidious distinction was kept up between Church inspectors and inspectors of other denominations—the Church inspectors alone having the right to inquire into the teaching of *doctrines* in any school. Thus both sides were in many cases aggrieved. Clergymen complained that their school-children were subjected to examination in religious doctrine by an inspector whose religious views differed from their own, while a Wesleyan or an Independent school could not be subjected to any such examination at all. On the other hand, the Dissenters were justly irritated by a distinction which seemed to imply that their peculiar tenets were not, and could not be, recognised by the State, in the same way as the doctrines of the Church. The denominational character of the inspection also very much complicated the whole system of inspection, introducing many practical difficulties into the division of inspecting districts, and so on.

In consideration of all these objections, and believing that the existing system was favourable neither to religion in general nor to the Church cause in particular, "we propose," said Mr. Forster, "that, after a limited period,

one of the conditions of public elementary schools shall be, that they shall admit any inspector *without any denominational provision.*"

The next provision of the bill concerned the framing of a stringent conscience clause, to be accepted by every elementary denominational school before public money would be granted to it. There had been at one time strong opposition on the part of a fraction of the Church party to any conscience clause whatever. It became evident, however, several months before the introduction of the Education Bill, that public opinion, both lay and clerical, was strengthening in its favour, and the adoption of a conscience clause into the programme of the National Education Union virtually settled the matter. The Conscience Clause in the bill of 1870 ran as follows:—

"No scholar shall be required, as a condition of being admitted into or of attending or of enjoying all the benefits of the school, to attend or to abstain from attending any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship, or to learn any such catechism or religious formulary, or to be present at any such lesson or instruction or observance as may have been objected to on religious grounds, by the parent of the scholar sending his objection in writing to the managers or principal teacher of the school, or one of them."

By far the most practical objection which had been made to a conscience clause, had been that it would be in reality of little or no use in any case where the clergyman or other manager of a school should be bent on setting it aside. "That, however," said Mr. Forster, "is not the view that I have formed from my personal experience. In the first place, I do not know any case in which our present conscience clause has been applied in which it has not been found thoroughly effective; but our new clause will be different in this important respect, that whereas the old clause was applicable only in some cases to building grants, the new one will apply to all grants, and especially to all annual grants. It is perfectly clear in its operation, and I am quite sure that no manager of a school will risk the loss of the annual grant by violating its conditions."

Experience, however, has since shown that a clever and zealous manager of a denominational school can invent ingenious ways of evading the conscience clause, which have more than once proved extremely perplexing to the Education Department.

Mr. Forster went on to state that every opportunity would be afforded to the upholders of the voluntary system, to do what was necessary for themselves, and thus avoid the interference of Government. "We have said," he continued, "that we must have provision for public elementary schools. The first question, then, is, by whom is it to be made? Now here for a time we shall test the voluntary zeal of the district. Not only do we not neglect voluntary help, but, on condition of respecting the rights of parents and the rights of conscience, we welcome it. To see, then, whether voluntary help will be forthcoming, we give a year to test the zeal and willingness of any volunteers who may be disposed to help; but we ought not to give longer time, because we cannot afford to wait." If, therefore, the educational need had not been met in any given district by voluntary effort at the expiration of the year of grace, the State would step in and supply the deficiency. The next point was one of great importance. The bill admitted the principle of compulsion, so often attacked as un-English; and in certain districts and under certain conditions, compulsory education was in future to be enforced. It will be seen that Mr. Forster was subsequently obliged to defend himself from the charge of timidity and half-heartedness in this matter of compulsion. Having gone so far, it was asked, why not go farther; and having once admitted the justice of the principle of compulsion, why not make it the general law of the land, instead of allowing its application to depend upon the caprice of individual school boards who might adopt it here and there? No doubt since 1870 compulsory education has gained greatly in public opinion, and, as in the case of the Ballot, people are prepared to welcome what they once denounced; but it may be doubted whether this would have been the case had Mr. Forster proceeded on a different plan, and adopted compulsion wholesale to begin with. England is a country of gradual changes; and the principle of compulsion in education is all the more likely to rule the future from having been put on its trial for a few years in isolated instances.

The machinery of school boards—the newest and most prominent feature in the bill—by means of which education was to be provided by the State where voluntaryism failed, had next to be explained to the House. For the Government did not propose to educate the nation by means of an enormous and omnipotent central department. This would indeed have been un-English, for local action and self-government have been throughout English history the mainstays of English life. Local resources were still to supply local wants, but they were to be made to do this in a far more effective, systematic, and public manner than heretofore. "Voluntary local action," said Mr. Forster, "has failed, therefore our hope is to invoke the help of municipal organisation. Where we have proved the educational need, we supply it by local administration—*that is, by means of rates, aided by money voted by Parliament, expended under local management, with central inspection and control.* . . . Undoubtedly this proposal will affect a large portion of the kingdom. I believe it will affect almost all the towns and a great part of the country."

With regard to the area of the school districts, Mr. Forster had already indicated the boundaries established by the bill. In the provinces, the parish was to be looked upon as the unit of area—the Government, of course, reserving to itself the power of throwing two or more parishes together if necessary—rather than the union, as being smaller, more convenient, and freer from practical difficulties. In London, the existing school districts were to be taken; and where these did not exist, the boundaries of vestries. And in every school district where the voluntary system had proved inadequate to meet the educational demand, a *school board* was to be

elected—that is to say, a body of responsible and official persons, whose business it would be to provide sufficient and suitable education for the whole district over which their power extended. "But the next question that arises is—How are we to elect our school boards in the provinces (London having been already provided with school boards under a previous bill), and whom are they to elect? Now, first, who is to elect? Well, the electoral body we have chosen for the towns is the Town Council. I do not think there can be much dispute upon that point. In the country, we have taken the best body we can find—the Select Vestry where there is one, and a Vestry where there is no Select Vestry. Secondly—Whom are they to elect?" The answer to this was very simple. The electors were to choose whom they thought fit without limitation of choice; but there was to be a limit of numbers. The school board was to consist of never less than three nor more than twelve members. Mr. Forster had come to the conclusion that it was not desirable to add *ex officio* members to the board, thinking very rightly that "the very men fit to be *ex officio* members would come in with greater influence and almost equal certainty if subjected to popular election." Nor were the boards to be saddled with Government nominees—a proceeding which would make the Government responsible for the failures as well as the successes of any given board. The Government only reserved to itself the rights of a final Court of Appeal, in any case where the work of the board was either carelessly done, or done in opposition to the spirit of the Act. In any such case, the Government claimed a right to step in and manage the district for as long as it thought fit.

The important question of school fees, important in one way to the poor parent and in another to the taxpayer, came next to be considered. The Government, however, said Mr. Forster, had no intention of making elementary education in England free. In the first place, such a change could only be effected at the cost of a great sacrifice to the country—a sacrifice of some six or seven hundred thousand pounds yearly—an amount which it might fairly be calculated would be reached by the parents' pence under the new scheme. And in the second place, supposing that the country were ready to undertake the sacrifice, the framers of the bill were, on general principles, wholly averse to it. To relieve the parent of all payment for his children's education, would be, said Mr. Forster, to weaken the sense of parental obligations in him, and to pauperise those who had hitherto kept themselves free from the taint of pauperism. Some provision, however, was to be made for extreme poverty, and real inability to pay school fees was in no case to prove a bar to any child's education. "We take two powers," said the speaker. "We give the school board power to establish special free schools under special circumstances, which chiefly apply to large towns, where, from the exceeding poverty of the district, or for other very special reasons, they prove to the satisfaction of the Government that such a school is needed and ought to be established. . . . We also empower the school board to give free tickets to parents who, they think, cannot really afford to pay for the education of their children; and we take care that those free tickets shall have no stigma of pauperism attached to them. We do not give up the school fees, and, indeed, we keep to the present proportions—namely, of about one-third raised from the parents, one-third out of the public taxes, and one-third out of local funds. Where the local funds are not raised by voluntary subscription, the rates will come into action." A question of rates is always, as Mr. Forster went on to say, treading on delicate ground, but the future education rate need alarm no one. Should it ever exceed threepence in the pound—a most unlikely event—Government would step in with a "very considerable extra grant out of the parliamentary votes." And the education rate would save the prison rate and the pauper rate, and might thus prove the most hopeful and satisfactory of all economies.

With regard to the other powers to be granted to school boards, they were, first of all, to be allowed the choice of two alternative courses. Either they might meet the need of a particular district by providing extra schools of their own, or they might supply it by assisting and extending existing schools. But supposing they decided upon the latter alternative, they were to exercise their right in no prejudiced or limited manner. "If they do go on the principle of assisting, they must assist *all schools on equal terms*. They may not pick out one particular denomination and say, 'We shall assist you, but not the others.'" To this part of the bill belonged the afterwards famous 25th clause, by which school boards were enabled to pay the fees of indigent children at denominational schools out of the rates—a point which has been attacked with equal ardour by the liberal philosophers of the *Fortnightly Review*, the members of the Birmingham League, the Dissenters generally, and all other advocates of secular education. For these last Mr. Forster held out no word of hope. Speaking of the restrictions which ought or ought not to be laid upon school managers with regard to religion, he denied the existence of any real religious difficulty at all, the great plea of the secularists. Or rather, he held that there was a theoretical difficulty, which might occur to and perplex an honest man in his study, but no practical difficulty which would affect the parents and children considered by the bill. The bill decreed that no restriction was to be laid upon school managers with regard to religion. If the neighbourhood which elected them chose, they might leave religious teaching altogether alone, but they certainly should not be *forbidden*, in any case, to teach or to explain the Bible. "Now just look," said the speaker, "at the age of the children with whom we have to deal. The great majority of them are probably under ten years of age. . . . We want a good secular teaching for these children, a good Christian training, and good schoolmasters. It may be said, that as these children can hardly be supposed to require doctrinal or dogmatic teaching to any great extent, 'Why do you not then prescribe that there should be no doctrinal teaching—why not, in the first place, prescribe that there shall be no religious teaching at all?' Why do we not prescribe

that there shall be no religious teaching? Why, if we did so, out of the religious difficulty we should come to an irreligious difficulty! . . . If we are to prevent religious teaching altogether, we must say that the Bible shall not be used in schools at all. But would it not be a monstrous thing that the book which, after all, is the foundation of the religion we profess, should be the only book that was not allowed to be used in our schools? It may be said that we ought to have no dogmatic teaching. But how are we to prevent it? Are we to step in and say the Bible may be read, but may not be explained? Are we to pick out Bible lessons with the greatest care, in order that nothing of a doctrinal character may be taught to the children?" A hard and thankless labour indeed, but one which the Government would undertake were it convinced that such was the wish of the country. But it was convinced, on the contrary, that the country wished no such thing; and in no case could such a matter be *satisfactorily* undertaken or discharged by the central government. In fact, the framers of the bill felt confident that the religious difficulty would turn out to be one of words and theories only. "Get your school boards together," they said; "give them the practical work to do of providing efficient secular education, and you will see that at the same time they will find ways and means of managing the religious education satisfactorily also. Put the fiercest of controversialists to the practical handling of details, and he will soon find that the imaginary parent possessed by an imaginary hatred of all religion, or a stubborn and exclusive preference for one form of religious teaching rather than another, is almost wholly the creature of his own fancy; and that the so-called religious difficulty is a phantom which vanishes before the open work-a-day atmosphere of facts." We shall have to describe the many arguments brought forward against this view presently, when we come to the speeches of Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Dixon, and others. Certainly the religious difficulty has turned out to be no phantom, at least if we may take the heat and clamour with which it has been since discussed as evidences of its reality. But whether the question can ever be solved, as the League proposes to solve it, by the adoption of a purely secular national education, leaving the several denominations to provide their own religious instruction, admits at least of considerable doubt, when a country, which is at bottom now, as always, so serious and so religious as this Teutonic, Puritan England of ours, has to be dealt with.

Having now described the school districts, the school boards, and the various minor arrangements connected with them, Mr. Forster came finally to the important question of "attendance." In other words, "Having got our schools, how are we to get the children to come to them in anything like sufficient numbers, and with anything like sufficient regularity?" In his answer to this, Mr. Forster enlarged upon the direct compulsion permitted by the bill. The Short Time Acts, on which so many depended for securing the attendance of children, would no doubt contribute greatly to that object, and they might be so amended as to render them still more effectual. But the difficulty could not be met by their aid alone, and compulsory attendance was therefore to be resorted to, though, as we said before, only in a limited and partial degree. "What we do in the Act," said Mr. Forster, "is no more than this. We give power to the school boards to frame bye-laws for the compulsory attendance of all children within their district from five to twelve. They must see that no parent is under a penalty—which is restricted to 5s.—for not sending his child to school if he can show reasonable excuse,—reasonable excuse being either education elsewhere, or sickness, or some unavoidable cause, or there not being a public elementary school within a mile. These bye-laws are not to come into operation unless they are approved by the Government, and unless they have been laid on the table of this and the other House of Parliament forty days, and have not been dissented from."

Having thus described his bill, with every detail of which he had shown himself perfectly familiar, Mr. Forster concluded in words of genuine and sincere enthusiasm, which could not but awaken the sympathy of all who had listened to him. They were as follows:—

"Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity. It is of no use trying to give technical teaching to our artisans without elementary education; uneducated labourers—and many of our labourers are utterly uneducated—are, for the most part, unskilled labourers; and if we leave our work-folk any longer unskilled, notwithstanding their strong sinews and determined energy, they will become overmatched in the competition of the world. Upon this speedy provision depends also, I fully believe, the good, the safe working of our constitutional system. To its honour, Parliament has lately decided that England shall in future be governed by popular government. I am one of those who would not wait until the people were educated before I would trust them with political power. If we had thus waited, we might have waited long for education; but now that we have given them political power, we must not wait any longer to give them education. There are questions demanding answers, problems which must be solved, which ignorant constituencies are ill-fitted to solve. Upon this speedy provision of education depends also our national power. Civilised communities throughout the world are massing themselves together, each mass being measured by its force; and if we are to hold our position among men of our own race or among the nations of the world, we must make up the smallness of our numbers by increasing the intellectual force of the individual.

"But there are many men, I doubt not many members of this House—and these not the least earnest to do their duty, or the least able to help their fellows—who are swayed, not so much by these general considerations, as by the condition of the individuals around them. Well, then, to these gentlemen let me say one word—I am not a fanatic in this matter of education; I know well that knowledge is not virtue—that no education, much less elementary education, gives power to resist temptation, is a safeguard against calamity; but we all know that want of education—that ignorance is weakness, and

that weakness in this hard struggling world generally brings misfortune—often leads to vice. Let us then each of us think of our own homes, of the villages in which we have to live, of the towns in which it is our lot to be busy; and do we not know child after child—boys or girls—growing up to probable crime, to still more probable misery, because badly taught or utterly untaught? Dare we, then, take on ourselves the responsibility of allowing this ignorance and this weakness to continue one year longer than we can help? Not doubting that these considerations will weigh with the House, as they have with the Government, I venture to submit this measure to the House, and therefore, Sir, I beg to move for leave to bring in a bill to provide for public elementary education in England and Wales."

The short debate which followed was extremely flattering to Mr. Forster personally. Liberal and Tory complimented the speech and the bill, regretting only that the framer should occupy what was nominally, at least, a subordinate position in the Ministry, and should speak as the Vice-President of the Council under its President, Lord de Grey, instead of as "the responsible Minister of Public Instruction." Scarcely a murmur of the coming struggle disturbed the amiability of the House, and on the morning of the 18th the newspapers were full of Mr. Forster and Mr. Forster's admirable bill. For a while it seemed as if the apparent concessions of the bill, and the conciliatory tone of its advocate, had silenced both the League and the Nonconformists, until a series of ominous articles in the *Daily News*—to be known henceforth as the organ of the secular party—dispelled the illusion, and a cloud of hostile talk and writing began to gather definitely round certain portions of the proposed Act. By the time the second reading arrived, all the world knew that the Government would find the passing of the measure by no means a matter of such plain sailing as had seemed likely at first. And the motion for the second reading was met, in fact, by a motion of Mr. Dixon's (member for Birmingham and founder of the League), to the effect, "That no measure for the elementary education of the people could afford a permanent and satisfactory settlement which left the important question of religious instruction to be determined by the local authorities." Mr. Forster might well point out with some warmth that the success of such an amendment at the present stage of matters could have no other effect than to throw out both the bill and the Government. Such a question, he argued, should be discussed in committee; only when approached in detail could the religious difficulty be either satisfactorily debated or satisfactorily settled. "Unsectarian education"—which, however, throughout he carefully distinguished from secular education—he thought not at all difficult to reach in practice, though extremely hard to define, and personally he strongly supported it. But unsectarian education could never be attained by definite and minute legislation. "Surely," he said, "the time will come when we shall find out how we can agree better on these matters; when men will discover that on the main questions of religion they agree, and that they can teach them in common to their children. Shall we cut off from the future all hope of such an agreement, and say that all those questions which regulate our conduct in life and animate our hopes for the future after death, which form for us the standard of right and wrong—shall we say that all these are to be wholly excluded from our schools? . . . I confess I have still in my veins the blood of my Puritan forefathers, and I wonder to hear descendants of the Puritans talk of religion as if it were the property of any class or condition of men. The English people cling to the Bible, and no measure would be more unpopular than that which declares by Act of Parliament that the Bible shall be excluded from the schools!" Cut the knot of the religious difficulty in this way, and a far greater irreligious difficulty would be created. Instead of the few scores of individuals who might, were the bill passed in its present form, object to paying the school rate, multitudes would be found objecting to an education from which religion was left out. The greater part of Mr. Forster's speech consisted of an able appeal on behalf of local government as against central government. What the amendment proposed, he said, was to force the central government to adopt one rigid line of policy, regardless of all the varying circumstances and wishes of the different localities, the result of which could only be to produce endless opposition and heart-burning. Under the bill, the will of the majority in any given neighbourhood would always take effect, whether that will was in favour of secular or religious education. "What more, then, can my hon. friend the member for Birmingham (Mr. Dixon) and his friends of the Education League desire than they obtain in this bill? With the exception of the principle of free schools, which I think does not meet with much acceptation, there is no principle adopted by the League which cannot be carried out in any locality where the majority of the population desire it; and surely my hon. friend does not wish to push his educational dogmas down the throats of the majority. But wherever the majority believe in his dogmas, they can carry them out. . . . I ask him not to press his amendment to a division, because I cannot bear the thought that this which I believe to be one of the strongest Radical measures which could be proposed, should pass the second reading in the face of Radical opposition. It is a bill in framing which we have endeavoured to carry out two principles—the most perfect protection to the parent, and the security of the most complete fairness and impartiality in the treatment of all religious denominations. If, in order to carry out these principles, it is necessary to amend the provisions of this bill, that must be done." Only let the House set its face against any abstract proposition like the present amendment. In committee would be the place and time to discuss the several points as they arose, fairly and calmly, and to take the sense of the House upon the religious question detail by detail.

The second night of the debate upon the second reading was marked by an effective and brilliant speech, in behalf of secular education, from Mr. Winterbotham, the young Liberal and Nonconformist member for Stroud. All the

opinions and prejudices which the great majority of the House had been accustomed to consider as the mere vulgar talk of back-alley Dissent, they were now to hear expressed in logical and forcible English by a man of liberal culture and large experience, who, while freeing himself from what were regarded as the worst and most narrowing influences of the Nonconformist creed, was yet true to all its main articles, and unfeignedly proud of being a Dissenter. Mr. Winterbotham began by expressing a wish that the Education Bill had been deferred a session or two. The country, in his opinion, was not yet ripe for thorough educational reform. Still the Government had thought otherwise; a great bill was now before them, and it was the business of every Liberal member to make up his mind respecting it. "We complain, then, first," said he, "that by this bill the school board in each district is left to determine the kind of religious instruction to be given in the schools founded by them. We say this is shirking the difficulty, not settling it; that the point ought to be determined by Parliament, and not feebly left to be fought over every year in every parish in the land. . . . The result will be this: In the towns, either the schools will be unsectarian, or existing denominational schools will divide the rate under Clause 22; in the rural parishes, the schools will belong exclusively to the Church of England, and the rate will go, under Clause 22, in aid of the present national schools, where they exist—that is, the school remaining as purely a denominational private school, as at present, the rates will be in lieu of subscriptions." That is to say, the existing denominational system already so repugnant to the Nonconformists was to receive an indefinite expansion; "and I do assure the Government," said Mr. Winterbotham warmly, "that they could not have devised a surer means of alienating their warmest friends!" It was not the proselytising teaching of the Church school so much that was feared. Mr. Winterbotham personally thought that the conscience clause proposed would sufficiently protect the children of Dissenters. "But why, you ask, are we not content with this? I will try to explain why. To understand our strong repugnance to these denominational schools, the House must patiently bear with me while I show them shortly what is the attitude of Dissent towards the Church, especially in rural districts. And to understand this, you must consider what is the attitude of the Church to us." And here for once the feeling of the House went wholly with Mr. Winterbotham in his indignant description of a charge delivered in 1863 by

MR. MUNDELLA, M.P.

ATTACK ON THE ENGLISH TRAVELLERS BY THE GREEK BRIGANDS.

Dr. Wilberforce, then Bishop of Winchester, the substance of which was repeated in another subsequent charge delivered at Oxford. In it occurred the famous passage to which Mr. Winterbotham now drew public attention for the first time, in which the Bishop, speaking of the evil of country parishes, denounced "beer-houses, *Dissent*, and overcrowded cottages as the three chief obstacles to the moral and religious progress of the people." Certainly an unfortunate classification, and one which, often as the friends of Dr. Wilberforce have tried to explain it away, has never ceased to rankle in the minds of the Nonconformists. "I am not concerned," said Mr. Winterbotham, "to question the charity or decency of such language in the mouth of a Christian minister. But I put it to every candid man who hears me, as a question strictly pertaining to the question before us—Is it in human nature not to resent this prelatical insolence? And when Dr. Wilberforce goes on to inculcate, as a remedy, more distinctive Church teaching in the schools, especially infant schools, however absurd this may seem, is it altogether unreasonable in us to be unwilling to send our children to be educated by men who act on such principles?" He was willing and glad to acknowledge that such was not the universal temper of the Church. If all the bishops were Temples or Thirlwalls, the Nonconformists would have little to complain of. But in general the attitude of the Church towards Dissent was one of dislike and contempt. "Dissent, in many rural parishes, is treated like the cattle-plague—to be stamped out." A state of things for which the clergy are not wholly to blame, but which arises out of the primary fact of an Established Church. For, by the law of the land, no less than of the Church, one man, and one man only, is recognised as the authorised religious teacher of the parish; all others are interlopers and trespassers on his spiritual domain. The High Church Revival, too, had done its part in stereotyping and strengthening this view of things in the mind of the Churchman, so that reconciliation seemed now impossible. What, then, is the natural result of this state of affairs? asked Mr. Winterbotham, and his own answer to the question is a remarkable one. "Side by side with this (the High Church Revival) there has grown up among the Dissenters an ever-increasing impatience of religious inequality, and an ever-deepening hatred of priestcraft and episcopal assumption in all their forms. The habits of independence, self-government, and free thought are growing ever stronger among us, and we cannot brook the assumption of superiority, whether tolerant or intolerant, which is all we generally receive from the clergy of the Established Church. Hence alienation, an absence of co-operation in social and philanthropic objects, a habit of watchful jealousy, a readiness—I confess it—to take offence, sometimes irritation, occasionally even open strife—these are the normal relations of Dissent to the Church in many parishes in this land." True, society could not be changed, at least not in a moment; but why make it worse? Why introduce a fresh element of discord, such as the Education Bill in its present form must inevitably prove, into a situation already so embittered. Speaking for himself, and for many of his fellow-Dissenters, Mr. Winterbotham disclaimed any wish to see the downfall of the Church; but were such a measure as this to pass, the Dissenters would have no alternative but to seek to destroy it altogether. What, then, did the Nonconformists want? "I avow it frankly—*secular education.* A national system of education for a people who do not agree, or who will not admit they agree, in their religious opinions must be secular." Mr. Winterbotham went on to maintain strongly that such a claim was in no way irreligious. Why should the tone of a secular school be irreligious, or the schoolmaster an irreligious man? "There is nothing in a secular school," he declared, "which should render it hostile to religious teaching; and there is no reason in the world why as good men and women should not be found teaching in secular schools as in denominational schools, exercising all the humanising influence of a wise and kindly Christian character." Even under the existing system, it was from the Sunday schools that the children really got what religious knowledge they possessed. And were secular education established, the voluntary Sunday school system, maintained by the ministers of the various denominations with their voluntary assistants, would be naturally and healthily developed to meet the additional want. Mr. Winterbotham warmly denied the truth of that part of Mr. Forster's speech in which the Nonconformists were accused, at least by implication, of indifference to the Bible. It is our only book, he said, our only authority. No creed, catechism, or liturgy is its rival; no Pope, Bishops, or Privy Council may interpret or override its decisions. It is strange indeed that we should be accused of indifference to it.

This able and vigorous spokesman of the Dissenters wound up his speech with a reproachful appeal to the Government. The Nonconformists, he urged, made up half the people of England—more than half the Liberal party. They had never refused help to a Liberal Government, nor had that help been coldly and grudgingly given. Liberals they were, and would remain. "Our difference on this point will not affect our general support of the Government. . . . Our allegiance is secure: you know it. The wrong can be committed with impunity; but not on that account—assuredly not on that account—will the injustice be less keenly felt, or less bitterly remembered!"

We have dwelt at length upon Mr. Winterbotham's speech, because it represented far better, and more vividly than anything else in the Education debates, the real feeling of the great Nonconformist party. It embodied their whole claim, and stated their whole grievance with singular sharpness and vigour. It went to the root of the question, and the Church party were fairly startled by the depth and bitterness of the feeling disclosed. The cultivated Churchman, or the philosophic essayist, might equally deplore the additional narrowness and heat imported by Mr. Winterbotham into the controversy upon Education, when he represented the question as so largely affected by social differences and social jealousies. But the fact remained, and subsequent

history has only brought out more clearly the unhappy and lamentable truth, that the difference between the Church and Dissent is, at least in many places throughout England, marked by the worst characteristics of a class quarrel. Such a speech as Mr. Winterbotham's could not but rouse the Churchmen of the House. The challenge was taken up in turn by Lord Robert Montagu, Mr. Beresford Hope, who thought it "impossible to conceive a speech worse timed, or struck in a more unfortunate key," and that Churchman of Churchmen, Sir Roundell Palmer, who rebuked the Dissenters through Mr. Winterbotham, not without some dignity and reason, for "inflaming the religious difficulty." He declared in decisive language, "that the views advocated by the member for Stroud were such as never could be accepted as the basis of a common system of national education by that portion of the people who belonged to the Established Church." He argued from "the broad facts of existing schools" that the mind of the country as a whole was strongly opposed to the principle of secular education, and in favour of that of religious education. On the other hand, Mr. Miall and Mr. Auberon Herbert spoke strongly in favour of the amendment; while Mr. Samuelson, also a member of the League, announced, as did Mr. Mundella on the third night of the debate, that, while approving heartily of the principle of the amendment, he should vote against it, believing that the advocates of unsectarian education should reserve all their strength for the amendment of the bill in committee, rather than risk, by such a motion as Mr. Dixon's, the indefinite postponement of the whole question. Mr. Lowe had, as usual, a witty remark to make upon the situation. It reminded him, he said, of a fine herd of cattle in a large meadow, deserting the grass which was abundant all about them, and delighting themselves by fighting over a bed of nettles in the corner of the field—the bed of nettles being, of course, the religious difficulty. He denied altogether that the Government had "nailed their colours to the mast," and were determined to make no concessions. In fact, his cry was the same as Mr. Forster's: "Let us get into committee; then will be the time to make concessions on both sides." The third night of the debate was marked by several fine speeches. First of all came a clever, popular, *ad captandum* attack upon the Government by Mr. Vernon Harcourt. He returned Mr. Lowe's hard hits with others equally hard, and drew an amusing picture of the municipal elections of the future, when the bill had introduced into them the fatal element of religious disagreement. Mr. Mundella and Mr. Jacob Bright took up the middle position of voting against the amendment for conscience' sake, the speech of the former being memorable for its moderation and fairness of tone. Conservative speakers like Sir Charles Adderley were, of course, strong in their denunciations of Mr. Dixon's proposal; but though the Government was sure of its majority, it was thought politic not to alienate its Radical supporters by allowing the question to proceed to a division. Mr. Gladstone rose to play the part of peacemaker—which, indeed, was his *rôle* throughout the Education debates—and promised large concessions on the three important points of compulsion, the election of school boards, and the relation of religious to secular teaching. With this promise the recalcitrant Liberals professed to be contented. Mr. Dixon withdrew his amendment, and the bill was allowed to pass the second reading.

Except for an occasional question and answer as to the meaning of certain portions of the bill, the subject of Education was not again brought forward in the House till three months had passed away. That time was spent by the Education Office in a careful collection of statistics, in the preparation of reports, and in various other routine business. And by the statesmen in charge of the bill it was spent to great profit in observing and noting the true direction of public feeling on the matter. The general current of Liberal opinion was indeed unmistakable, and it was felt on all hands that concessions must be made to it in committee. And concessions indeed were made, so far as Mr. Forster considered the essential principles of the bill allowed. Mr. Gladstone opened the debates in committee by the announcement that the Government, while rejecting a motion of Mr. Vernon Harcourt's for "undenominational education," combined with "unsectarian instruction in the Bible," on the ground that such phrases were vague and unpractical, were prepared to accept Mr. Cowper-Temple's amendment, "to exclude from all rate-built schools every catechism and formulary distinctive of denominational creeds, and to sever altogether the connection between the local school boards and the denominational schools, leaving the latter to look wholly to the central grant for help." In consequence of this, the central grant to all schools, rate-built or voluntary, was to be increased from one-third to one-half the total cost. The remaining half was to be rates and school-pence in the case of board schools, and voluntary subscriptions and school-pence in the case of denominational schools. Mr. Disraeli, in reply, had a great deal to say with regard to this proposal, which he described as an "entirely new bill;" but the Government knew very well that at this particular juncture they had little to fear, and everything to hope, from the Conservatives, and the policy of the League was just now far more important to them than any skirmishing of Mr. Disraeli's. An amendment by Mr. Richards, to the effect that "in any national system of elementary education the attendance should be everywhere compulsory, and the religious teaching supplied by voluntary effort, and not out of public funds," provoked another long debate on the "religious difficulty," in which a few irreconcilable Conservatives joined with Mr. Winterbotham and Mr. Vernon Harcourt to harass the Government. Once more did Mr. Forster defend his position, winding up a practical and temperate speech with language unexpectedly determined. The Government, he said, meant to yield no more ground. "We have considered," he said, "the whole of the religious question, and we present the bill to the House in the form in which we think we must adhere to it." Upon the supporters of the amendment, should it be successful, must "rest the responsibility of defeating the bill, and

preventing the settlement of the Education question this year." Once more did Mr. Gladstone endeavour to pour oil on the troubled waters, promising that "effectual guarantees should be taken against the violation of conscience in rate-schools through the acts of a narrow or sectarian spirit," and pointing out to the Nonconformists that, in return for the great concession which was being made to them, in excluding all creeds and catechisms from rate-built schools, they owed some counterbalancing forbearance and consideration to the Church party, which felt as strongly as they, and had greater educational services to plead. But come what might, the Government would stand by their bill, and no more would be yielded. Mr. Richards' amendment, however, was thrown out by 421 to 60—figures which might well give the Government confidence. Nor were these proportions substantially altered in later divisions. The bill was carried through triumphantly, in spite of ardent Churchmen like Sir Stafford Northcote, who were strongly opposed to the Government concessions, no less than of Mr. Dixon and Mr. Jacob Bright. Night after night did Mr. Forster sit through the tedious debates, ready to answer every question and parry every attack, evincing throughout such unfailing good humour, combined with such unflinching determination, that the House was at once impressed and conciliated. Strong in the general support of the Conservatives, joined to that of the moderate Liberals, he defended his bill at every essential point, regardless of the telling and often bitter criticism of the League. Still certain important alterations were made before the bill became law; chiefly that the school boards were to be re-elected every three years; that the school rate was never to exceed threepence in the pound, and not to be levied under a distinct name; that the election of school boards should be on the cumulative principle—that is, that where each voter had a number of votes, he might bestow them all on a single candidate if he chose, instead of being compelled to divide them equally. Finally, after a debate of twenty-one days, the bill passed the third reading without a division, but amid the anathemas of both classes of irreconcilables. While Mr. Dixon pronounced that the Government had roused "the suspicion, distrust, and antagonism of some of their own most earnest supporters," Mr. Gathorne Hardy charged them with "inaugurating a system of hypocrisy, treachery, and baseness." Mr. Forster enjoyed the fate of all neutrals—of being heartily abused by both belligerents.

In the House of Lords the bill was well treated, the only important amendment being moved and carried by the Duke of Richmond, to the effect that vote by ballot should not extend to other than Metropolitan elections. With this alteration the bill passed through its last stages, and became law. History has not yet pronounced finally upon it, nor upon the indefatigable minister who carried it. The religious difficulty did not disappear with the passing of the bill, as was natural to a difficulty which, after all was primarily not religious, but social. The platforms of the League and the Union—of Nonconformity and the Established Church—were the platforms on which the first elections for school boards were fought; and nothing that has happened in subsequent years has tended to bring the differences into harmony. On the other hand, the Act has brought education within the reach of every English child, and "covered England with good schools."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Seizure of English Travellers in Attica by Greek Brigands: Negotiations for their Ransom: The Brigands demand an Amnesty before delivering up the Captives: Amnesty Refused: Conduct of the Greek Government: Troops moved up to Oropus: The Brigands murder four of the Captives: Great indignation in England: The matter is debated in Parliament—Naval and Military Estimates—The Budget—Bill to enable Clergymen to relinquish their Orders—Death of Sir Frederick Pollock—Of Lord Clarendon—Death of Charles Dickens: Sketch of his Career.

ALL minor legislative undertakings of the year, even the Land Bill and the Education Act themselves, were for the time wholly eclipsed and driven out of public memory by news which arrived in England, by telegraph, on the 22nd of April,—news fraught with personal loss and sorrow to many, and which roused throughout England generally a storm of grief and indignation. It had been known for some days past that a disgraceful outrage had been perpetrated upon English travellers in Greece; that four Englishmen—Lord Muncaster, Mr. Herbert (Secretary to the British Legation at Athens), Mr. Frederick Vyner, and Mr. Lloyd—together with the Secretary to the Italian Legation, Count de Boyl, had been captured by a band of Greek brigands, as they were returning to Athens, on the 11th of April, from an expedition to Marathon, and carried off into the mountains by the brigands. It was known also that Lord Muncaster had been sent back into Athens to get together the heavy ransom agreed upon (£25,000); that the English and Greek Governments were in constant communication upon the subject; and that the safety of the captives depended upon the attitude of the Greek Government towards the brigands, who had sworn that if any attempt at pursuit or recapture were made, they would instantly massacre all their prisoners. Still, though the public anxiety had been considerable, a prosperous issue out of the existing difficulty had been more or less confidently expected; after which, it was hoped that the English Foreign Office would know how to bring pressure to bear upon the Greek Government to induce the members of it to act with greater vigour and severity in the future towards that shame and scourge of Greece, the banditti which infest her mountains, and at that time threatened even her most civilised and populous districts. What, then, was the public horror and amazement when the mournful telegram of the 22nd of April arrived, bringing news of the murder of all their prisoners by the brigands, in consequence of the rash and inexplicable action of the Greek Government, who had sent out troops against them, after solemnly pledging themselves that nothing of the kind should be attempted. Bit by bit the sad story reached England, together with the last letters and last words of the victims, while the conduct of both the English and

Greek Government in the matter received abundant criticism and explanation in both Houses of Parliament. The motives of all persons concerned were made clear, and it became evident that the clue to the whole matter was to be found in the corrupt state of public feeling and political parties in Athens.

The facts, then, were these: On the morning of the 11th of April, a party of residents and tourists, comprising Lord and Lady Muncaster, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Vyner, Mr. Lloyd, his wife and child, and Count de Boyl, set out from Athens to visit the battle-field of Marathon, that famous crescent-shaped piece of flat sea-shore, where the destinies of Europe were once staked upon a single throw, and the "teeming East" received that decisive check, the importance of which to subsequent European history none can over-estimate. Modern research, guided by ancient records, has mapped out the battle-field for us; and the tourist may now wander over it if he likes map in hand, and identify for himself the various Greek and Persian positions. "That little plain," says an eminent modern traveller and geographer, "enclosed on three sides by the rocky arms of Parnes and Pentelicus, while the fourth is open to the sea, is the most characteristic of battle-fields. The mountains from which the Greeks descended, the shore along which the Persian ships were ranged, and the marshes at the two sides by which the invaders' movements were impeded, and which formed a prominent feature on the walls of the Pœcile at Athens, are all conspicuous. High above rises the summit of Pentelicus, from which the shield must have glistened in the sun, which, according to the report, was held up by the Alemæonidæ as a signal to the Persians." And he goes on to describe how even in the ancient days of Greece the sides of Pentelicus, and of the other mountains round Marathon, were infested by lawless and troublesome folk, who, "having nothing to lose by revolution," were always disturbing their quieter neighbours; so that the band of the Arvanitaki whose doings we are about to describe were but the last of a long line of marauders.

The gentlemen of the party before setting out had made stringent inquiries in Athens respecting the rumoured presence of brigands in the country round Marathon. Mr. Herbert had received official information to the effect that Attica was safe, and, the Government declared, perfectly free from brigands. Still, to guard against any possible danger, the Government engaged to send with them an escort of four mounted gendarmes, who were to be joined *en route* by others. Thus provided, they set out, and, after such a day as a party of cultivated people were likely to spend in such a place as Marathon, they were driving back to Athens in the warm spring evening. Only the four gendarmes were in sight of the carriage—two riding in front, and two behind; but the inmates knew that at least six foot-soldiers were a little way behind them, while it was rumoured that a further body of twenty-five soldiers had left Marathon in their wake, ready to render help if necessary. What followed may be described in the words of Mr. Erskine's despatch of the 12th of April to Lord Clarendon. "Just before they were to change horses," he says, "and as they were approaching the bridge of Pikermes, at about twelve or fourteen miles from Athens"—a romantic spot, where the road runs through a deep cleft between two hills, and where the high banks on either side, covered with wild olive-trees and arbutus, might well afford a tempting shelter to lurking banditti—"they were suddenly fired at from the brushwood bordering the road; and at the first discharge the two gendarmes in front fell, badly wounded, from their horses. The carriage then stopped, and the whole party were compelled to alight, and, with the two remaining mounted gendarmes, were hurried up the side of the mountain"—Mount Pentelicus, famous in old Greek days. In the midst of the general panic and uproar, the six foot-soldiers came up and opened fire on the brigands. But, alas! they were now too late, whatever their help might have been worth a few minutes earlier. The brigands—of whom Mr. Herbert counted at least twenty-one—had formed themselves into a compact square, of which their captain made the centre. Thus arranged, they retreated gradually under the fire of the soldiers, which must for some little time have placed the lives of the prisoners in the utmost danger. Seeing that they produced no effect, and fearing to injure those whom they had been ordered to protect, the soldiers at last discontinued the pursuit, and made off to Athens to give the alarm. The eight unfortunate travellers found themselves wholly at the mercy of this wild-looking band of black-browed men, who dragged them roughly up the slopes of Mount Pentelicus without any regard to the fatigue of the ladies and the strength of the little child who clung to them. At the top of the mountain a halt was made, and the ladies were told that they were to be immediately sent back to Athens, in a country cart which happened to be at hand. Ink and paper were supplied to Mr. Herbert, and he was peremptorily ordered to send by them to his friends in Athens a demand for the immediate payment of a ransom of £32,000. Driven by the countryman who owned the cart, the poor ladies—one of whom (Mrs. Lloyd) little knew that she had parted from her husband for the last time on earth—made their way back to Athens. "Soon after ten o'clock at night," says Mr. Erskine, "Lady Muncaster and Mrs. Lloyd drove up to Her Majesty's Legation, and gave me the details which I have now furnished to your lordship. I returned immediately to General Soutzos, and urged him to issue the most stringent orders against any further pursuit of the brigands by the troops, which he solemnly promised me should be done." On the morning of the 13th, a note, conveyed by one of the mounted gendarmes—who had been liberated at the same time as the ladies—reached Mr. Erskine from Takos, the chief of the brigands, saying that if in three days a sum of £50,000 was not forthcoming for the ransom of the "lords," and if all pursuit throughout the kingdom was not suspended, the prisoners would be put to death. In the course of the day Lord Muncaster arrived in the capital, sent by the brigands to negotiate for the ransom. He brought the same message. Let the troops once come into collision with the brigands, and the lives of all the captives would be at once

sacrificed. Mr. Erskine, of course, renewed the most strenuous representation to the Greek Government on the subject, and received in return from the Minister for War, General Soutzos, a solemn assurance that the brigands should remain unmolested till the prisoners were safely restored. General Soutzos treated the whole matter very lightly, would not allow for a moment that the lives of the prisoners were in any danger, and said that he had no doubt the amount demanded for their ransom might be considerably reduced, if their friends felt inclined to make any difficulty about it. No thought of bargaining

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with the brigands, however, entered Mr. Erskine's or Lord Muncaster's head, and the ransom was speedily collected with the help of the chief banker in Athens, who showed himself most active and efficient. But, alas! no sooner was the money forthcoming, and means of

transporting it secured, than a new element entered into the situation, and darkened the whole aspect of affairs. This was no less than a demand on the part of the brigands for a complete amnesty for all offences, not only for themselves, but also for such members of the band as had once belonged to it, but were now in prison. And should this fresh demand be refused, they again threatened to destroy their prisoners. The Greek Government found themselves thrown into a fatal dilemma, and it was to their reckless attempt to extricate themselves from it that the whole of the subsequent tragedy was owing. "For," says the special commissioner of *Blackwood's Magazine*, "this demand was made to place the Ministry in the terrible alternative of treachery to the constitution; or, by refusing to do this, rejecting the demands of two powerful nations, and possibly sacrificing lives which these countries would not suffer to be unavenged." Under the constitution which secured the throne of Greece to Prince George of Denmark, the King and ministers were pledged to put down brigandage, the curse of Greek society, with the utmost rigour of the law. How, then, grant such an amnesty as this to the most powerful and most notorious band in Greece? Besides, the Ministry felt from the first that there was more in the demand than met the eye. Such a condition formed no part of ordinary brigand law, and would not have occurred spontaneously to any band of lawless men who saw the prospect of getting a large sum of money immediately after releasing their prisoners. It appeared only too clearly afterwards that the demand was originally none of their making, and that they were throughout supported and influenced by the corrupt and reckless chiefs of the Greek Parliamentary Opposition. It was a party move, meant to secure the downfall of the Ministry; and the brigands, no less than their unfortunate prisoners, were but pieces in the game. Once suggested, the notion no doubt caught the fancy of Takos, the head of the band, a man of superior education to the rest; and elated by the rank and importance of his captives, he may have made up his mind to secure every possible advantage. The other members of the band were by no means eager for the amnesty, and when a few days later they were flying before the soldiery they bitterly reproached their chief with having demanded it. Takos, however, backed by his secret advisers, stuck to his novel terms, persuaded that the Government would be compelled to deal with them. The Ministry fully understood who were the wire-pullers in the matter, though they were unable to lay their hands upon any single individual, so cleverly were the transactions conducted; and they were at no loss to comprehend the threat of the Opposition. "Refuse the amnesty, and see what answer you will give to the charge of culpable ignorance as to the vicinity of the brigands to Athens, and the still more glaring culpability of your mock measures of

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protection—your escort that never escorted, your officers to whom no orders were issued, and who showed themselves utterly ignorant of the duty they had to perform. Concede the amnesty, and prepare to meet a Chamber indignant at the dishonour of a violated constitution, and a King compelled to break a pledge he had sworn to maintain." Fully alive to the gravity of the situation, Mr. Erskine sent telegram after telegram to Lord Clarendon. Lord Clarendon's answer was clear and peremptory. England could allow no constitutional consideration to weigh against the lives of her subjects. The Greek Constitution had been violated before in the same manner, in the Cretan insurrection and in other cases; and Englishmen were not to be sacrificed to keep a weak Ministry in power. The Ministry meanwhile were preparing a desperate attempt to recover their reputation and escape from the snare laid for them. They hoped for a successful *coup de main*, which should at once rescue the prisoners, annihilate the brigands, relieve the Government from the responsibility of the ransom, and strengthen the position of the Ministry. At the same time Mr. Erskine was still allowed to believe that, although the amnesty could not be granted, no movement of the troops against the brigands would be permitted until the prisoners were safe. Relying upon this, Mr. Erskine sent a messenger to the brigands, reiterating the assurance of the Government, that no pursuit would be attempted; and entreating that they would leave the mountains and bring their prisoners down into the plains, where such delicate men as Mr. Herbert and Count de Boyl need not be exposed to all the hardships of an open-air life. The brigands, who had vowed to trust the word of no Greek minister, believed Mr. Erskine, left their mountain camp and brought their captives down to the village of Oropus, where they seem to have been on the whole fairly well treated. A few days were then taken up in fruitless negotiations, conducted by a certain Colonel Theagenis, on behalf of the Greek Government—a man afterwards denounced by Sir Henry Bulwer, in the House of Commons, as the real murderer of the prisoners—and by Mr. Erskine, on behalf of England. Mr. Erskine even went so far as to take upon himself the responsibility of offering the brigands an English ship-of-war, then anchored off the coast, to convey them from Greece to any destination they liked to name, hoping that by the offer the difficulty of the amnesty might be surmounted. Colonel Theagenis, on his part, made the singular proposal, that if Takos and some of his band would surrender themselves for a day or so, and undergo a mock trial at Athens, a free unconditional pardon should be granted them—a proposal which Takos treated with open scorn. "Move your assizes and your judges out here among the mountains—try me where I am, and sentence me where I stand," was his haughty reply when the messenger of Colonel Theagenis tried to explain to him constitutional necessities. "Let the men who have made this constitution, unmake it," he is reported to have said on another occasion. "I am in no hurry. I can wait a year if need be." In fact, the heads of the whole band had been turned by the discovery of the importance of their prisoners, and Takos was a willing tool in the hands of his subtle advisers in Athens, who bade him ask all or nothing. "The brigands," says Count Della Minerva, Italian Minister at Athens, "no sooner learnt that there were two Secretaries of Foreign Legations among the party captured, than they began dancing and jumping with frantic joy."

It is difficult to give a consecutive account of what followed. The Government had made up their mind to take the risk of employing the troops. Mr. Erskine was, above all, anxious that the brigands should not move their prisoners from Oropus, and he seems to have countenanced the action of the Government so far as to consent to a blockade of Oropus, to prevent them from doing so, insisting at the same time in the strongest terms that the brigands should not be in any way molested by the soldiery till the prisoners were safe. Colonel Theagenis was entrusted with the conduct of the whole matter, and it appeared plainly afterwards that he received instructions of which Mr. Erskine knew nothing, and to which he would never have consented. The suspicions of the brigands had been by this time aroused; the Government had been for some days silently moving up troops in the direction of Oropus, and the scouts of the band, posted on all sides of the villages, were not slow to discover and report their movement. On the 20th of April, the day before the massacre, letters reached Mr. Erskine from Mr. Herbert, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Vyner, which must indeed have thrown him into despair. All spoke of the imminent danger in which these suspected movements of the troops had placed them, and entreated that something might be done to stay the progress of the soldiers. Mr. Noel, an English resident in Eubœa, who had taken a prominent part in the negotiations, telegraphed to say that he felt assured the terms offered would be accepted by the brigands, *but that the soldiers must be withdrawn.* The band were going to a place not far from Oropus called Sykamenos, whither he was about to follow them with every hope of a successful issue. It was this movement of the brigands, coupled with the orders given to the troops to pursue them should they leave Oropus, which brought about the tragedy of the 21st. On that day the brigands, suspecting the neighbourhood of troops, left Sykamenos before Mr. Noel could come up with them. The troops received information of their movement, followed them, and fired upon them. The brigands, driven to desperation, turned savagely upon their prisoners. They shot Mr. Lloyd before the eyes of the soldiers, who became infuriated at the sight of this murderous act, and made a fierce attack upon the brigands. Six of them were killed, including Christos Arvanitakis (Takos), and one or two were taken alive. The others fled up the country, dragging the other prisoners with them; and upon reaching a place named Skimatari, they stabbed them one by one, Mr. Vyner being the last to suffer. In an hour or two all the labour and anxiety of the last ten days had been rendered fruitless, and four noble and valuable lives had been sacrificed to the culpable rashness and incapacity of those who had sworn to protect and rescue them. Mr. Noel telegraphed the fatal news to

Mr. Erskine, and it almost seemed for a time as if another death were to be added to the list, so fearful was the effect of the tragedy upon the man who for ten days had strained every nerve to prevent it. What, then, must have been its effect upon the agonised relatives and friends in England? upon poor Mrs. Lloyd and her child waiting in fearful suspense at Athens? For a time all England was roused to a frenzy of wrath and grief. The punishment of all concerned in the murders was fiercely demanded—of the unscrupulous Ministry, the intriguing Opposition, no less than of the brutal and ignorant brigands. At one time it seemed as if nothing less than a war with Greece and the annihilation of her whole existing political system would satisfy English indignation. But there was one person in Greece for whom English people felt almost as much pity as for the victims themselves—and that was the poor young King, who throughout had been the dupe of the unscrupulous partisans about him,—who once in a moment of alarm had made the romantic offer to give himself up to the brigands in the place of the captives,—and who, now that all was over, wrote the most touching letters, full of keen personal shame and grief, to the English Government, while later on he made large offers of indemnification out of his own private property to the families of the victims. English opinion at its hottest exculpated him from blame. It was not his fault that he was neither old enough nor strong enough to have reformed Greek society or purified Greek home policy during the year or two which had elapsed since the power of England had placed him upon the throne. But the more entirely he was acquitted, the more strongly did public feeling fasten upon the real actors in the fatal drama and demand their punishment. It was well for Greece that nearly a month had elapsed before the question came to be debated to any purpose in Parliament. During the interval the capture of nearly all the brigands had done something towards satisfying the public indignation. The wily leaders of the Opposition, at whose door lay the greater part of the blame, had laid their plans so cunningly that it was extremely difficult to detect and expose them. And after the confessions of the brigands had thrown some light upon this part of the matter, and a steady public opinion in England might perhaps have exacted a heavy penalty for the lives so basely trifled with from those who had used them only as so many pieces in the political game, English attention was diverted by the gigantic impending tragedy of the French and German War; and in the overwhelming interest of those first battle-fields of Wörth and Forbach. the fate of the captives of Marathon was, for the time at least, inevitably forgotten. All the more reason, then, why, looking back upon the event, we should try to recall the impression produced at the time, and, above all, the well-deserved tributes of sorrowing affection and admiration which all alike, whether relations, friends, or strangers, paid to the memory of the young and heroic sufferers.

In the House of Commons, on the 20th of May, Sir Roundell Palmer made a calm, lawyer-like indictment against the conduct of the Greek Government, dwelling upon the unusual sanctity attaching to the persons of all diplomatic agents, and describing the two Secretaries of Legation as men "to whom the public faith of the Greek nation was absolutely pledged, and to assist whom they should not have omitted to do anything that could by any reasonable possibility have been done on the part of that nation, and the people and Government of that country." "If," he said, "from a failure in the performance of the general obligation of protecting foreigners, a blow falls on those for whom the public faith—the faith, not of the sovereign merely, but of the whole nation—is *specially* pledged, that is an aggravation, involving a difference in kind as well as in degree of the crime which would, under any circumstance, have been committed, and a great aggravation of the default on the part of the state that neglects those precautions and those duties of government which ought to have been sufficient to shield even the meanest subjects of a foreign state from such an outrage." A consideration which applied to the original outrage of the capture, and to the neglect of sufficient precautions evinced by the Ministry with regard to the expedition to Marathon. But, Sir Roundell Palmer went on to say, it is still more clear, it is doubly evident, "that if any subject of a state to which the ambassador is credited has offered any violence, indignity, or wrong to that ambassador, from which his deliverance is possible, it becomes the imperative duty of the state to use all its resources, and not to abstain from any means whatever which can possibly be used to deliver the person to whom the public faith is so solemnly pledged from the condition of jeopardy in which by such outrage he is placed. . . . Nor can any municipal law or any special institution of a state be set up as an excuse against the performance of this obligation." Having thus laid down the principles involved, the great equity lawyer proceeded to expose the original weakness and carelessness, and the final rash obstinacy, of the Greek Government with an unsparing hand. He quoted a letter written on the very day of the capture by the Minister of the Interior to the captain of a flying column of troops, which proved that, in spite of all public declarations to the contrary, notably those published in the official newspaper, the authorities had strong reason to suspect the presence of a band of brigands lying concealed in the very neighbourhood of Marathon. This being the case, how futile were the precautions taken, and how utterly insufficient was the escort sent with the travellers! Then, after the capture, how extraordinary were the proceedings of all concerned; the free communications which went on between the Government and the brigands, and between the brigands and their agents in Athens, revealing a state of political weakness and disintegration almost inconceivable to persons living under a strong and settled government. The Ministry seemed to have been throughout aware that other people beside themselves in Athens were negotiating with the brigands, and they could not have been ignorant of their aims and the force of their influence in the matter. Yet nothing whatever was done to sift the mystery, to get hold of these self-accredited agents and punish them. No doubt the Ministry felt their own position too critical for any such attempt; but was that a sufficient excuse to

give to England for the death of her subjects? They preferred, instead, to use means of escape from their difficult position which they were bound not to use, and they made up their minds to employ the troops against the brigands after having solemnly promised not to do so, and with a full knowledge of the risk to the lives of the prisoners which such a course involved. Nor was this all. Having once undertaken military operations, they should at least have been conducted in the most efficient and at the same time cautious manner possible. Instead of which the brigands were needlessly irritated before any decisive blow could be struck, and the movements of the troops were such as to enrage them without seriously alarming them for their own personal safety. "And so the Greek Government, being under the most sacred obligations to save these gentlemen, and having been able to save them, either by waiving technical points of form (as in the matter of the amnesty), or by conducting with all the discretion, forbearance, and common sense which it demanded the operation which they undertook to conduct in their own way, failed in both these points, and the result has been the death of these most unfortunate gentlemen." Sir Roundell Palmer wound up his speech in these words: "I trust that Her Majesty's Government will not think it amiss that the question should be publicly put to them which I now venture to ask—namely, Whether they are able to state to the House what measures have been or will be taken to obtain from the Greek Government such satisfaction for this unprecedented outrage as Her Majesty is entitled to claim by the Law of Nations, and to ensure the due protection for the future of the lives of the diplomatic servants and other subjects of the British crown within the kingdom of Greece."

Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer followed, adopting much the same line of argument, expressed, however, with greater heat than the legal training and balanced temperament of Sir Roundell Palmer had allowed of. He thought the question put by the latter inadequate, and proposed to substitute for it an amendment, commenting in strong terms upon the "highly unsatisfactory conduct of the Greek ministers," and inviting the English Government to "concert with its allies as to the best means of establishing in Greece a government capable of satisfying the ordinary requirements of a civilised state." Mr. Gladstone, rising to answer for the Government, spoke with that caution and moderation which the necessities of office imposed upon him. He deprecated the amendment as the expression of an opinion "which would be immature and possibly inconvenient." He reminded the House that they were not yet in a position to weigh the circumstances, that their information was still imperfect, and that it was possible the Greek Government might be able to bring forward evidence in extenuation of their conduct, of which they were still ignorant. With regard, then, to the political measures to be taken towards the Greek Government and nation, he urged delay, promising at the same time that no effort should be spared to procure the conviction and punishment of all the immediate authors of the crime, and the most complete investigation of all the circumstances. An assurance with which the House was perforce content, and both question and amendment were withdrawn. In the House of Lords, Lord Carnarvon, the first cousin of Mr. Herbert, made a forcible and eloquent speech, all the more impressive from the restrained yet evident emotion of his voice and manner. The issue of the debate was substantially the same as in the House of Commons. It was agreed on all hands to wait for further information. And by the time the brigands had been tried and executed the interest of the country had been, as we said before, diverted from the subject to some degree by the complications on the Continent. It was a lesson, however, which Greece has never forgotten, and which, we may trust, is still bearing salutary fruits. Should the four lives so needlessly sacrificed, prove in the end to have purchased social and political reform for a country so ancient, so famous, and so full of precious associations for every cultivated mind in Europe, none will say that the heroic victims died in vain.

We cannot wind up our account of this melancholy event better than by quoting Sir Roundell Palmer's eloquent tribute to the memory of the dead. "I will first speak," he said, "of the Italian gentleman, who is described in touching terms by the minister who employed him, and the minister under whom he served, as a young man of pure character and brilliant promise, beloved by every one who knew him. . . . The words which are used of Count de Boyl are eminently applicable to Mr. Herbert—a gentleman of no ordinary intellectual gifts, and of the most absolute purity, simplicity, and nobleness of life—a man the loss of whom to this country under any circumstances would have been a very serious and grave misfortune. The other two gentlemen I can say less of from personal knowledge, though one of them was the son of an old friend of mine at the bar, with whom I have frequently sat side by side, and the son was not entirely unknown to me. He was a gentleman of promise and of character; and if we may judge from the exhibition of his character made by himself and his companions in misfortune, as they appear in the papers, he was a man of a brave and a generous spirit, thinking of his wife and child and others much more than himself, and having an eye to the beauties of nature even when all those perils and miseries were upon them. As to Mr. Vyner, I can only say that, though a stranger to him personally, I think one almost learns to feel affection for him, in reading the memorials which in this book have been left behind. Never did any one leave behind memorials of a more gentle or gallant spirit; he was not willing to be saved at the expense of his courier, his servant, his friend, or any other person. He exhibited a natural desire for life; but if that was not possible, he in the simplest and unaffected manner asked for nothing but an English Bible and the prayers of his friends. The loss of such men would under any circumstances be a cause of great public sorrow."

The story of the debates on the Greek massacre may now give place to the story of the tamer debates in Parliament which still remain to be described. The two

great Acts which were recorded in the last two chapters naturally fill the chief place in the parliamentary history of the year; but there still remain some discussions that are worth describing, some measures whose fate has to be told. First in order come the naval and military proposals of Mr. Childers and Mr. Cardwell—memorable as showing the naval and military condition of England at the opening of the great war year, and as indicating more or less completely the lines upon which reorganisation afterwards proceeded. The Naval Estimates of Mr. Childers carried out very thoroughly those principles of economy on which the Liberal Government had laid so much stress on its accession to power. The proposals of the First Lord also included a scheme for the retirement of officers, and were full of details about the intentions of the Admiralty with regard to ships and guns—those never-ceasing perplexities of the modern naval administrator. The gross estimates reached a total of £9,250,000—three-quarters of a million less than those of the previous year, and £1,700,000 less than those of 1868. This saving had been arrived at by different expedients; and, popular as the broad result was, the expedients, taken severally, were most of them doubtfully welcomed both in and out of Parliament. The most notable one had been the closing of several of the dockyards, and the consequent throwing out of employment of several thousand workmen. But Mr. Childers presented not only a justification of his policy to the House, but showed that the Government had done very much to lessen the distress of the discharged workmen. Thus, of 2,000 who were thrown out of work by the closing of Woolwich Dockyard, 1,000 had been transferred to other establishments, 200 pensioned, gratuities given to 200, and 300 helped to emigrate. This, in fact, was all that could be done. The Government found itself in a dilemma—either they must abandon retrenchment, or they must harass certain interests. They chose to pursue their policy of retrenchment, trusting to their own remedial measures and to the chances of the market for providing for the discharged workmen. Mr. Childers' proposals with regard to keeping up a proper supply of ships were "to push on the most powerful class of armoured ships and the fastest cruisers," experience having shown that these were the two classes most likely to be of use in modern wars—the one for fighting, the other for pursuit. He had much to say about new guns; he promised to send another flying squadron round the world; he detailed his measures for forming a reserve of sailors; and, above all, he unfolded his new scheme of retirement for officers. The details of this scheme, stated shortly, were that admirals of the fleet were to be compelled to retire at 70 years of age, admirals and vice-admirals at 65, rear-admirals at 60, captains at 55, commanders at 50, and lieutenants at 45. With this he proposed a scale of pensions, and promised that the result would be a considerable benefit to the service and a saving to the country of about £300,000 a year.

Mr. Cardwell's army proposals need not be described at length, for they merge into the far more comprehensive proposals of the next year, when the war had compelled the country to look its military affairs in the face, and to consent to a thorough-going scheme of reorganisation. Still, even in this year, Mr. Cardwell struck the note of a very decided reform. He proposed reductions both in the colonial and the home army, and laid down the two principles, though he did not fully work them out, upon which the reorganisation of 1871 was based—namely, short service, and abolition of purchase. He abolished the rank of ensign and cornet, as a first step towards the latter; he announced his plan of enlistments for twelve years, six to be passed in the regular army and six in the reserve, as a preparation for the former. He proposed to disband the Canadian Rifles, the Cape Mounted Rifles, the 3rd West Indian Regiment, and the African Artillery. He reduced the Indian establishment, and proposed an elaborate method of reducing the strength of all home regiments. By all these measures he brought about a reduction of £1,136,900 on the estimates of the previous year, and of £2,330,800 on those of the year before. The figures by which he described the strength of the army at the beginning of this year were:—Regulars and others available for all services, home and foreign, 109,225; second army of reserve, 20,000; militia, 63,000; yeomanry, 15,300; volunteers, 168,477. In other words, a total of 376,002, nearly half of them being volunteers—figures which tempt one to speculate what would have been the result of all this reduction and economy had the German armies made their appearance before London, instead of before Paris!

The revenue of the year, as Mr. Lowe announced in his Budget speech, amounted to £76,505,000; a sum of which nearly four millions were due to the new mode of collecting taxes instituted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—a mode which for the first year caused the revenue to appear far greater than it really was. The expenditure was £68,223,000; and the surplus was devoted to paying about half the cost of the Abyssinian War, to a reduction of the income tax by a penny in the pound, to a reduction of the sugar duties, and to various smaller reductions. In finance, at least, the *annus mirabilis* cannot be pronounced unfortunate, so far as England was concerned.

The history of Parliament in 1870 must be completed by a mention of a few bills that became law, and a few that did not. This year saw the passing of a bill which practically repealed the law that Pitt had carried in order to exclude Horne Tooke from the House of Commons—a bill, moved by Mr. Hibbert, to remove the civil disabilities of clergymen. This provided that any clergyman wishing to relinquish the office of priest or deacon might do so by signing a deed, to be registered by the bishop. From the moment of his signing, he was to become free to practise any trade or profession, and to sit in Parliament—to become, in fact, a layman. It may be added that a considerable number of distinguished clergy took advantage of the Act soon after it was passed. Mr. Russell Gurney's "Married Women's Property Bill" was another of great practical importance; but unfortunately its success was only partial. It proposed to give married women the absolute control of their own

earnings, instead of allowing the husband to seize them at his pleasure. The bill was, of course, directed mainly towards the class of wage-earning people, where the wife often contributes largely to the family stock by the labour

of her hands; and no one who has any knowledge of this class can be ignorant of the fearful amount of misery which a drunken or worthless husband may cause by compelling his wife to keep him in drink and idleness. Mr. Russell Gurney's bill aimed at curing this state of things; and, in spite of the practical difficulties of the question, the advantage of protecting married women in the possession of their actual earnings was evident to almost everybody. But in the House of Lords, where there are no members pledged to support women's rights, the bill was severely handled by the law lords and others. The unbelief of Lord Westbury, the peculiar experience of Lord Penzance, induced them to "amend" the bill in its most essential points. It passed, but passed mutilated; and its advocates can only hope that when the public mind has become familiar with its principle, it may be taken up again and made more consistent and comprehensive. The House of Lords also threw out for this session the

bill of Sir John Coleridge for abolishing religious tests in the universities, and also the "Deceased Wife's Sister Bill," which the House of Commons had passed. This bill, which has been described as "a bill to enable a woman to marry her deceased sister's husband," found great favour with the Dissenters, and was pushed through

GAD'S HILL PLACE: THE RESIDENCE OF CHARLES DICKENS.

the Lower House mainly by their exertions. But the House of Lords is more open to High Church influence —Lord Salisbury is a greater power there than Mr. Beresford Hope is in the Commons—and it is never too willing to pass bills for the simple removal of disabilities, matrimonial or other.

We must now turn to the obituary of the year. A statesman of high rank, a judge of great and long-lived reputation, some illustrious soldiers, the most eminent of French neo-Catholic laymen, and, above all, the most popular of English and the most popular of French novelists, were among those who died. Of several of these—of Sir De Lacy Evans, of Sir G. F. Seymour, of Sir William Gordon, and of General Windham—it is not necessary to speak; nor of Sir James Clark, the veteran physician; nor of Dr. Gilbert, the cultivated Bishop of Chichester, once the well-known Principal of Brasenose College. More famous than these was Sir Frederick Pollock, formerly Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who began his public career by coming out as Senior Wrangler at Cambridge in 1806, and ended it sixty-four years later as a judge who had carried into his retirement the respect and affection of his colleagues and the bar. He was notable, too, as a member of a family—for Sir David Pollock, once Chief Justice of Bombay, and Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock, the famous Indian soldier, were his brothers. It is rare for three brothers to reach, as they did, the very highest posts in their different

professions, especially if, like these, they start with no advantages of wealth or birth to help them.

Lord Clarendon, who died on the 27th of June, had started with those advantages; but he had turned them to good account. He was the head of the Clarendon branch of the Villiers family, which has for a long time been Whig; and he carried out through a long official life the best traditions of Whig policy. He was born in 1800, and entered the diplomatic service very young. At twenty years of age he was attached to the Embassy at St. Petersburg; at twenty-three, or thereabouts, he found a place at home, as Commissioner of Excise; at thirty-one he appeared in Paris, charged with the negotiation of a commercial treaty between England and the new Government of Louis Philippe. His next step was to be appointed Minister at the Court of Madrid, in 1833. Spain was at that time, as it has so often been since, a theatre of civil war. The Absolutist pretender, Don Carlos, was urging his claims to the throne against Queen Christina, who ruled, or seemed to rule, on constitutional principles. The war ended, as is well known, in the Quadruple Alliance—a contract between Spain, Portugal, England, and France, undertaken with the design of keeping the two "Legitimist" pretenders, Don Carlos and Dom Miguel, out of the Peninsula. This alliance was the joint work of Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Minister, and Mr. Villiers, who had not then succeeded to his title; and is a good specimen of the engagements in which Lord Palmerston's policy was, for good or evil, perpetually involving us. The experience of the later years of the century has taught people, and even statesmen, to rely less upon treaties than they used to do in Lord Palmerston's day. Less trust is beginning to be placed in parchments, and more in "big battalions." Still, if treaties are to be drawn up at all, they had better be drawn up well; and Mr. Villiers deserves nothing but credit for his share in the Treaty of 1834. He held his post with honour for some time. He was made a G.C.B. while still an untitled commoner; and Lord Palmerston spoke of him, in the House of Commons, as a minister who had "made the name of an Englishman a passport through Spain." In 1839, he came to England, having succeeded to his uncle's title; and from that time till his death, he made one of the chief members of Liberal Governments, or of the Liberal Opposition in the House of Lords. A speech on Spanish affairs, and his own conduct at Madrid, brought him prominently into notice both in England and in Spain, where, indeed, a gold medal was struck in his honour. Soon afterwards—in January, 1840—he joined Lord Melbourne's Government as Lord Privy Seal, and some months later exchanged this office for that of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. But this was notoriously the weakest of Administrations, and was swept from power by the General Election of 1841, when the first "Conservative reaction" since the Reform Bill set in, and carried Sir Robert Peel to office, with a majority of nearly a hundred. Lord Clarendon, of course, resigned, with his colleagues. But in the great change which was impending, he very naturally took the side of the Tory Government—for it was the side which he had supported throughout. Sir Robert Peel turned round on the question of Free Trade, and Lord Clarendon, who with his brother, Mr. C. P. Villiers, had always been strong Anti-Protectionists, helped to carry Free Trade into law. His appointment to the Presidency of the Board of Trade, when Lord Russell came into office, in 1846, was the natural result of his action on the Corn Law question. Next year he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—a trying post at that time, when the potato famine was at its worst, but a post which popular opinion declared that he filled very well. He had, however, to face a storm of unpopularity in 1848, when the Young Ireland party, under Smith O'Brien, attempted their insurrection. A Lord Lieutenant had, of course, a definite and unmistakable duty to perform in such a case—to put down the insurrection. But Lord Clarendon did more. He declined to rely upon one religious faction in Ireland in order to overawe the other. He refused the offered aid of the Orange Lodges, and even went so far as to remove Lord Rodon, an Orangeman, from the Commission of the Peace, for indiscreet behaviour, sometime afterwards. This act brought down upon him a good deal of severe criticism in the House of Lords; and the Earl of Derby united with the Orange peers in attacking the Lord Lieutenant. But nothing more was proved than that Lord Clarendon had acted with perfect impartiality.

After his resignation of the post of Lord Lieutenant, a new chapter of Lord Clarendon's political life began. It was as Secretary for Foreign Affairs that he entered Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet in February, 1853; and it is therefore with him that the official responsibility of the Russian War rests. The real responsibility rests with the whole Ministry, and perhaps with the House of Commons, that did not early compel a clear declaration of policy; but still, the *official* responsibility rests with the Foreign Minister. An immense amount of difficult work fell to his share; and if the Russian War did not become an European war, perhaps some of the credit is to be given to Lord Clarendon, whose agents were busy at every court in Europe. Evidence of the high opinion that was entertained of his work is afforded by the fact, that when the Coalition Ministry fell in 1855, Lord Derby wished to retain him at the Foreign Office. Lord Derby, however, could not form a Government, and Lord Palmerston came in as Prime Minister. Under him Lord Clarendon continued to hold his portfolio, and he watched over the end of the Russian War as he had watched over its beginning. It was his signature which was attached to the treaty of peace that was drawn up in Paris in 1856. From that time onward, whenever the Liberals were in office, he, except for a single year, continued to hold the Foreign Office. For a short time, from the beginning of 1864, in Lord Palmerston's third Ministry, he made way for his senior, Lord Russell; but on Lord Palmerston's death, in the next year, he succeeded to his old post. Again, in December, 1868, he returned to it, as a member of Mr. Gladstone's Administration, and he held it till his death. It has often been

said that, if any single man could have averted the war of 1870, it would have been Lord Clarendon. There is, of course, no means of verifying a hypothetical statement of this kind; but it may be taken as the expression of a very general satisfaction in the character of his work, and in his strength and wisdom. Probably nothing short of a clearly expressed threat, that England would go to war against whichever party was the aggressor, would have stopped the French declaration of the 15th of July; and it is more than doubtful whether such an expression would have come from Lord Clarendon any more than it came from Lord Granville. But, allowing for the complete change that has passed over English foreign policy since the beginning of the century, and judging him by the standard of 1870 rather than by the standard of 1806, it must be owned that Lord Clarendon was a minister who never forgot the honour of England. His correspondence with Mr. Fish, the choleric American minister, on the *Alabama* question, was at once peaceful and dignified; as peaceful as was consistent with dignity; as dignified as was possible for a minister who did not mean to go to war. And that correspondence may be taken as typical of his whole action as Foreign Secretary. On the whole, it may be said that he was as much respected in public as he was liked in private life.

Besides these names, the death list of the year contains many of mark, on some of whom it would be pleasant to dwell. The French history of this century will give much space to the Comte de Montalembert, the friend of Lacordaire, and once the associate of Lamennais; much to Alexandre Dumas, the brilliant, voluminous, and perhaps not too profitable author of "Monte Christo;" and something to Prevost Paradol, the delicate-minded literary man who was induced to accept from the Empire which he mistrusted the post of Minister at Washington, and who, broken down by the failure of his hopes of peace and liberty for France, shot himself two days after the declaration of war. The history of English Art will also give a place of honour to Daniel Maclise. But, above all, the history of English literature will find room for the name of Charles Dickens. He died quite suddenly at his house, at Gad's Hill Place, near Rochester, on June 9th, at fifty-eight years of age. He was the son of Mr. John Dickens, who was once an officer of the Navy Pay Department, but who was thrown upon his own resources at the Peace in 1815. Mr. John Forster's elaborate "Life of Dickens" has made public the fact which a good many people knew in a half private manner before—namely, that this Mr. John Dickens gave his son the idea of one of his most famous characters—the illustrious Mr. Micawber. Much of the novelist's own life is explained by this. His early years, spent amidst vicissitudes and difficulties, which were always met with a happy-go-lucky solution by the father, not only gave him great experience of life, but also developed his sense of humour. It also may partly account, on hereditary grounds, for the inveterate restlessness which clung to him to the end, and which made him tire so rapidly of people and things. The father became a reporter for a London daily paper after the loss of his official post, and the son prepared himself for the law. But he could not settle down to the drudgery of an office. Like his own David Copperfield, he never could abide the sight of a parchment. He preferred the chances of journalism, and began as a reporter for the *True Sun*. Soon, however, he went over to the *Morning Chronicle*, where Mr. John Black presided—"a man," as Mr. Mill has called him, "of most extensive reading and information, great honesty and simplicity of mind," and, we may add, of a first-rate eye for literary excellence. He accepted Dickens' first important writings—the well-known "Sketches by Boz;" "Boz" having been a nickname given to one of Dickens' little brothers, who, as a child, had insisted on calling the Vicar of Wakefield's "Moses" that way. "Boz" took the town by storm, and Messrs. Chapman and Hall asked the young author to write a serial story for them. The result was the immortal "Pickwick," published during 1837, and owned by Dickens in the next year. From this time onward his success and fame were assured. He allowed himself no rest, and the public could never have enough from him. No writer since Scott had received such universal praise; and as a matter of mere sale, Scott's novels could never be compared for a moment with those of Dickens. The eagerness with which the monthly numbers of "Pickwick" were expected, not only in England, but in Indian barracks, and in the Australian bush, is still a matter of common talk among travelled veterans. And when he turned, as he did almost directly after, to attack certain abuses, the success was equally marked. Nothing struck such a blow at the system of cheap and bad schools as "Nicholas Nickleby;" nothing did so much to modify the terrors of the workhouse as "Oliver Twist." Very soon after this last had been published, about 1840, came "Master Humphrey's Clock," the name of a series which contained "Barnaby Rudge" and "The Old Curiosity Shop;" the latter much injured by the sickly sentimentalism of the "Little Nell" episode, but in other ways full of the writer's happiest inspiration. Then came the visit to America, which impressed him so unfavourably; and soon after "Martin Chuzzlewit," where the impressions of America were reproduced in a way which Americans did not soon forgive. The few years that followed may be considered the climax of Dickens' career. They were the years of "Dombey and Son," "David Copperfield," and "Bleak House." From the time of the publication of this last he steadily declined. There came a theatrical air into his novels, and a straining after the effect which in earlier years had come so readily at his call. He began to be more mysterious in his plots, more melodramatic in his contrasts, more far-fetched in his characters and in their utterances. David Copperfield gave place to Pip; Miss Mowcher to Jenny Wren. The last novel of all, "The Mystery of Edwin Drood," promised, it is true, a return to the fresher type of earlier days; but the author never lived to finish it. He died when hardly a quarter of it had been published, and little more had been written.

It should be mentioned that for twenty years Mr. Dickens conducted a cheap weekly magazine, at first

called *Household Words*, and afterwards transformed into *All the Year Round*. Also he was the first editor of the *Daily News*, which first appeared on New Year's Day, 1846. He stayed with it, however, but a few months. Journalism was not his line.

He was, as we have said, by far the most popular writer that ever lived in England. Living as he did at the same time as Thackeray, he reached a class of readers whom Thackeray could not touch; and judged by the mere test of the income derived from his writings, he is unapproachable. It may be said of him,

Uni cedit Homero
Propter mille annos.

Shakespeare is consecrated by two centuries and a half of fame, and yet as many people buy Dickens as buy Shakespeare, and for one that *reads* Shakespeare there are ten that read Dickens. For the truth is that he had a Shakespearian power of creation. His characters have a newness, a vividness, that commend them at a glance to all the world. The best of them, such as Sam Weller and Mr. Pecksniff, have more than this; they have that truthfulness which makes the reader look upon them, not as characters in a novel, but as human beings. Besides, Dickens was the first person to bring home to the mind of Londoners the incessant flow of tragedy and comedy which was going on around them. "Oliver Twist" did more than a thousand police reports to show the tragedy of London life. "Pickwick," in spite of its delightful exaggerations, was true in showing the absurdities and elements of happy comedy that every-day life may present us with. These are perhaps the reasons of Dickens' success, and to have succeeded as he did stamps a man as most remarkable. We need not discuss the question, whether his writings will be read a century hence, nor any of the other similar questions that may suggest themselves. We may forget that his type of perfection, male and female, was not the highest; that he had no perception of the finer shades of character; that he could not draw a man who was noble without being theatrical, or a woman who was loving without being sentimental. Let us only remember the good practical work done by "Nicholas Nickleby" and "Oliver Twist," and that more human beings have been made to laugh by "Pickwick" than by any other English book that ever was written.

CHAPTER XXXV.

France at the beginning of 1870—The Ollivier Ministry—Diminution of the Imperial Prestige.—Assassination of Victor Noir by Prince Pierre Bonaparte—Riots in Paris—The Prince tried and acquitted.—Strangeness of the Political Situation—The Emperor resolves to submit the new Reforms to the Popular Vote—Resignation of Count Daru and M. Buffet—Views and Feelings of the Emperor—Form of the *Plebiscite*—A large Majority vote in the Affirmative—The Army Vote—Considerable Minority vote in a hostile sense—Alarm of Napoleon.—Lull in European Affairs—Offer of the Crown of Spain to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern—Speech of the Duc de Gramont in the French Chamber—The Circumstances of this Candidature examined—Prince Leopold directed by his Father to decline the Offer—The French Government endeavours to obtain a Pledge from the King of Prussia that the project shall not be revived—The King refuses—Excitement at Paris—Warlike Declarations in the French Chambers—Approved by the Majority—Fruitless opposition of the Left—Count Bismark causes to be published a draft Treaty prepared by M. Benedetti for the annexation of Belgium to France—Painful Sensation produced in England—French Explanations.—England resolves to stand by Belgium—Speech of Lord Russell—The Government prepares a Treaty guaranteeing the Independence of Belgium—Proposes it separately to France and Prussia—Treaty accepted by both Powers.—Tardiness of the French Movements—Positions of the French Army—Organisation and strength of the German Armies—The Emperor's plan of campaign—Affair of Saarbrück—Combat of Weissenburg—MacMahon's rashness in not concentrating—Battle of Wörth—MacMahon falls back on Châlons—Battle of Forbach.—Ferment at Paris—Change of Ministry—The Count de Palikao placed at the head of affairs—Vigorous Measures—General Trochu appointed Governor of Paris.—Proclamation of the King of Prussia—Bazaine in command at Metz—Advance of the German Armies—Battle of Borny—Battle of Vionville—Bazaine occupies the lines of Amanvillers—Battle of Gravelotte—The French Right driven back—Bazaine retires under the guns of Metz.

AT his usual New Year's Day reception (January 1, 1870) the Emperor Napoleon expressed himself to the diplomatic body as highly satisfied with the relations existing between his Government and all foreign Powers. He added, "The year 1870, I am sure, cannot but consolidate this general agreement, and tend to the increase of concord and civilisation." So it might easily have done, had not the rise or fall of his own prestige, and that of his family, been matters of much greater importance in the Emperor's mind—notwithstanding these fine words—than the peace of Europe and the happiness of France.

M. Ollivier, having succeeded in inducing several public men of a higher stamp than had ever before served the Emperor—notably Count Daru and M. Buffet—to join him in the effort which he declared himself resolved to make, to give real political liberty to France, appeared before the Chamber with his Ministry fully constituted on the 3rd January. But these honest politicians of the Left Centre—these men of honour and character and known antecedents—must have felt considerable surprise, not to say mistrust, when they found what sort of persons they were associated with in the Government, in what hands the vast executive force of the Empire really lay. Marshal Lebœuf was continued in the post of Minister of War; and courtiers like Marshal Vaillant, the Duc de Gramont, and General Fleury, knew the Emperor's secrets and influenced his determinations much more than his responsible ministers. M. Ollivier himself was a vain, impetuous man, abounding in self-confidence, but lacking in self-respect,—who was dazzled by the attentions shown him by the Emperor, and believed that he had converted his master to Liberal principles; whereas his master did but make a tool of him all along, and in the end caused him to lose the respect of all.

Although the country was materially prosperous, the popularity, and therefore the stability, of the Empire had greatly diminished in the last five years. With the temper that rules in the breasts of French politicians, the aggrandisement of a neighbouring state is necessarily regarded as a check to the policy, and a kind of outrage to the feelings, of France. Even so comparatively moderate a writer as Jules Favre appears to think that if the candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern had not been withdrawn when it was, the elevation

of a Prussian prince to the throne of Spain would have constituted a real *casus belli* for France. The line of thought would seem to be this: Prussia, by annexing a number of provinces without our consent, and not offering us a share, has brought herself relatively nearer to us in power than she was before, and has thereby done us a grievous wrong; if now the ambitious House of Brandenburg, not content with this provoking increase of power, should try to seat one of its princes on the throne —even though it be but a revolutionary throne—of Spain, we Frenchmen will not submit to it; our feelings will boil over; and we must go to war rather than allow it. To such a temper, the annexation of Schleswig and Holstein in 1865, and the absorption of Hanover and other states by Prussia in 1866, were so many distinct checks to the Emperor's policy and to the Empire itself. Poland, in a previous year, vainly lifting her hands towards France, her ancient ally and deliverer, had been crushed down by the Muscovite; another blow to the Empire. But most of all the Mexican expedition, with all its tragic, afflicting, or humiliating circumstances—the death of Maximilian, the insanity of the Empress, the dictated evacuation—must have tarnished, wherever the facts were known, the lustre of the Imperial régime. It is true these things were little felt by the working and trading millions, to whom "peace was their dear delight;" yet even to them a little "glory" now and then was necessary, in order to embellish their existence; and, moreover, the Emperor was a man of ideas, knew the French people, and could calculate the force of epigrams and the undermining power of a hostile sentiment. Certainly he could not afford, nor could the Empire afford, to lose any more prestige. Yet at this very moment an incident of the most damaging and discreditable character covered the name of the Bonapartes with infamy.

Prince Pierre Bonaparte, one of the sons of Lucien, Napoleon's elder brother, was a man of savage passions and dissolute life, who, after having brought the name of the family into disrepute in several parts of the globe, settled down in Paris, married the daughter of an *ouvrier*, and took a house in the Rue d'Auteuil. He got into a controversy with a Corsican, and also with a Paris journal; insults were showered on both sides; and the Prince sent a challenge to M. Rochefort, the editor of the French paper. Another editor, M. Grousset, who had been coarsely attacked by the Prince in a Corsican paper, resolved to challenge him, and with that intention sent to him as his representatives M. de Fonvielle and M. Victor Noir. Knowing the desperate character of the man, the emissaries went to the house armed. What then followed was thus described by the survivor, M. de Fonvielle. Being shown into an upstairs apartment, where they were presently joined by the Prince, they handed to him M. Grousset's letter. The Prince crushed the letter in his hands, and returned it with insulting expressions to the bearers, asking them whether they shared the opinions of the wretches from whom they came. "We share those of our friends," replied Victor Noir. At this the Prince, advancing a step, struck Victor Noir on the face with his left hand, and drawing a revolver from his breast fired at him point blank. Noir pressed both hands against his breast, and rushing out of the room had only strength left to descend the stairs and reach the street, where he fell dead. The Prince then turned upon Fonvielle, and fired at him two barrels of his revolver, but without effect, Fonvielle the while vainly endeavouring to discharge his own revolver at his assailant. If this account be correct, the Prince was guilty of one of the most brutal murders ever committed. If his own story be accepted as true, he was guilty of, at the very least, an aggravated manslaughter. He said that after reading Grousset's letter, he remarked that he would fight with Rochefort willingly, but not with one of his workmen. His left hand being raised in an energetic attitude, he declared that the tall man (M. Noir) struck him a heavy blow on the face; after which he admitted that he fired point blank at his antagonist. With regard to the blow, no evidence was forthcoming but the Prince's own statement, no mark of any kind was afterwards found on his face, and the tightly kid-gloved hand of the corpse of M. Noir was afterwards pointed to in disproof of any such violent action. When this dreadful affair became known, M. Ollivier, as Minister of Justice, ordered the arrest of Prince Pierre Bonaparte, and his removal to the prison of the Conciergerie. In Rochefort's paper, the *Marseillaise*, of the next day, there appeared an article printed in very large type, inclosed in a black border, and couched in the most furious language. It was read with eagerness by great multitudes in the streets of Paris. Prefixed to M. Fonvielle's narrative of the transaction were a few lines of introduction by M. Rochefort, in which he said, "I had the weakness to believe that a Bonaparte could be anything else than an assassin! I dared to imagine that a loyal duel was possible in this family in which murder and ambush are traditional and customary. Our co-editor, Pascal Grousset, shared my error, and to-day we weep for our poor friend Victor Noir, assassinated by the bandit Prince Pierre Bonaparte. For eighteen years France has been in the bloody hands of these cut-throats, who, not contented with shooting down Republicans with grape shot in the streets, entice them into filthy snares, to kill them within four walls. Frenchmen! have you not had enough of this?" For writing this effusion, besides one scarcely less violent on the next day, Rochefort was prosecuted for the offence of contempt of authority, and condemned *par contumace* to six months' imprisonment, and a fine of 3,000 francs. He afterwards appeared in his place in the Chamber, and dared the Ministry to arrest him. M. Ollivier, to avert a violent scene outside the Chamber, gave way for the moment; but that night Rochefort was arrested by a number of sergens-de-ville, and hurried off to the prison of Ste. Pélagie. His adherents raised an *émeute*, which they would gladly, had circumstances been propitious, have converted into a revolution; barricades were constructed in several streets, arms seized, and gas-lamps extinguished; but the party of order turned out in great strength, and, without the assistance of the military, the riot was put down. Pierre Bonaparte was tried before a High Court of Justice, summoned to meet at Tours for

the purpose; and after his own statement had been heard, and the counter-statements of Fonvielle and Grousset, he was—acquitted! The whole transaction, with this amazing failure of justice to "crown the edifice," must have been damaging to the Empire; and would have been far more so but for the almost maniacal violence of Rochefort and his friends, which caused a sort of reaction in favour of the Napoleons to set in in the minds of many.

The position of the Government was a strange and precarious one; no one seemed exactly to understand it; with the exception of the extreme parties—the courtiers on one side, and the "Irreconcilables" on the other—all the actors on the political stage were moving, they knew not precisely whither. M. Ollivier on one occasion (February 23) announced that the Government disapproved of the system of official candidatures, and would no more use pressure at the elections. No intelligence could be more unwelcome to a large proportion of the members on the Right, who had owed their seats to Government pressure, and knew that without it they had no chance of being re-elected. A split therefore began to develop itself in the ranks of the majority. But the Emperor still continued to support Ollivier, and to play his Liberal game. His instincts and opinions were without doubt genuinely Liberal; and his life was consumed in the attempt to reconcile the gratification of these instincts with the conservation of his dynasty. And yet there must have been something in the apologetic tone which Ollivier often assumed in the Chamber—as if the Emperor had been hitherto treading the paths of illegality, but henceforth, under the incorruptible guidance of his chief minister, would march on without swerving in the groove of constitutionalism—which must have been not a little galling to Napoleon's pride. The Emperor resolved to teach his Liberal supporters a lesson, and at the same time to reimpress a large and awkward fact on the minds of his enemies—namely, that he and his system were the choice of France; that they had been so in past years no less than at the present time; and that, according to the view which he took of his own position, the popular ratification constituted the supreme sanction both of the act by which he had originally seized on power, and of the changes in the direction of liberty which he had now been for some time introducing. He instructed M. Ollivier (March 21) to prepare a *Senatus Consultum* for the redistribution of powers between the two branches of the Legislature, so that the Senate—the less popular body—should be curtailed of many privileges which it had before enjoyed; while the Corps Legislatif—the more popular body—would have its powers extended, especially by giving it the right of originating all money bills. M. Ollivier obeyed, and introduced the measure into the Senate on the 26th March. But a few days later he was startled on being informed by the Emperor, that since, in his opinion, the new constitutional changes involved a departure from the basis which the popular vote had ratified in 1852, he was resolved to submit them also to the ordeal of universal suffrage. Ollivier remonstrated vainly against this decision; the Emperor stood firm; and the minister, either not seeing or not wishing to see the vast difference which his consent made in his position, agreed to continue at the head of affairs, and arrange the machinery of the *plébiscite*.

But Count Daru and M. Buffet, more clear-sighted and self-respecting than their flighty colleague, refused to have anything to do with a *plébiscite*. For the meaning of it was simply this—that the popular vote covered everything, and was itself the source of right and legality,—that France had no right to liberty and just government unless the masses voted to that effect,—and that, similarly, the *plébiscite* of 1852, having sanctioned a system which arose out of perjury and violence, had made that system immaculate and unquestionable. In taking office, Count Daru and M. Buffet had never intended so to commit themselves; and they now accordingly resigned their *bureaux*. The Duc de Gramont, a courtier, received the charge of the Foreign Office, in succession to Count Daru.

In resorting again to the device of a *plébiscite*, we cannot doubt that the Emperor had one main object in view—increased stability. The tide of Liberalism, he felt, was continually pushing him onward; piece by piece, the system of administration on which he had ruled France for eighteen years was giving way to its assault; and then, as he had once before said to M. Ollivier,* "*one always falls on the side on which one leans.*" Feeling the advances of age—conscious that his powers both of body and mind were being undermined by a harassing and incurable malady—he became more than ever desirous to secure the peaceable transmission of power to his son. If all France could be got to ratify the changes which were now being made in the system of government, as decisively as it ratified his assumption of power after the *coup d'état* of 1851, surely the dynasty might then breathe freely. One would have thought that the friendship and the pledged word of two or three leading generals would have offered a more substantial security for the succession of his son than the illusory test of a *plébiscite*. Perhaps, however, the Emperor had by this time half convinced himself that a popular vote, taken on a matter which the masses cannot properly judge of, was an honest and lawful mode of devolving power, and also a mode which imparted a peculiar strength and durability to the decision arrived at. The following was the formula submitted for the acceptance of the French people: "The people approve the Liberal reforms effected in the Constitution since 1860 by the Emperor, with the co-operation of the great bodies of the State, and ratify the *Senatus Consultum* of the 20th April, 1870." In an Imperial proclamation circulated in France in support of the formula, the Emperor said, "By balloting affirmatively, you will conjure down the threats of revolution, you will seat order and liberty on a solid basis, and you will render easier for the future the transmission of the crown to my son. Eighteen years ago you were almost unanimous in conferring the most extensive power upon me. Be now, too, as numerous in giving your adhesion to the

* See page 280.

transformation of the Imperial régime. . . . To the request which I address to you, to ratify the Liberal reforms that have been realised during the last ten years, answer 'Yes.'" The vote was taken in all the departments of France, and separately in the army and navy, with the following result: *Oui*, seven millions of civilian votes, and three hundred and nine thousand in the army and navy; *Non*, one million and a half (within five thousand) of civilian votes, and fifty-two thousand in the army and navy.

M. OLLIVIER.

When, in the autumn of 1852, the Emperor demanded from the popular voice a condonation of the past and a sanction for the future, the Ayes numbered nearly 8,000,000, the Noes only 253,000. The returns of the voting in 1870 marked a notable progress in dissatisfaction since the commencement of the Empire. But it is believed that the nature of the military vote was that which chiefly disquieted the Emperor. Like Macbeth, he would pry into the secrets of futurity, would ascertain beyond all reasonable doubt the prospect which lay before his son of ascending the Imperial throne; and, like Macbeth, he was terrified and startled by the apparition which he evoked. These fifty thousand soldiers who, in spite of the restraints of discipline and the ties of self-interest, had, by their "Noes," expressed their disapproval of the Imperial system, could not but be regarded as the more active and intelligent spirits in the army, who were more likely, unless their aims were attained, to estrange from the Empire the still loyal majority, than to be absorbed in that majority themselves. What, then, were their aims? In a warlike nation, where the humblest day labourer is possessed by the sentiment of military glory, the more stirring and ambitious characters in the army are prone to become impatient in a long-continued peace; and this feeling is likely to be enhanced when a neighbouring people, the rival and antagonist of the soldier's country in many a historic campaign, has been winning *spolia opima*, and gaining victories of extraordinary brilliancy. Such reflections must have agitated the mind of Napoleon, as he thought of those fifty thousand "Noes;" and the conviction must have come upon him with a lurid clearness, that the only way to regain the loyalty of the army, and to secure the succession of his son, lay through *War*. When the ruler of a great nation, having the absolute control of its military resources, arrives at such a conclusion as this, an occasion is not likely to be long wanting.

But for a time everything wore a peaceful aspect, and the results of the *plébiscite* were even considered on the whole to have strengthened the Emperor's position. It was a matter of course that, on receiving from M. Schneider (May 21) the official report of the results of the voting, the Emperor should use the language of serenity and cheerful hope. "We must," he said, "more than ever look fearlessly forward to the future." Who, indeed, could be opposed to the progressive march of a dynasty founded by a great people in the midst of political disturbances, and fortified by liberty? In a debate on the bill for fixing the army contingent for 1870, M. Ollivier, to whom the Emperor's mind was a sealed book, declared that the Government had no uneasiness whatever; that in no epoch was the peace of Europe more assured; and that no irritating question anywhere existed. When, after the death of Lord Clarendon, Earl Granville repaired to the Foreign Office, to take up the portfolio of the deceased statesman, he was informed by Mr. Hammond, the Under Secretary, that in all his experience he had never known so great a lull in foreign affairs. Two hours later, a telegram from Mr. Layard, the British Minister at Madrid, communicated the decision of the Spanish Council of State to offer the crown of Spain to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. On the same afternoon, the Duc de Gramont informed Lord Lyons, our Ambassador at Paris, that France would endeavour with her whole strength to prevent the election of a Prussian prince, and he requested the co-operation of England in warding off this danger to the peace of Europe. On the following day (July 6), the Duc de Gramont read in the Chamber a memorandum of the views of the Government, the unusual and menacing language of which spread alarm through all the capitals of Europe. "We do not believe," he said, "that respect for the rights of a neighbouring people obliges us to suffer a foreign Power, by placing a prince upon the throne of Charles V., to disturb the European equilibrium to our disadvantage, and thus to imperil the interests and honour of France. We entertain a firm hope that this will not happen. To prevent it, we count upon the wisdom of the German nation and the friendship of the people of Spain; but in the contrary event, with your support and the support of the nation, we shall know how to do our duty without hesitation or weakness." These words were received with wild and enthusiastic cheering.

The candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern had been first broached so far back as March, 1869, but at that time it met with no encouragement at Berlin; while M. Benedetti, under instructions from the French Government, represented that such an election could only be viewed by France with serious dissatisfaction. Now, after an interval of more than a year, the project was resumed, and that under circumstances of apparent trickery and intrigue which called forth disapprobation, not in Paris only, but also in London. The Duc de Gramont suggests, though he has no means of proving, that the idea of reviving the candidature of Prince Leopold came to General Prim from a Prussian source; and he pledges his veracity for the existence of a letter written to Prim by Count Bismark some time in June, 1870, in which the Prussian Chancellor said, *that the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern was in itself an excellent thing, that it must not be abandoned, and that at a given moment it might be serviceable.* The Duke declares that though he has never seen this letter himself, it has been seen and read by eminent men whose names are well known. All this, and many other details are related by the Duc de Gramont in order to bear out his theory that Prussia, and in particular Count Bismark, was the real originator of the war, by means of a series of studied provocations and affronts, designedly framed so as to awaken the warlike passions of the French people, and hurry them into a strife for which he knew that Prussia was far better prepared than France. Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is certain that the *suddenness* of the whole thing (for the Council of Ministers at Madrid decided on the 5th July to propose the Prince of Hohenzollern to the Cortes, and to convoke that body for the purpose on the 20th July) was viewed with suspicion and disfavour in this country, where no prejudice existed either against Prussia or France. The *Times*, in a leader dated the 8th July, had "no hesitation in declaring that the way in which this negotiation has been conducted has been in the highest degree reprehensible, and that it excuses, if it does not justify, the attitude of France." After commenting on the secrecy which had been observed, the *Times* proceeded: "Now this conduct, we will make bold to say, is grossly discourteous to foreign Powers. The transaction, too, has the air of a vulgar and impudent *coup d'état* of a kind that is sure not to be successful." The excitable imagination of Frenchmen immediately developed the incident into a hundred painful and humiliating consequences. Prussia, they thought, desires first to isolate us in Europe, and then to crush us. Just as she ruined Austria in 1866, by placing her between two fires—herself on the north, and Italy on the south—so it is her present aim to place France also between two fires—North Germany on the one side, and Spain, with a Prussian prince on its throne, and its army reorganised on the Prussian system, on the other. Considering the unscrupulous audacity with which Count Bismark had pursued the aim of the aggrandisement of Prussia—considering his language in the Prussian Chamber in 1862, that "it was not by long speeches, nor by plurality of votes, that the great questions of the day had to be decided, but by iron and blood," it may not be so unreasonable in M. Jules Favre* as it appears at first sight, to declare that in his judgment the candidature of Prince Leopold, if adhered to by Prussia, might have constituted a just *casus belli*.

But it was *not* adhered to; and this fact, in the absence of more weighty evidence on the other side than has yet been adduced, suffices in the judgment of most men to saddle France with the chief responsibility of the rupture. Lord Granville exerted all his influence at Berlin to procure the withdrawal of the dangerous candidature; and

* The "Government of the National Defence" (Clark's Translation).

M. Olozaga, the Spanish Minister at Paris (a statesman of great experience, and sincerely friendly to France), alarmed at the terrible excitement around him, took measures with the Prince Antoine de Hohenzollern, the father of Prince Leopold, to induce him to exercise his parental authority and bring about the renunciation by his son of the honour proposed for him. Could this be accomplished, it seemed certain that the storm would blow over, for the Duc de Gramont himself said to Lord Lyons, on the 8th July, that the voluntary renunciation of his candidature by Prince Leopold would be "a most fortunate solution" of the difficulty. Prince Antoine accordingly wrote to General Prim renouncing all pretensions to the crown of Spain on the part of his son; Prim communicated the renunciation to Olozaga, and by him it was conveyed to the French Government. M. Ollivier was greatly elated, and went about in the lobbies of the French Chambers telling his friends that all difficulty was at an end, "*l'incident est vidé.*" But, in fact, he was not behind the scenes; to the secret councils of the Emperor, in which the issues of peace or war were discussed, he was not summoned.

Finding, as the result of its pressing representations since the first announcement of the candidature, that the Prussian Government declined all responsibility in regard to it, and professed to consider it as a matter which only regarded the King of Prussia, in his capacity of head of the Hohenzollern family, the French Government instructed M. Benedetti to seek an interview with the King, who was then at Ems, and obtain from him an explicit disavowal of all share in the project. M. Benedetti accordingly went to Ems, where he obtained an interview with the King on the 10th inst. At first, the King of Prussia said that he had certainly consented to the Prince of Hohenzollern's accepting the crown of Spain; and that, having given his consent, it would be difficult for him now to withdraw it. Two days later, the Prince's renunciation was known at Paris, and it became then a serious question with the French Government, what course it should take. By the peremptory and unusual language which they had employed in the tribune, they had excited the passions and raised the expectations of the people to an extraordinary height, so that merely to accept the renunciation of the candidature appeared too tame and poor a conclusion to the tumult which they had raised. The Duc de Gramont accordingly explained to Lord Lyons, on the 13th July, that while the withdrawal of the candidature put an end to all question with Spain, from Prussia France had obtained literally nothing. In the first place, if the statement of the Prussian Minister at Paris may be believed, the French Government required that the King should offer to France something in the form of an apology for ever having sanctioned the candidature at all. To this Count Bismark is said to have replied, that he must decline to bring so unbecoming a demand under the notice of his sovereign. In the second place, M. Benedetti was ordered again to wait on the King and endeavour to obtain from him a guarantee that the project of raising his kinsman to the Spanish throne should not be renewed. The exact terms of the French demand, according to a memorandum placed by the Duc de Gramont in the hands of Lord Lyons, were these: "We ask of the King of Prussia to forbid the Prince of Hohenzollern to alter his present resolution. If he does so, the whole matter is at an end." M. Benedetti saw the King again at Ems, on the 13th, and endeavoured to obtain from him the assurance for the future required by the French Government. But to this the King, although M. Benedetti insisted warmly, and hinted at the serious consequences which might follow upon a refusal, refused to consent. Later in the day Benedetti sent to request another interview; but the King sent word that, as his mind was made up, and he had no other answer to give than that which he had given in the morning, it would be useless to re-open the question. This message, which seems to have been sent naturally and with perfect sincerity, and in which M. Benedetti himself, as his despatches prove, saw no discourtesy, was so magnified and distorted as to create, on the minds of all who received the intelligence, the impression of an already consummated rupture. From Berlin the incident was telegraphed to this country to the following effect—that M. Benedetti had accosted the King in the Kurgarten at Ems, and preferred his last extravagant demand; and that the King had thereupon turned round and ordered an aide-de-camp to tell M. Benedetti that there was no reply, and that he would not receive him again. In France the rumour flew that the King had affronted the French Ambassador, and the ardour for war rose to fever heat. Immense crowds of Parisians gathered on the Boulevards (July 14), singing the "Marseillaise," and eagerly discussing the chances of war. At Berlin, on the same day, the King was received, on his return from Ems, by the acclamations of an immense multitude of persons, all animated by stern and enthusiastic resolution. On the next day occurred the memorable scene in the French Chambers, which left no doubt remaining that the die was cast, and that the terrible eventuality of a war between France and Prussia was close at hand. The Duc de Gramont in the Senate, and M. Ollivier in the Corps Législatif, communicated a ministerial message, in which it was stated that the King had refused to give the engagement required by France; that, notwithstanding this, in consequence of their desire for peace, they did not break off the negotiations; but that they had learnt, to their surprise, that the King had refused to receive M. Benedetti, and had communicated the fact officially to his Cabinet. "Under these circumstances, we should have forgotten our dignity, and also our prudence, had we not made preparations. We have prepared to maintain the war which is offered to us, leaving to each that portion of the responsibility which devolves upon him." M. Ollivier, in the course of the explanation which he gave to the Chamber, transcended the limits of moderation in his warlike, no less than he had lately done in his peaceful, avowals. "The Prussian Cabinet," he said, "has informed all Governments that it refused to receive our Ambassador while the negotiations were still proceeding. If in my country a Chamber should be found who would suffer this, then I should not for five minutes remain a

minister." It was this flighty statesman who declared, a few days later, that he entered into the war "with a light heart." This unpardonable Prussian outrage was stated to consist in the sending by Count Bismark of a circular despatch to all the Cabinets of Europe, informing them that the King had refused to receive the Ambassador of France again, and informed him, through one of his aides-de-camp, that he had no further communication to make. To a sensitive people there was something not a little irritating in the wording of this telegram, and the Duc de Gramont maintains* that this was the precise effect which Count Bismark intended that it should produce.

The ministerial announcement produced an indescribable ferment in the Legislative Body. The majority applauded vehemently every expression that had a warlike sound; but there were a few sober-minded and independent men on the Opposition benches who endeavoured to gain a hearing,—who demanded that the despatches on which the action of the Government was founded should be laid before the Chamber,—who declared that since the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidature they could see no sufficient cause for war. Among these objectors the most prominent was M. Thiers. His remonstrances were met by passionate cries and invectives. "Offend me, insult me," he cried; "I am ready to endure anything to spare the blood of my countrymen, which you are ready to shed so imprudently. You will not reflect for a moment; you will not demand the contents of the despatches, upon which your judgment ought to be founded." "Keep your advice, we do not require it," exclaimed the violent Imperialist, M. Jerome David. The sitting concluded with the vote of a credit of fifty millions of francs for extraordinary military expenses, as demanded by the Government, by a majority of 245 to 10 voices. On the next day, the Senate, with its President, M. Rouher, at their head, waited upon the Emperor with an address, conceived in the worst French taste, and marked by that appalling disregard of moral considerations which has led a noble country into such terrible misfortunes. "Your Majesty," he said, "draws the sword, and the country is with you, trembling with indignation at the excesses that an ambition over-excited by one day's good fortune was sure, sooner or later, to produce."

All through the nine days' interval which intervened between the announcement of the French Government on the 15th July and the speech made by the Duc de Gramont on the 6th, the British Government had laboured heartily and indefatigably for the preservation of peace. All was, however, in vain. The French Ministry (as is well explained by the sober chronicler of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, writing on the 14th July) had, by the needless publicity and *empressement* which they had imported into the affair, raised such a tempest of passion and excitement, that soon neither they nor the French public were in a condition to listen to reason. On the other hand, Count Bismark, while remaining perfectly cool, was not disposed to take extraordinary pains to avert a struggle which he believed to be sooner or later inevitable, and which he was too well informed as to the comparative armaments of the two countries to view with serious apprehension.

The same spirit of rivalry and combativeness which impelled Count Bismark in 1866, against the traditions of his country and the declarations of his whole life, to employ revolutionary agencies against Austria because they furnished him with a convenient weapon, now induced him, in contempt of the usages of men of honour and the *bienséances* of diplomacy, to bring forth from some secret drawer in the Prussian Foreign Office a document which he rightly judged was calculated seriously to damage France and the Emperor in the judgment of the neutral states. On the 25th July, there appeared in the *Times* what purported to be a textual copy of a project for a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Prussia. The paper containing it was communicated to the *Times* from the Prussian Foreign Office, and was stated to be in the handwriting of M. Benedetti. The Emperor and the King agreed to the following bases: That France should recognise all the Prussian acquisitions of 1866, and should engage not to oppose the incorporation of the South German states, with the exception of Austria, in the North German Confederation; and that the King, on his part, would facilitate for France the acquisition of Luxemburg, by means of an indemnity to be paid to the King of Holland, and would also "lend, if need were, the support of his arms for the conquest of Belgium" ("*prêter au besoin le concours de ses armes pour la conquête de la Belgique*"). At the reading of this audacious proposal, a sentiment of stupefaction came upon the English mind, succeeded by a feeling of lively indignation. This, then, was what the *entente cordiale* had come to! this was the result of the extension of our commerce and friendly intercourse with France! that our ally had been negotiating with Prussia behind our backs to destroy the independence of a nation which he, along with us, had created not half a century ago, and equally with ourselves was bound in honour to defend. But as further correspondence developed accurately what had occurred, the case against France assumed a less unfavourable aspect. On the 29th July, the Duc de Gramont transmitted to London a letter from Benedetti, containing the following explanation of the circumstances. In the first place, he pointed out that, if the project was a villainy, there were evidently two parties to it; on the very face of the document it was manifest that Prussia was not more averse to entertain the question of the absorption of Belgium than was France.* Secondly, whereas Count

* In his work "La France et la Prusse avant la Guerre," p. 227. M. Jules Favre, in the work from which we have already quoted, asserts that this telegram was not sent to all the Cabinets of Europe, but only to the South German Governments; and he paraphrases its contents (p. 20) so as to convey the impression of a much more colourless communication than the real words amounted to. On this point we are inclined to believe that the Duc de Gramont is in the right, and that the telegram was sent to all the Cabinets, as he states.

* Since the recent publication by General La Marmora of the omitted passages in the letter addressed to him by General Govone in 1866, this fact may be stated as certain. At page 275 in the General's book, "Un Po Piu di Luce," Count Bismark's reply to the question of

Bismark had stated that this was but one of many such schemes with which he was continually being pestered by the French Ambassador, Benedetti asserted that since 1866 he had had no communications with the Prussian Chancellor upon any matter of the kind; but that in that year, and particularly while the negotiations for the Treaty of Prague were going on, Bismark, fearful lest France should be provoked by the annexation of Hanover, Frankfort, &c., to Prussia, laid several proposals of this nature before him, and discussed them with apparent seriousness. On one such occasion, wishing to put the substance of the conversation in a tangible shape, Benedetti wrote, almost under the direction of Count Bismark, the rough draft now made public by the Prussian Government; Bismark took it from him, saying he would show it to the King; after that Benedetti saw and thought no more of it. But when the project was submitted to the Emperor, Benedetti added, he at once rejected it; and he believed that it was also rejected by the King of Prussia.

Whatever might be the exact balance of truth between the conflicting statements, the painful impression was left on the minds of English statesmen, that neither France nor Prussia would have much scruple about destroying the independence of Belgium; and that, if that independence were worth preserving, from the point of view both of the honour and of the interests of Great Britain, new guarantees for its maintenance had become necessary. It is a pleasure to record the manly stand taken on this question by Lord Russell (whose abandonment of Denmark, in 1864, it was our painful duty to relate and characterise), when (August 2) the subject came up in the House of Lords. England's duty, he said, was clear. "It is not a question of three courses. There is but one course and one path—namely, the course of honour and the path of honour—that we ought to pursue. We are bound to defend Belgium. I am told that that may lead us into danger. Now, in the first place, I deny that any great danger would exist if this country manfully declared her intention to perform all her engagements, and not to shrink from their performance." After saying that all these intrigues arose from the doubt which prevailed on the continent, whether England would adhere to her treaty engagements, he proceeded: "I am persuaded that if it is once manfully declared that England means to stand by her treaties, to perform her engagements—that her honour and her interest would allow nothing else—such a declaration would check the greater part of these intrigues, and that neither France nor Prussia would wish to add a second enemy to the formidable foe which each has to meet." Remembering what happened in 1864, when the display of just this kind of manliness on the part of the English Government was all that was needed to preserve Schleswig for Denmark, we may well exclaim, on reading these spirited words, "*O si sic omnia!*"

Being strongly urged forward by the expressions of opinion delivered both in and out of Parliament, Mr. Gladstone's Government acted on this critical occasion both promptly and skilfully. Earl Granville prepared the text of a treaty guaranteeing the independence of Belgium during the continuance of the war and twelve months afterwards, and proposed its acceptance, simultaneously, but separately, to the two belligerent Powers. The substantial proviso of the treaty was to this effect: "His Majesty [Emperor of the French, or King of Prussia] having declared that, in spite of the state of war existing between [France and North Germany], he is determined to respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as it shall be respected by [North Germany, or France], Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland declares, on her part, that if, during the continuance of hostilities, the [North German, or French] armies should violate that neutrality, she will be prepared to co-operate with [His Imperial Majesty, or His Prussian Majesty] with the view of defending, in such manner as shall be mutually agreed upon, by employing to that end her naval and military forces, and of maintaining, in conjunction with [His Imperial Majesty, or His Prussian Majesty], then and afterwards, the independence and neutrality of Belgium." The other contracting Power agreed to co-operate with Great Britain for the accomplishment of the same end. The treaty was to be in force during the continuance of the war between France and Germany, and for a term of twelve months after the ratification of any treaty of peace concluded between those Powers; after which time, the independence and neutrality of Belgium would continue, so far as the high contracting parties were respectively concerned, to be maintained, as heretofore, in accordance with the first article of the Quintuple Treaty of the 19th April, 1839.

This treaty was accepted and signed by Prussia immediately, and by France also, after a little hesitation. Its provisions slumbered indeed, but there is no reason to suppose that they were without effect. Had there been no such treaty, it is possible that, during the operations near the Belgian frontier which terminated in the capitulation of Sedan, the neutrality of the Belgian territory would have been forcibly violated by one or the other belligerent; the area over which the devastating effects of war were experienced would have been extended; and serious political complications, from which it would have been difficult for any one of the great Powers to hold aloof, must infallibly have supervened.

So much heat and haste had been apparent in the proceedings of the French Government since the first rise of the Hohenzollern incident, that it was generally expected that very few days would pass after the formal declaration of war (July 19) before the French Army of the North would be arrayed along the frontier of Rhenish Prussia, ready to take the field in overwhelming force.

Govone, whether there was any German district on the left bank of the Rhine which would vote voluntarily for annexation to France, must now be read thus: "Not one; the very French agents who traversed the country to ascertain the dispositions of the people reported that no voting, which was not in fact fictitious, could succeed. No one loves his own government, or the dynasty reigning in his own territory; but all are and wish to remain Germans, so that there would be nothing left but to indemnify France *out of Belgium or the French part of Switzerland.*" The words in Italics were omitted from the book, but were lately (1874) made public by La Marmora, when his veracity was impugned by the semi-official German press.

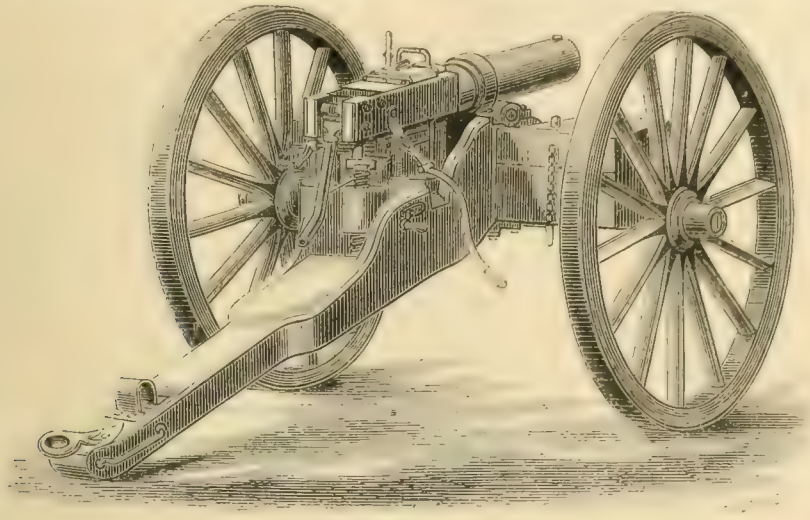
But day followed day, and nothing decisive was done. It appears that the arrangements for mobilisation—especially in what relates to transport—were found to be extremely

COBLENZ FROM EHRENBREITSTEIN.

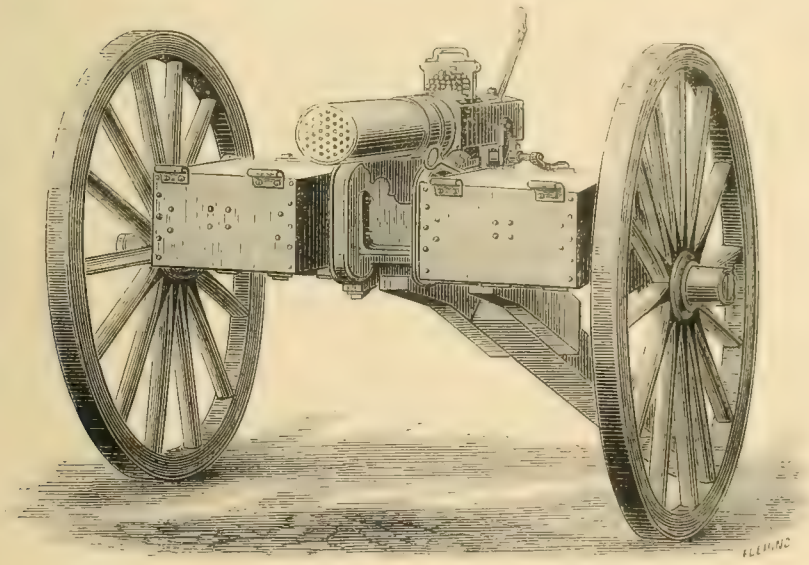
defective. In truth, the military system of France was rotten and honey-combed with abuses; wherever a hard unexpected pressure was applied, it gave way. In the subordinate posts there were many excellent and honourable men,—it needs but to mention such names as MacMahon, Trochu, and Vinoy to establish the fact,—but the real power lay with the Emperor and his personal friends or favourites. He is said, after the first great disaster had occurred, to have had continually on his lips the words, "*On m'a trompé*" ("I have been deceived"). Doubtless he had been deceived; cooked reports had been

submitted to him; money received for substitutes, instead of being so applied, had gone no one knew where, and the regiments were disgracefully attenuated in consequence; jobbery and corruption, extending into every department, made every service, on which the usefulness of soldiers depends, less efficient by many degrees than it ought to have been. Thus it happened that it was not till quite the end of the month that a respectable French force was collected at the frontier. Meantime, the Prussians—of the excellence of whose arrangements for mobilisation we have before had occasion to speak*—silently mustered three powerful armies behind the Rhine, intending to fall with an irresistible onset, when the fitting moment should arrive, on the heedless and vain-glorious foe. The Emperor left Paris on the 28th July, accompanied by his son Louis, and assumed the chief command of the army at Metz on the following day.

At the beginning of August, the positions and strength of the French Army of the Rhine were as follows. It was distributed along two sides of a triangle, one of which—from Sierck, near Thionville, to the Rhine east of Weissenburg—measured about ninety miles; the other—from Weissenburg to the Swiss frontier near Belfort—measured about a hundred miles. General Ladmirault, with the 4th Corps, held the extreme left wing, and was stationed at Thionville on the Moselle. The 3rd Corps, under Marshal Bazaine, was posted at Metz, whence it was moved forward before the 6th August to St. Avold, near Forbach. General Frossard, with the 2nd Corps, was at St. Avold, close to the Prussian frontier. On his right, round the fortress of Bitche, was quartered the 5th Corps, under the command of General de Failly. Marshal



MITRAILLEUSE: BACK VIEW.



MITRAILLEUSE: FRONT VIEW.

* See page 209.

MacMahon, with the 1st Corps, was at Strasburg, but was making preparations for closing up immediately to his left. A long interval separated MacMahon from General Felix Douay, who, with the 7th Corps, was stationed at Belfort, and occupied the extreme right of the army. Two other corps were held for the present in reserve, ready to support any portion of the Army of the Rhine that might require it: these were the Imperial Guard, under General Bourbaki, which was at this time on its march from Paris to the seat of war; and the 6th Corps, under Marshal Canrobert, which was between the camp of Chalons and Nancy. There was also, besides the cavalry attached to the divisions of the different corps, a large reserve force of cavalry, consisting of three divisions in twelve regiments. The total war strength of the corps and divisions above enumerated should have been upwards of 230,000 men. But it is said * that most of the regiments marched out on their peace footing, and only commenced to complete their numbers when on the frontier, and also that large bodies were still on their way from garrisons in the south of France; it is probable therefore, that the French field army at the beginning of August was not more than 200,000 strong.

The Emperor appears to have reckoned even to the last moment that dislike and jealousy of Prussia would move the South German Governments to separate their interests from hers in the great struggle that was impending, or at least to wait and see how events fell out before finally committing themselves. How—knowing as he did the existence of the secret treaties of 1866,† by which Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden bound themselves to assist Prussia if attacked—he could seriously entertain such a hope, it is not easy to understand. The Governments of those states, on this occasion in full sympathy with their subjects, were animated by a hearty indignation at the unwarrantable attack made on Germany, and they speedily sent in their adhesions to Prussia. Their military contingents were assigned, under the supreme command of the King of Prussia, to the third of the great armies which were being formed for the protection of German interests.

The First Army, under the command of Lieutenant-General von Steinmetz, consisted of the 7th and 8th North German Corps and the 3rd Division of Cavalry. It occupied the right of the German forces, and numbered about 55,000 men.

The Second Army, with which were the King and the general head-quarters, was under the command of Prince Frederick Charles. It consisted, besides the Guard Corps, of the 3rd, 4th, 10th, and 12th North German Corps, together with three divisions of cavalry, and numbered about 143,000 men.

The Third Army, under the command of the Crown Prince of Prussia, formed the left wing of the German forces. It consisted of the 5th and 11th North German Corps, the 1st and 2nd Bavarian Corps, the Würtemberg division of infantry, the Baden division of infantry, and two divisions of cavalry—one North German, the other Bavarian. The two Bavarian Corps were commanded by Generals von der Tann and Hartmann. The strength of the Third Army was about 140,000 men.

These armies furnished a grand total of 338,000 men, to which enormous force France, as we have seen, could for the moment only oppose 200,000. But the enumeration above given by no means exhausts the list of the trained battalions of Germany. There remained behind the Rhine, besides reserve and garrison troops, a mobilised mass of 170,000 men, including, among other seasoned troops and experienced officers, the 1st North German Corps, and its commander, Lieutenant-General von Manteuffel.

The Emperor's plan of campaign, as explained in a pamphlet which he drew up while at Wilhelmshöhe, was, to draw together 150,000 men from Metz, and 100,000 from Strasburg, and, with a force of 250,000 men, cross the Rhine at Maxau, between Rastadt and Spire, while his rear was covered by the advance of a reserve force of 50,000, under Marshal Canrobert, from Chalons to Metz. Marching towards Dresden, the Emperor hoped to meet and defeat the North German forces, and, being thus interposed between North and South Germany, to intimidate the South German Powers into an attitude of quiescence while he followed up his advantage against Prussia, and endeavoured to break up the newly-cemented and, as he fain would believe, the fragile ties which united Prussia to the countries annexed in the last war. If Germany had been unready—if Bismark had been no more far-seeing than Persigny, and Moltke no more vigilant than Lebœuf; lastly, if the Emperor could have disposed of a hundred thousand more men, the plan might have been promising—perhaps even feasible. But when the Emperor remembered the enormous strength of the Prussian armies in 1866, and reflected that the populations then annexed were instantly brought within the cords of the Prussian military system, it is wonderful (even supposing him to have been under a complete delusion as to the probable conduct of Bavaria and Würtemberg) that he did not see that 250,000 men—on paper—was an utterly inadequate force wherewith to attempt so vast an enterprise as that which he meditated.

The 2nd Corps, under General Frossard, was at Forbach, close to the Prussian frontier, just within which, on the river Saar, was the flourishing little town of Saarbrück, held by a battalion of infantry and three squadrons of cavalry belonging to the 8th North German Corps (First Army). General Steinmetz had assumed the command of that army at Coblenz on the 28th July, and at the beginning of August had concentrated it in a position where it covered Tréves, and guarded against any sudden inroad into the Rhine province on the side of Thionville. On the 2nd August, Frossard received orders to drive the Prussians out of Saarbrück. The action began at 10.30 A.M., and soon afterwards the Emperor, with the Prince Imperial, arrived on the ground from Metz. The Prussians, though greatly outnumbered, held their ground tenaciously, but were

* Colonel Rustow's "War for the Rhine Frontier" (translated by Lieutenant Needham), I., 179.

† See page 241.

gradually pushed out of the villages to the south of Saarbrück, and finally compelled to evacuate the town, and retreat to the wooded heights which look down upon it from the north. In this action the *mitrailleuse*—that mysterious and formidable weapon, of whose destructive powers such high expectations had been formed—was for the first time employed in battle. It is a tube, having externally much the same appearance as an ordinary cannon, formed of a number of barrels firmly bolted together, and rifled. This instrument was expected to produce a much greater effect than case-shot fired from a field-piece, because the rifling of the barrels secured for it a much longer range. But it appears to suffer from one serious defect—that the radius of the dispersion of the bullets is too small; and in practice it certainly has disappointed the expectations formed of it. The action of Saarbrück was over by about two o'clock. The French did not attempt to occupy the town, nor to dislodge the enemy from the heights beyond. The loss of the Prussians was eight killed and seventy-one wounded; that of the French was about the same.

This trifling success was utilised by the Emperor in a manner truly amazing. It seems certain that his faculties must have become enfeebled by the chronic disease from which he suffered; otherwise he could not have been guilty of the folly and bad taste—to allege nothing more serious against it—which are conspicuous in the telegraphic despatch which he sent to the Empress to announce the "victory." The document ran thus: "Louis has just received his baptism of fire. He showed admirable coolness, and was not at all affected. A division of General Frossard has captured the heights which overlook the left bank of the Saar, at Saarbrück. The Prussians made but a short resistance. We were in the front line, and the bullets and cannon-balls fell at our feet. Louis has kept a bullet which fell quite close to him. Some of the soldiers shed tears on seeing him so calm."

On the very day on which the French made this unmeaning demonstration at Saarbrück, the concentration of the German armies was completed, and their heavy masses were ready to be moved down to and across the French frontier. To the Third Army was given the honour of striking the first blow—doubtless because in it were arrayed the contingents from the South German states, and Prussia desired that France and the world should be convinced without delay of the futility of all calculations which took German dissension for their basis. On the 3rd August, the Crown Prince sent orders from Spire to his corps commanders to advance upon the Lauter. This small stream forms the northern boundary of Alsace. On its banks, about ten miles from the place where it falls into the Rhine, stands the town of Weissenburg, the centre of the once famous lines constructed by Marshal Villars for the protection of the province in the time of the Spanish Succession War. At this point MacMahon had stationed his second division, commanded by General Abel Douay, in order to cover his communications with the 5th Corps, under De Failly, which was stationed round Bitche. Douay's force, which did not exceed 8,000 men, was disposed of, partly in garrisoning Weissenburg, partly in strongly occupying a hill in rear of the town, called the Geissberg. Being thus pushed forward to the very frontier, and exposed to a sudden attack from superior forces, this division ought to have been more than ordinarily vigilant; but so far was this from being the case, that the outpost duty appears to have been very imperfectly performed. The Third Army, formed in four columns, moved out from camp on the night of the 3rd August, and marched towards the Lauter. To the first column, which formed the right wing, and consisted of the 2nd Bavarian Corps under Hartmann, was entrusted the duty of attacking Weissenburg. The morning was rainy. At about eight o'clock, the leading Bavarian division, under General Bothmer, became engaged with the weak French garrison in Weissenburg. For several hours the fighting was not serious, for the Crown Prince was engaged in drawing over the Lauter, and towards the Geissberg, several brigades from the second and third columns of his army. When his arrangements were completed, about noon, Bothmer attacked the town from the north, and three Prussian battalions from the south, and took it after a short resistance. Soon afterwards, a heavy fire from the Prussian batteries having been for some time directed against the Geissberg, two Prussian brigades, or about 10,000 men, were led to the attack of the hill. The French were outnumbered, probably two to one, but they had a very strong position, and their field guns and Chassepôts scattered destruction through the German lines as they slowly forced their way up the height. There was no flinching on either side; but the devoted courage of the Prussians in facing that rain of bullets from an enemy whom they could scarcely see, has seldom been equalled. At one o'clock, the assailants were in possession of the castle of Geissberg, near the top of the hill. The leading brigade attacked from the eastward; the other, edging round to the left, and scaling the southern face of the hill, threatened to cut off the French from their line of retreat. Douay had been killed early in the action, and the officer who succeeded to the command, judging that further resistance was unadvisable, ordered a retreat. The pursuit was feeble, and the French soon reached the shelter of the woods. They lost between 800 and 1,000 unwounded prisoners, captured for the most part in Weissenburg, and one gun. Their loss in killed and wounded was about 500 men; that of the Germans was higher, and amounted to 800 men, including seventy-six officers. But the first decisive success was gained by the German arms—a fact which, in its moral influence on the men of the two armies, was of high importance.

On the day after the affair at Saarbrück, the Emperor was exceedingly unwell, and the physicians would not allow him to quit his room. It was probably from a sense of great weakness that he came to the resolution of divesting himself of a portion of the responsibility of command, by appointing Marshal Bazaine to the command of the three corps (2nd, 3rd, and 4th) which formed the left wing of the Army of the Rhine, and Marshal

MacMahon to that of the 1st, 5th, and 7th Corps, forming its right wing. This was carried out on the 5th, till which day Bazaine remained in ignorance of the Emperor's plan of campaign.* The three corps which this order placed at the disposal of MacMahon—namely, his own at Strasburg and Hagenau, De Failly's at Bitche, and Felix Douay's at Belfort—would, if united, have formed an army of about 80,000 men. Had the Marshal sufficiently reflected on the danger of awaiting—with his own corps, slightly reinforced—the shock of the dense masses of German infantry that had poured across the frontier on the day of Weissenburg, he would have avoided any fresh encounter until he had effected the concentration of nearly the whole force under his command. Some extent of French territory must have been in that case abandoned; Wörth and the line of the Sauer, and perhaps Hagenau, might have fallen into the hands of the advancing Germans; but with his three corps posted round Saverne, or somewhere in its neighbourhood, MacMahon would still have held the line of the Vosges, and the Crown Prince would not have dared to cross the mountains, leaving so formidable a force in his rear. Such a concentration could certainly have been effected. A division of the 7th Corps from Belfort was brought into line at Wörth, and a division of the 5th Corps reached Niederbronn, a few miles from the field, on the day of the battle, and but for the blunder of a telegraphic operator, would have taken part in it. It is obvious that the main body of each corps could have moved on any given point where a concentration was ordered, as easily as a single division. The Crown Prince was disposed to advance cautiously; he intended that the head-quarters should remain at Sulz all day on the 6th, and the battle of that day was accidentally brought on by an affair of outposts. The issue of a battle fought near Saverne, a few days later, with numbers nearly equal, and with the French prestige and self-confidence still unshaken, would probably have been very different from that of the battle of Worth.

But Fate—or, rather, Divine Providence, which sometimes visits the errors of nations, as of men, with exemplary chastisements—ordained it otherwise. Pursuant to MacMahon's intention of closing up to his left towards De Failly, the greater part of the 1st Corps was, on the 4th August, at Hagenau; but the Marshal himself was at Strasburg, where, on the afternoon of that day, he received the news of the disaster at Weissenburg. He immediately telegraphed to Felix Douay, requesting him to send troops to his assistance from Belfort. He then went by rail to Hagenau, examined the ground, and resolved on taking up a position along the line of the Sauerbach, near Worth. Orders were sent to the officer in command of the remnants of Abel Douay's division, and also to the troops expected from Belfort, to concentrate on the position selected. A telegram was also sent to De Failly, requesting him to send a reinforcement from Bitche, by the railway *viâ* Niederbronn. In the course of the 5th, MacMahon drew up his army along the high ground to the west of the Sauer. In the first line were the three divisions of his own corps which had not yet been engaged; in the second line he placed the troops who had been beaten at Weissenburg, the division of the 7th Corps which had come up from Belfort, and two brigades of cavalry, one of which consisted of two fine regiments of cuirassiers. The nature of the country around Wörth much resembles that at Weissenburg—wooded and rather steep hills, numerous villages, small enclosures, and streams running through fertile fields along parallel valleys. The main strength of the French position lay about the villages of Fröschweiler, Elsasshausen, and Morsbronn. The town of Wörth lay opposite their left wing; the village of Gunstett, across the Sauer, fronted their right wing; Reichshofen and Niederbronn were in their rear. The small river Sauer, descending in a south-easterly course from the Vosges, and passing by Wörth and Gunstett, then turns due east, and makes its way across the plain to the Rhine.

On the 5th August, the Crown Prince, still holding the 1st Bavarian Corps in reserve, moved the main body of his army, marching in four columns as before, from the Lauter towards the Sauer. The 2nd Bavarian Corps advanced to the bank of the stream near Langensulzbach; the 5th Corps, under Kirchbach, approached to the neighbourhood of Wörth. Head-quarters were at Sulz, a village lying some seven miles off, in the direction of the Rhine. The 11th Corps, and that commanded by Werder, had received orders to march on certain villages lying to the eastward of Wörth. At the head-quarters of the Crown Prince no thought was entertained of fighting a battle on the next day, during which the Prince intended to have remained quietly at Sulz. But early on the morning of the 6th August, Kirchbach's outposts, advancing towards the Sauer, exchanged shots with the French pickets posted on the opposite hills. The firing gradually increased; yet it would probably have died away again, had not the commander of the German outposts, being under the impression that the lively French fire was merely meant to cover a retreat, sent a battalion across the river to ascertain the truth. The battalion crossed the stream, and when it had arrived near Elsasshausen encountered a solid resistance, and could make no farther progress. Then Kirchbach brought up some of his batteries and opened fire; and French batteries speedily opened in reply.

This was about 8 A.M. General Schachtmayer, commanding a division of the 11th Corps, was marching upon the village where he had been directed to encamp for the night, when he heard the sound of the firing from the direction of Wörth. Its increasing intensity convinced him that a serious action was in progress; wherefore he turned to his right, and led his division to Gunstett, forming up in rear of the village. By nine o'clock firing was going on across the Sauer along the whole line. General Bose, the commander of the 11th Corps, finding that one of his divisions had moved off to the right, ordered the other, the 22nd, to march in the same direction; it did so, and formed up to the left of the 21st about noon. Werder, the general in command of the

* "L'Armée du Rhin," by Marshal Bazaine, p. 18.

corps formed of the Würtemberg and Baden divisions – the line of whose march lay still farther to the eastward —when he found that the 11th Corps was gone from his right, detached a brigade of infantry and another of cavalry to the scene of action. These continual reinforcements, coming up hour after hour and mingling in the fight, encouraged the Germans to persevere in spite of tremendous losses, and proportionately depressed the spirits of the French.

Soon after twelve, the Crown Prince, finding that the troops already on the field were hotly engaged, and that the French showed no signs of an intention to retreat, determined to bring his whole force into action, in order to deal a crushing blow to an enemy whose greatly inferior numbers could not expect from any quarter to be adequately reinforced. He accordingly sent orders to General Werder to dispatch the rest of his Würtembergers and Badeners to the field of battle; directed Von der Tann, with the 1st Bavarian Corps, to come up to Preuschdorf, in rear of the 5th Corps; and ordered the last-named troops, as well as the 2nd Bavarian Corps on their right, to continue the fight.

Before he received these orders, Kirchbach had already formed the resolution of attacking Wörth. By ten o'clock he had fourteen batteries (eighty-four guns) playing upon the little town. A long cannonade ensued, to which the French, who were deficient in artillery, could not make an adequate reply. Then Kirchbach ordered the advanced guard to storm Wörth, which was done about 12.30, and the victorious troops advanced up the hills on the left bank of the Sauer. Soon, however, they were brought to a stand by a biting fire from the French position, and made no progress for a long time. A great artillery duel went on for hours on the centre and right of the line. About 11 A.M., the French right had made a forward movement across the Sauer, and drove the Germans out of Gunstett, but were unable to hold it long. Fresh troops continually coming up, General Bose moved his corps across the Sauer in support of Kirchbach; the Würtembergers also joined in this advance, and turning towards the north, after crossing the river, Prussians and Würtembergers steadily pressed forward, and took from the French the village of Elsasshausen about two o'clock; but the resistance was stubborn, and the loss proportionately heavy. It was while the Germans were advancing by Elsasshausen that Michel's brigade, composed of two regiments of cuirassiers, made its celebrated, but useless charge. With wild fury these devoted horsemen charged into the advancing masses, but the rapid discharges of the needle-gun smote and crushed their ranks, and not more than 150 unwounded men remained after the battle in the whole brigade. A horrible incident occurred at this part of the battle. The Germans beheld a horse galloping down upon them, bearing a headless rider; for the horseman's head had just been taken off by a cannon-ball, but the trunk, from some unexplained cause, remained erect, and was carried forward into the fight. Fröschweiler, the village to the north of Elsasshausen, attacked both from the south and from the east, was taken at 3.30. But every step of their progress here was won by the Germans at the cost of many lives.

MacMahon, outnumbered and beaten, was now compelled to retreat. The gallant Marshal was himself nearly exhausted, having been fifteen hours in the saddle. Keeping his centre and left pretty well together, he fell back on Niederbronn, where he found a division of De Failly's corps, which, through some telegraphic mistake, had not arrived in time to take part in the battle. These fresh troops checked the German pursuit. The French right, demoralised by defeat, and losing almost all its organisation, fled in headlong flight towards Hagenau and Strasburg.

In this battle, which was fought by MacMahon with about 35,000 men against a German force more than twice as numerous, the German loss exceeded 8,000 men killed and wounded; that of the French was rather less. But 4,000 unwounded prisoners were taken, besides thirty-six guns, two eagles, and large spoils in the shape of baggage and treasure. The German officers appear to have ransacked the private baggage of the French officers; and so far as the result was damaging to their enemies, they made it known widely through the press. It was said that in one case a collection of ladies' dresses and other finery was met with; that the officers seemed to be well provided with maps of the route to Berlin, but had no plans of the Vosges mountains or any part of France; that evidences were found of a luxurious and effeminate style of living, &c., &c. It may have been so; but people are apt to forget that the French had no opportunity of ransacking the private baggage of German officers. What they would have found had such an opportunity been given, no one can tell; as therefore the circumstances are dissimilar, it seems only fair that we should suspend our judgment, and not give too ready credence to suggestions of ignorance and immorality, upon evidence which is attainable against one side, and unattainable against the other. The admirable clearness and accuracy of the maps of *French* territory, with which French military narratives of the war (*e.g.*, those of Marshal Bazaine, General Vinoy, and General d'Aurelles de Paladine) are furnished, seem inconsistent with the notion of general ignorance and idleness on the part of the French officers, which the German stories about the captured baggage were intended to suggest. In nearly all those battles in the Franco-German War which were fought between troops of equal discipline and experience, the immense disparity of numbers is quite sufficient to account for the German successes, without the necessity of resorting to the theory of a moral and intellectual superiority in the victors, of the existence of which we have no sufficient proof.

On the day following the battle, MacMahon reached Saverne, on the Strasburg-Paris railway, and proceeded to dispatch his troops to Nancy and Chalons. His only course now was to reorganise his army at the camp of Chalons, while Bazaine, with his portion of the Army of the Rhine, detained the enemy round Metz. De Failly, prevented from marching towards Metz by the rapid advance of the First and Second German Armies into

French territory, in consequence of the success which we are about to describe, fell back from Bitche in a southerly direction, struck the Strasburg-Paris railway, and brought his corps to join MacMahon. Felix Douay soon after brought up to Chalons the remainder of the 7th Corps from Belfort. The Crown Prince, before crossing the Vosges in pursuit of MacMahon, detached General Werder with the Baden division to invest and besiege Strasburg. General Beyer, the divisional commander, summoned General Uhrich, the governor of the fortress, to surrender, but, of course, with no result. The town was then invested (August 10), and several

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regiments of Prussian Landwehr were presently added to the besieging force.

At Paris an absurd rumour, engendered on the Stock Exchange, was in every one's mouth on the 7th August, to the effect that MacMahon had gained a great victory. The revulsion was terrible when the truth gradually came out, that not only the right, but the centre of the French line had been broken, and that the German armies were marching upon Metz. This second disaster happened on the same day as the battle of Wörth. On the previous day, General Frossard, commanding the 2nd Corps, withdrew his troops from the valley of the Saar to the heights of Spicheren, where his right rested on a difficult wooded country; on his left was the little town of Forbach and the railway to Metz. General Kameke, commanding a division of the 7th Corps (First Army), pushed troops over the Saar at Saarbruck on the morning of the 6th, who came into action with the French batteries on the Rothe Berg (a hill jutting out from the Spicheren plateau) about 11.30 A.M. From that time the battle raged with varying success all through the day till night-fall. Von Göben came up and took the command about three o'clock; about five the Prussians carried the greater part of the heights of Spicheren, though at a terrible cost of life. On the other hand, the French left, between six and seven, advanced along the railway from Stiring, and drove back the Germans nearly to the Saar. The bravery of the French in this battle was conspicuous; the losses which they inflicted on the Germans were far heavier than those which they themselves suffered; and there seems little reason to doubt that with more clear-sightedness and determination on the part of Frossard, and more energetic co-operation on the part of Bazaine (who was at St. Avold with the 3rd Corps, about fifteen miles from Spicheren), or, perhaps, on the part of Bazaine's lieutenants, the Germans would have been repulsed with heavy loss. Frossard does not appear to have held the plateau with a sufficient force; and in a critical period of the action, when German reinforcements were coming up from all sides, he telegraphed to Bazaine, asking him to send him *a regiment*. It was not till towards six o'clock that he telegraphed to Bazaine to assist him with all the forces at his disposal; but it was then too late. On the other hand, one of Bazaine's divisions, under General Metman, arriving at Boning, not ten miles from the battle-field, about two o'clock

remained there inactive all day till actually summoned by a telegram from Frossard at 7.30 P.M.* The conduct of German corps and divisional commanders both in this battle and in that of Wörth was very different. They did not wait to be sent for; but on hearing the sound of firing, or learning that fighting was going on in a given direction, they marched without a moment's delay to the spot to the assistance of their own side.

The superiority of numbers on the part of the Germans was but slight in this engagement,† till near sunset, when a fresh division of the 7th Corps, under General Glumer, came up, and drove the French out of Forbach, capturing immense quantities of stores at the railway station. But the French were sadly demoralised by their defeat. The German loss in killed and wounded was upwards of 4,800; that of the French just exceeded 4,000. Frossard retired upon Saargemund, and thence, with what was left of his corps, joined the army which Bazaine was collecting near Metz.

On that fatal Sunday (August 7) the full truth concerning Wörth and Forbach was known at Paris. A telegram from the Emperor was published, admitting that the army had suffered reverses, but feebly adding, "*Tout peut se rétablir*" ("All may yet be regained"). An indescribable ferment agitated all minds and hearts. The enemies of the Empire rejoiced in the disasters that had overtaken it, because they saw in them the pledge of its overthrow; yet the honour and safety of France were so fearfully compromised by what had occurred, that they shrank from the prospect of dislodging the present holders of power, and taking from their hands a responsibility so full of peril. The cry in the streets was for a *levée en masse*, and the word "*déchéance*" ("deposition") was often heard. The Corps Legislatif met on

GENERAL VON GÖBEN.

* See the telegraphic despatches in Bazaine's "L'Armée du Rhin."

† German writers (*e.g.*, Major A. von Schell, in his book on the "Operations of the First Army under General Steinmetz") maintain that the French were in stronger force; but this is by assuming that the three divisions of Frossard's corps contained thirty-nine battalions (39,000 men). The ordinary strength of a French division at this period of the war was 8,000 men; Frossard's corps can therefore not be rated at more than 25,000 men. The Germans began the battle with one division and two regiments of another—about 15,700 men; were reinforced about two o'clock by some 15,000 men from the Second Army; and after seven o'clock were further strengthened by the arrival of Glumer's division, about 13,000 more.

the 9th August. Jules Favre and the party of the Left urged the Emperor's recall from the army, and the appointment of a committee with full power for the conduct of the war. Ollivier, who showed little sense of the terrible gravity of the situation, spoke in defence of the Ministry, but his speech was received with vehement interruptions and loud denials, and the majority cared not now to screen him from the attacks of the Left. A middle course was taken. The Empress sent for the Count de Palikao (August 10), and requested him to form a Ministry. Palikao, the General Montauban of the Chinese War of 1860, had been ennobled for his achievements on that occasion, and had ever since been in high favour at the Imperial Court. He was in command of the military centre of Lyons when summoned to Paris by the Empress. He succeeded in forming a Ministry, in which Magne took charge of the Department of Finance; the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, of Foreign Affairs; and Palikao himself became the Minister of War. Vigorous measures were instantly taken to make timely preparation for the worst, in case the armies still in the field should not be able to prevent the Germans from marching upon Paris. A broad strip of beautiful woodland in the Bois de Boulogne, on the side where it approaches the *enceinte*, or encircling fortified wall of Paris, was given over to the axe, lest a victorious enemy should find cover within musket-shot of the ramparts. General Trochu, a brave and honest soldier, but a little too rigid and positive in his opinions, was appointed to the command of the forces of Paris; a new war loan of one thousand millions of francs was set on foot; the ranks of the National Guard and Mobiles were filled; and great efforts were made to bring into Paris as large a supply of provisions as possible from the surrounding country.

On the 11th inst., the King of Prussia crossed the frontier at Saarbrück, and from his quarters at St. Avold issued a manifesto to the French inhabitants of territory occupied by the German armies. After speaking of the unprovoked attack which the Emperor had made upon Germany, the King said, that having been compelled to cross the border to repel this aggression, he wished it to be understood that he was waging war against soldiers, not against French citizens; and that the latter would continue to enjoy security for their persons and property so long as they themselves should not, by hostile attempts against the German troops, deprive him of the right of according them his protection. An absurd interpretation was put upon these words after the Emperor's fall, as if the King had declared that he was making war solely upon the Emperor, and therefore the Germans ought to desist from hostilities as soon as the Emperor was dethroned. To Germany, of course, it mattered little what form of government France preferred to adopt; but it was a matter of the utmost importance to obtain valid securities from France, however governed, against the repetition of an act so wanton as the declaration of war in July, 1870. On the other hand, the development of our narrative will show how shamefully and repeatedly the King's word was violated in France, by cruelties and ravages committed by his subjects upon the persons and property of thousands who had never made "hostile attempts against the German troops."

After Forbach there was nothing to hinder the Germans from pushing forward their armies into France. The First and Second Armies, facing to the westward, marched in the direction of Metz—Steinmetz keeping to the north, and Prince Frederic Charles to the south, of the railway connecting Metz with Saarbrück. About the 12th inst., Steinmetz was reinforced by the 1st Corps, under General Manteuffel, which with other fresh troops was brought up from Germany. Bazaine, on his part, was doing his utmost to re-form and augment the French army round Metz. He was now possessed of uncontrolled authority; for Count Palikao, though he would not consent to Jules Favre's motion for the recall of the Emperor to Paris, lest the excited populace should rise and put a sudden end to the dynasty, wisely yielded on the main point, and prevailed upon the Emperor to resign the chief command. Accordingly, by an Imperial order of the 12th August, Bazaine was appointed generalissimo of the Army of the Rhine, with Colonel Jarras as his chief of the staff. Nevertheless, Napoleon, afraid to return to Paris, unwilling even to trust himself at the camp of Chalons, remained with the army, and was the cause of much embarrassment and delay. It had been originally intended that the Crown Prince should bring his army to the assistance of the other two armies, for the reduction of Metz. But when the German chiefs noted the overpowering strength of the First and Second Armies, they deemed that further addition to their numbers was unnecessary, and it was decided that the Crown Prince should march upon Paris by a route lying farther south, through Nancy, St. Dizier, and Chalons. His head-quarters were at Luneville on the 15th, and at Nancy on the 16th August, the ancient capital of Lorraine surrendering without a shot to a squadron of German troopers. Bazaine had now under his command the Imperial Guard, the 4th, 3rd, 2nd, and part of the 6th Corps, making a total of about 140,000 men. The heavy losses of the 2nd Corps on the day of Forbach were nearly compensated by the presence of a brigade from the 5th Corps, which, having been at Saargemund, was unable to join De Failly in his sudden retreat to the southward. Of the 6th Corps (Canrobert) one division had been cut off from Metz by the rapidity of the German advance, and compelled to return to the camp of Chalons.

Finding that with his utmost efforts he could not bring together a force capable of coping with the First and Second Armies in the field, Bazaine resolved to leave Metz for a time to the protection of its encircling forts and powerful garrison, and fall back towards Verdun and Chalons. The movements within the French lines, caused by the preparations for complying with this order, attracted the attention of General Steinmetz, and brought on the battle of Borny, or Courcelles. Prince Frederic Charles had moved with the Second Army to the southward, intending to cross the Moselle at Pont à Mousson and other places above Metz, and then seize the roads leading to Verdun and Paris. Steinmetz seems to have intended only a reconnaissance in force, but the eagerness

of the German troops brought on an engagement along the whole line, some miles to the east of Metz, in which (August 14) neither side gained a decided advantage, but a part of the French army was detained at Metz on the following day; which was exactly what Steinmetz had desired. The loss on the German side in this battle amounted very nearly to 5,000 men killed and wounded; that of the French was 3,610. General Decaen, lately appointed to the command of the 3rd Corps, was mortally wounded, and Marshal Bazaine himself was struck by a ball on the left shoulder, his life being only saved by the thickness of his epaulette. General Steinmetz, coming up after the battle, praised the gallantry of the troops, but expressed some disapproval of the conduct of the corps commanders (Manteuffel and Zastrow), for having engaged in so serious an action without authority. Yet the delay in the general movements of the French army caused by this fierce attack on its rear-guard materially aided, as we learn on the testimony of Bazaine himself, in the successful accomplishment of Moltke's strategic plan for intercepting the march of Bazaine's army to Verdun and Chalons, and forcing it back behind the fortifications of Metz. For the 2nd and 6th Corps had crossed the Moselle on the same day that Borny was fought (August 14), and were échelonned along the Verdun road in front of Gravelotte on the 15th; the Guards crossed the river on the night of the 14th, and reached the vicinity of Gravelotte on the next day at evening; and could the 3rd and 4th Corps have made similar progress, the march to Verdun might have been continued by the entire army early on the morning of the 16th, before the Germans could come up in sufficient force to prevent it. But the 3rd and 4th Corps had fought desperately on the day of the 14th, and had lost heavily; their ammunition needed to be replenished and their ranks re-formed, so that it was impossible for them to complete their crossing of the river before the middle of the day on the 15th, and they were unable to reach the positions which they had been ordered to take up near Gravelotte that day. Thus the 4th Corps, which should have arrived at Doncourt on the upper Verdun road on the 15th, did not reach it until the afternoon of the 16th. Marshal Lebœuf, who had been temporarily appointed to the command of the 3rd Corps, *vice* Decaen, sent a request to Bazaine that the army might not commence its march until the 3rd and 4th Corps had come up, and this request was acceded to. The Emperor slept at Longeville (a kind of suburb of Metz, on the left bank of the Moselle) on the night of the 14th, at Gravelotte on the 15th, and left for Verdun very early on the morning of the 16th, taking with him an escort of 6,000 men, whom the over-matched French army could ill spare.

The strength of the Army of the Rhine on the 13th August was—Infantry, 122,000; Cavalry, 13,000; Artillery, 10,000: total, 145,000 men. Besides these, there were 25,000, mostly non-combatants, employed in the administrative and auxiliary services, and as *gardes mobiles*. Deducting those who had been killed or disabled at the battle of Borny, and the 6,000 who accompanied the Emperor to Verdun, there remained an available force not exceeding 135,000 men, with which, if possible, Bazaine was to march or fight his way to Verdun. On the morning of the 16th, no movement having been made that day by the troops massed in front of Gravelotte, on account of the non-arrival of the 3rd and 4th Corps, the heads of the German columns, appearing from the southward about 10 A.M., pushed back Forton's cavalry division, which had bivouacked to the south of the lower Verdun road, and occupied Mars-la-Tour. The position of the French troops at this time was as follows: the 2nd and 6th Corps occupied both sides of the Verdun road, between Rézonville and Mars-la-Tour, and were supported by Forton's cavalry division, already mentioned, and also by the first cavalry division of General Du Barrail. The Guard, massed to the north of Gravelotte, was held in reserve; the 3rd and 4th Corps were still on the march from Amanvillers. At first the Germans were in no great force, but their numbers kept increasing, and their artillery fire became more and more deadly. At noon Bazaine was compelled to bring up the Guard and place them in line. It was not till two o'clock that the 3rd and 4th Corps came into action on the right of the French line, which then extended in a north-westerly and south-easterly direction across both the Verdun roads, facing the Prussians who were coming up from the south and west. The battle raged all day with great violence; at nightfall the French held their positions and had taken a Prussian flag. But their loss, apparently owing to the superiority of the German artillery, was fearfully heavy; Bazaine himself states it at 16,954 killed, wounded, and missing. The German loss is stated at 14,820 men. It is difficult to ascertain the precise numbers engaged on each side in this battle. Authorities, purely German, maintain that a force of 60,000 or 70,000 Germans intercepted the march of the enemy as he was moving upon Verdun, and defeated the whole French army; the German official account, with a disregard to accuracy not often found on that side, added that "notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, he was driven back to Metz." But the Swiss Colonel Rüstow, an impartial witness, estimates the forces engaged in this battle of Mars-la-Tour, or Vionville, as about equal—probably some 80,000 men on each side.

The French bivouacked on the battle-field. On the next day Bazaine found that it was impossible to continue his retreat on Verdun for several reasons. The enemy held the lower road in great force, so that an attempt to break through them would only have brought on another battle against augmented numbers; and almost the same might be said of the upper road, which for a long distance is only separated from the lower by a narrow tract of level or undulating country. Provisions also had fallen short, and ammunition still more; and these could only be replenished from the Government establishments in Metz. On the 17th, therefore, the French were engaged all day in falling back to, and strengthening themselves upon, a commanding position, extending from Amanvillers on the north to Rozerieulles on the south. The chief points along this line, proceed-

ing from north to south, were Montigny la Grange, Leipzig, and the farmhouses of Moscou and Point du Jour. The French were posted along the edge of a plateau which is steep towards the west, and slopes down gradually on its eastern side towards Metz. On the left of the position, between Moscou and Point du Jour, the road from Verdun (the upper road having fallen into the lower at Gravelotte) ascends the plateau; about half way up stands the road-side inn of St. Hubert. At the bottom of the hill the road crosses a stream, the Mance, which on both sides of the road runs for three or four miles through woods, that to the north being the Bois de Genivaux, that to the south the Bois de Vaux. Leaving the stream the road ascends another plateau, which is, however, lower than that on which the French were posted, and reaches in about half a mile the village of Gravelotte. About two miles from Gravelotte, on the lower road, is Rezonville.

In advance of the right front of this position is the village of Verneville, round which Bazaine stationed the 6th Corps under Canrobert. But observing that there was a strong position at the village of St. Privat, commanding the road to Briey, the occupation of which would extend northwards the line already taken up, and make a turning movement on the part of the enemy more difficult, Marshal Canrobert asked permission to move his corps to St. Privat. Bazaine gave his consent; the 6th Corps occupied St. Privat; and the symmetry and defensive strength of the French line were doubtless improved by the change. By the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, shelter trenches were dug all along the line, abattis were thrown up, and all other available means for strengthening the position were resorted to. The great battle fought on the 18th August is called by Bazaine, speaking from the French point of view, the "Defence of the lines of Amanvillers," and this is a better name than "Battle of Gravelotte," for that village was on the extreme right of the battle-field, far from the point where the fortune of the day was in fact decided. The theory of Bazaine's movement was this: he desired to receive the enemy's attack in a strong and fortified position, to wear him out by fruitless and repeated losses, and so compel him to allow the French to retire unmolested, on the 19th or 20th inst., by the road to Briey. These were sound and able tactics, and if the French could have brought into line but one additional corps, would probably have succeeded.

Proceeding from left to right, the French order of battle was as follows: the 2nd Corps, under Frossard, holding the plateau at the Point du Jour, and above St. Hubert; then the Guards, partly in line, and partly held in reserve; then the 3rd Corps, under Lebœuf. The centre of the position, facing Verneville, was held by Ladmirault with the 4th Corps. Canrobert, with the 6th Corps, carried on the line to St. Privat, occupying Ste. Marie-aux-Chênes and Roncourt—the first lying to the west on the road to Briey, the second to the north—with strong detachments. The interval of a day had given the Germans time to bring up from the southward the dense masses of the infantry of the Second Army; and so great, accordingly, was the disparity of force in the action of the 18th, that but for natural advantages of position, well improved by art, and the resolute valour with which that position was held, the French must have been swept from the field long before the day had closed. On the night of the 16th, the 10th and 3rd Corps, parts of the 8th and 9th, and the 5th and 6th Cavalry Divisions, had bivouacked around and between Mars-la-Tour and Vionville. In the course of the 17th, the 7th, 8th, 9th, 12th, and Guard Corps, none of which had taken part in the battle of the 16th, were moved up from the direction of Pont-à-Mousson to the line Mars-la-Tour—Gravelotte. All the troops named, except those belonging to the 8th and 7th Corps, were of the Second Army; the excepted corps belonged to the First Army. The plan of action for the 18th was this: that the Second Army should feel the centre and right of the French position, and endeavour to turn the enemy's right, while the First Army assailed the plateau opposite Gravelotte.

Very early on the 18th, Prince Frederic Charles directed the left wing of the entire army, consisting of the Prussian Guards and the 12th and 9th Corps, to break up from their bivouacs near Mars-la-Tour, and march in a northerly direction across the front of the enemy's position, with orders to outflank him, if possible, and attack him wherever found. The 10th and 3rd followed. The King of Prussia came on the ground at 6 A.M., and posted himself on a hill to the south-west of Gravelotte. A royal order, dispatched at 10.30, directed the 12th Corps (Saxons) and the Guards to attack either at Ste. Marie-aux-Chênes, if they found the French attempting to retreat by the Briey road, or at Amanvillers. At the same time, the First Army was ordered to advance from Gravelotte and clear the woods in the valley of the Mance; the 10th, 3rd, and 2nd Corps were massed in reserve, at St. Ail, Verneville, and Rezonville respectively—that is, in rear of the left, centre, and right of the German position. To the 9th Corps was entrusted the attack on the centre and right centre of the French lines, which was to commence from the wood of La Cusse.

Advancing by Verneville, the 9th Corps came into action between eleven and twelve with the troops of Ladmirault. The German sharp-shooters swarmed in the wood of La Cusse, and attempted to carry the farm of La Folie, which lay somewhere between the plain and the crest of the plateau. But Ladmirault's guns, numerous and well served, searched the woods, inflicted terrible loss on the German gunners, and partly silenced their artillery; while from the enclosures round La Folie a withering fire of Chassepots repressed every attempt to advance. No progress of any consequence was made here by the Germans during the whole day.

The First Army, fighting under the King's eye, were not likely to be backward in the performance of their portion of the programme for the day. As soon as he heard the sound of the artillery of the 9th Corps, General von Göben (8th Corps) commenced (about noon) a vigorous attack on the French left. The French skirmishers were gradually driven out of the woods of Vaux and Genivaux, or, rather, out of the greater part of them, and compelled

to fall back on their main position; but when the Germans endeavoured to press up the hill-side, a devastating fire of mitrailleuses and Chassepots from the top of the plateau decimated their ranks, and the broken formations of many a regiment of foot, and many a squadron of horse, fell back into the hollow and sought the cover of the sheltering woods. Then General Steinmetz massed the batteries of several corps on the Gravelotte plateau, both north and south of the village, and opened a storm of fire on the French position. After a time the superiority of the German fire was established, and the French guns were either silenced or only replied at intervals. It was in respect of artillery, as we shall see, that Bazaine alleged his great inferiority of force to the enemy to consist. The inn of St. Hubert, after being long subjected to a tremendous shelling, became untenable to its French defenders; they evacuated it, and about three o'clock it was occupied, in spite of a murderous fire, by Weltzien's division of the 8th Corps. A secure lodgment was here effected, and, under cover of the inn and adjacent buildings, Gneisenau's brigade of Barnekow's division advanced boldly along the road soon after three, but, after struggling gallantly for some time, were completely repulsed by four o'clock. A great combined attack of cavalry and artillery was ordered by Steinmetz between four and five. The batteries of the 8th Corps, and three reserve batteries of the 7th Corps, supported by a large body of horse, were pushed across the defile. But they fared no better than their predecessors. The 4th Light Battery, trotting up the hill to the right of St. Hubert, "suffered so severely that, after firing ten rounds, it was put *hors de combat*, and obliged to retire down the hill."* The attack failed, and both cavalry and artillery fell back by degrees on their original positions.

General Steinmetz had by this time nearly exhausted the reserves of the First Army, and he sent an officer about five o'clock to the 2nd Corps, the van of which was at Rezonville, two miles west of Gravelotte, requesting it to advance. This could not be done without an order from the King himself, and Steinmetz, upon hearing this, sent Colonel the Count von Wartensleben to the King to obtain from His Majesty the desired order. It was given, and the 2nd Corps prepared to advance and attack the blood-stained hill. But as it was advancing, about seven o'clock, the French made a *retour offensif* upon their enemies, advancing in force from the Point du Jour down the hill, and endeavouring to re-take St. Hubert, in which, however, they were unsuccessful. But this sudden advance produced an extraordinary commotion. In the valley below St. Hubert there were thousands of soldiers belonging to different regiments mingled together, who had lost their officers, and when the French advanced, a panic arose among those men, and they fled precipitately along the road towards Gravelotte; the road was blocked by the fugitives; the alarm propagated itself rearwards with great rapidity, and seized upon the camp followers at Gravelotte, and a general stampede occurred along the road towards Rezonville. Undisturbed by the hubbub, the 2nd Corps pressed forward, and now General Steinmetz resolved to make a last grand effort to storm the hill. It was about half-past seven. The 8th Corps was ordered to advance on the left, the 7th on the right, of the 2nd Corps, which held its way along the high road. But this attack was as fruitless as any that had preceded it. The Germans were received by a devastating fire, and "the difficulty of leading the men on unknown ground was increased by the approach of night; troops coming up in rear, deceived by the darkness, fired into those that were fighting in front; and the overwhelming fire of the enemy put a stop to the advance of these also."* Sullenly the Germans retired upon Gravelotte, and darkness found the French still immovably planted on the position which they had so bravely defended against overwhelming odds.†

On the right they had not fared so well. In the afternoon, the 12th Corps moved upon Ste. Marie-aux-Chênes, and drove out the French detachment that held it. From the high ground about St. Privat, Canrobert for a long time kept the assailants as effectually at bay as was the case at any other part of the line. But Prince Frederic Charles, availing himself of his great superiority in numbers, kept extending his line to the left until it overlapped Canrobert's right, and the 12th Corps gained possession of Roncourt, a village about a mile and a half due north of St. Privat. After several unsuccessful attempts, in which a great many men fell, a combined attack by the Prussian Guards and the 12th Corps, simultaneously directed on St. Privat from three sides, the north, the west, and the south, forced the brave defenders, soon after seven, to relinquish their hold. The right of Canrobert's corps was then thrown back, but still faced the enemy, and darkness soon terminated the contest. The result was that the French had held their ground everywhere except on the extreme right, but that all the roads leading to Verdun had been taken from them. Bazaine's

* Major von Schell, "Operations of the First Army" (Hollist's Translation), p. 129.

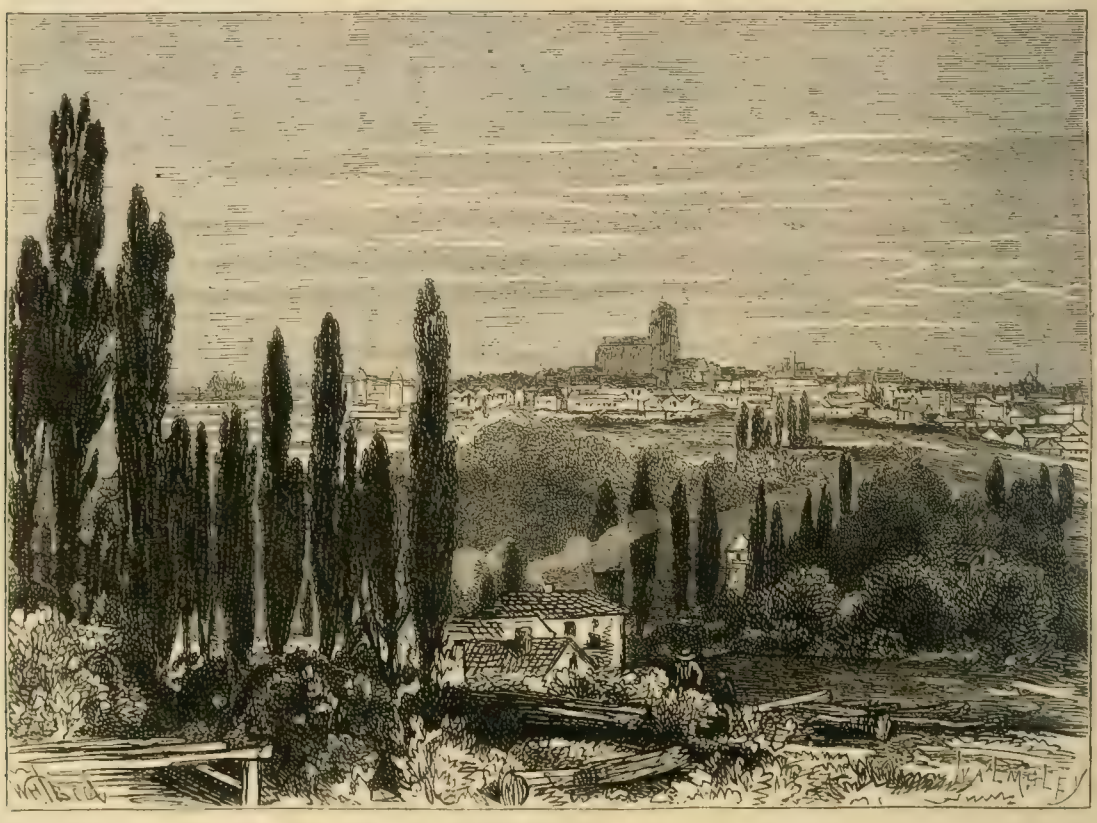
* Major von Schell.

† There are few battles about which more misrepresentations have been circulated than this of Gravelotte. Most English accounts convey the impression, if they do not state in so many words, that the French at the close of the day were driven from their positions along the whole line. Thus the *Times* correspondent, in "The Campaign of 1870-1," says, "By nightfall the German standards waved on the blood-stained slopes over Gravelotte; and the whole French army, yielding the position, had retired under the cover of Metz." The *Daily News* correspondent, in the "War Correspondence," &c., is equally positive and equally inaccurate. "The battle of Gravelotte is ended," he writes; "the Prussians hold the heights beyond the Bois de Vaux—heights which command the surrounding country up to the limits of the gun-ranges of Metz." The account given in the text, on the substantial facts of which the narratives of Marshal Bazaine, Major von Schell, and Colonel Rüstow are in exact accord, will show how grievously these writers underrated the tenacity and effectiveness of the French resistance. The King himself contributed greatly by his letter to the Queen Augusta, dated Rezonville, 19th August, which he must have written on inaccurate information, to the circulation of this false view of the termination of the battle. "An advance, by Gravelotte," he says, evidently speaking of the last unsuccessful charge of the 2nd, 8th, and 7th Corps, "was undertaken just as the daylight departed, which was met by such an overwhelming fire from behind shelter-trenches and from artillery, that the 2nd Corps, then just coming into action, was obliged to attack the enemy with the bayonet, *and completely captured the strong position, and maintained it.*" Perhaps no royal personage ever penned a sentence more inexact.

words are, that "the reports he received during the day till 7 P.M. were not such as to cause anxiety, but that a last effort of the enemy on St. Privat, and a turning movement on the French right, made the position untenable." On the following day, Bazaine withdrew his whole army from the plateau, and brought them down to within the shelter of the guns of Metz. In the battle of Gravelotte the Germans had eight army corps engaged, besides several divisions of cavalry, making a total of from 200,000 to 220,000 men, with 620 guns. On the French side, about 100,000 men took part in the defence of the lines, mained to bar the march of the invader upon the brilliant capital of France.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Reception in England of the News of the Battles round Metz—Associations for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded.—The Army of Chalons—Palikao's Plan—Noble bearing of the Empress—MacMahon prefers another Plan—His indecision and slow progress—The 13th Corps—Battle of Beaumont—The French concentrate on Sedan—General Vinoy's Narrative—His Emissary in Sedan.—State of Paris—Trochu appointed Governor—Measures of Defence—Strength of the Forces within Paris—Expulsion of the German Residents—Speech of Thiers in the Corps Legislatif—Trochu does not hope for success.—Disposition of the German Armies round Sedan—Battle of Sedan—Atrocities at Bazeilles—MacMahon wounded—General Wimpffen assumes the command—The French Army driven into Sedan—Capitulation—Letter of Napoleon to the King of Prussia—Interview of the Emperor with Count Bismark: and with the King—Napoleon is removed as a Prisoner to Wilhelmshöhe.



VIEW OF METZ.

with 450 guns, including mitrailleuses. The immense loss sustained by the Germans justified Marshal Bazaine's calculations; it exceeded 20,000 men killed and wounded, while the French loss only amounted to between 12,000 and 13,000. Why this enormous sacrifice of human life was incurred, when the retreat of the French army to the westward might equally well have been cut off without it, remains a mystery to this day. It is said that a strong feeling of indignation arose in Germany against General Steinmetz, for the recklessness with which he had squandered so many lives, and all in vain; and this feeling is thought to have led to his removal from the command of the First Army a month later. However this may be, the Army of the Rhine was now driven under the guns of Metz, and only the half-trained levies at Chalons re-

THE intelligence of the great battles fought near Metz reached England in various conflicting forms. We have seen how the King of Prussia, in a letter recalling the Napoleonic bulletins of the old war, represented the battle of Gravelotte as a great victory for the German arms. Another version, derived from a communication made by the Count de Palikao to the French Chamber,

FORTIFICATION OF PARIS: FELLING THE TREES IN THE BOIS DE BOULOGNE.

was that, so far from the Germans having won a victory, the success had been with the French, and that Bazaine had driven three Prussian corps "into the quarries of Jaumont." What this stupendous operation meant, and what the three corps did in the quarries after having been driven into them, was never explained; nor does Count Palikao, in his work on his short administration,* throw any light on the subject. But it was clear that a French army was cooped up in Metz; that thousands of men were lying, disabled by sickness or wounds, in hospitals, many of which were of a provisional and inadequate character; and that great distress must infallibly fall upon the poor inhabitants of the north-east region of France, which formed the theatre of war. The reckless way in which the French Government began the war had aroused feelings of deep and indignant disapproval among all classes and parties in this country; but now that it was a question of human suffering to be alleviated, human needs to be supplied, the warm hearts of Englishmen and Englishwomen forgot all but the urgency and the duty of charity. Associations for the relief of the sick and wounded were formed in every direction, and received overflowing support; and numbers both of men and women volunteered to tend the wounded of both armies under the protection of the red cross of the Geneva Convention. The German authorities, whose arrangements in view of these and other accidents of war admitted of little improvement, declined to avail themselves of the zeal of foreign volunteers; but by the French, whom overwhelming misfortune had surprised in a state of unreadiness which only brings out the rashness of their Government into stronger relief, all such services were thankfully accepted. Later on, a very useful organisation was set on foot by the *Daily News* newspaper, for the special purpose of relieving the wants of the peasantry and others in the country round Sedan, whom the devastating fury of the war had left houseless and penniless.

As soon as a clear notion of what had occurred near Metz was obtained by the French Government, it became a matter of very anxious deliberation what course should be adopted. For some days Marshal MacMahon had been actively engaged in forming a new army at the camp of Chalons out of the heterogeneous materials which he had at his disposal. Of the seven original corps with which France began the war, three, the 1st, the 5th, and the 7th, commanded respectively by Generals Ducrot, De Failly, and Douay, were now concentrated at Chalons. But the Dumesnil division of the 7th Corps had, as we have seen, participated in the disaster of Wörth, and had been dispersed and fearfully demoralised after the battle. The same may be said of a considerable part of the 1st Corps; while one division of the 5th Corps had been cut off from the main body by the German advance, and was now shut up in Metz. The gaps thus made in the ranks of these three corps were supplied in various ways, partly from the Mobiles, partly by recruiting; but the new soldiers were raw and untrained, and the defeats which the trained veterans of France had sustained did not tend to raise their spirits, or make them eager for the fray. A new corps, the 12th (Lebrun), very recently formed, was also at the camp, besides several divisions of cavalry. Altogether, a force had been collected of 135,000 men. What was to be done with it? Made wise by the event, critics and historians without number have condemned MacMahon's flank march through the Argonne for the purpose of relieving Bazaine, and have written as if it was absurd and incapable of achievement from the first. Then, as it must have been undertaken from some motive, they have seen in the enterprise the reckless and desperate resolve of the Government of the Emperor to sacrifice the interests of France, which would have dictated MacMahon's retirement towards Paris, to the interests of the dynasty, and stake everything on the success of a most hazardous combination, the failure of which, while it was fatal to the Empire, involved France also in its ruin. The Empress and Palikao, so it is commonly said, forced MacMahon to march towards Sedan against his better judgment, they being influenced by purely dynastic considerations.

Count Palikao has replied to these critics in a book from which we have already quoted, and it is impossible to deny that his assertions seem to be of great weight. In the first place, he declares that the bearing and behaviour of the Empress, all through these melancholy days between Gravelotte and Sedan, were in the highest degree dignified and patriotic. More than once she used to him these or similar words: "Save France, and do not trouble yourself what becomes of us"—that is, of the dynasty. He proceeds to maintain that to send MacMahon to effect a junction with Bazaine was a wise, practicable, and even hopeful project. What could have been the advantage, he asks, of bringing the Army of Chalons back to Paris? It was not wanted there; the garrison of Paris was amply sufficient for its defence; and it would only have trenched on the supplies, the shortness of which, and not the arms of the enemy, produced the fall of the capital. Field armies are not organised that they may skulk under the guns of fortresses, but that they may attack and defeat the enemy in the field. But was the scheme practicable? Count Palikao maintains that it was; and Colonel Rüstow, an independent witness, appears to be of the same opinion. The Count exhibits, with great clearness, by means of an elaborate map, the plan which he proposed to MacMahon. Formed in three columns—the right, the centre, and the left—the Army of Chalons, setting out from the camp on the 21st and the 22nd instant, would, under this plan, have marched by different routes, with considerable intervals between the columns, through the defiles and forests of the Argonne, and have re-united their forces on the 26th in the neighbourhood of Verdun. It was of the highest importance that the entire operation should be kept as long as possible from the knowledge of the Crown Prince of Prussia, who was marching from Nancy, by Toul, on Vitry and Chalons—that is, by the direct road to Paris—lest, wheeling to the right, he should fall on the right

* "Un Ministère de la Guerre de Vingt-cinq Jours." Paris, 1871.

flank of the relieving army. A fictitious telegram was therefore concerted, purporting to be from Marshal MacMahon to the Count Palikao, and stating that the former intended to march from the camp on Paris by Rheims. This was allowed to fall into the hands of the Crown Prince. The ruse was, in fact, so far successful, that it was not till the evening of the 25th, at Vitry-sur-Marne, that the Crown Prince received authentic information as to the real direction of MacMahon's march. MacMahon, therefore, having left the camp on the 21st, had a clear start of at least four days. Pushing on resolutely to Verdun, which he might have reached, in the Count's opinion, on the 26th inst., with at least 115,000 men out of the 135,000 with which he started, MacMahon would have found himself face to face with the Fourth German Army,* under the Crown Prince of Saxony, which had made an ineffectual attempt on Verdun on the 23rd August. A battle would have to be fought with this army somewhere about Etain, north-east of Verdun. Now, reasoned Palikao, one of two things would happen. Either Prince Frederic Charles would march away from Metz to the assistance of the Crown Prince of Saxony, in which case Bazaine would have issued out of Metz with the Army of the Rhine, and placed the Prussians between two fires; or, if Prince Frederic Charles had continued where he was, the Saxon Crown Prince would probably have received a severe defeat, and MacMahon, pressing on to Metz at the head of a victorious army, would, seconded as he would certainly have been by the utmost efforts of Bazaine, have succeeded in putting an end to the investment. Then, by the union of the Army of Chalons with the Army of the Rhine, a mass of troops would have been concentrated able to cope in some degree with the enormous hosts which Germany had sent into the field; and the fatal error which had been committed at the outset of the war, of dispersing the French forces, and so exposing them to the risk of being overpowered in detail, would be effectually repaired.

MacMahon, however, when, after long resistance, he acceded to the policy of endeavouring to relieve Bazaine, considered that he would be exposing his right flank too much if he were to lead his army on the line indicated by Palikao; he preferred a more circuitous course, which would take his army close to the Belgian frontier, and bring it by way of Montmédy and Briey upon Metz. Even by this route he had sufficient start, in the opinion of Palikao, to have outmarched the Crown Prince, had he given way to no indecision, and made long marches every day, without troubling himself about the number of stragglers whom he might leave behind him. He might, it is said, have reached Montmédy on the 25th August, on the evening of which day, it will be remembered, the Crown Prince of Prussia first heard of his northward march. "On the 29th, or, at the latest, on the 30th, he could have united with Bazaine before Metz—that is, if the latter broke through the investing lines—and have fought a battle with Prince Frederic Charles, who would then have been no longer able to oppose him with equal forces."* But instead of this, the head of MacMahon's army only reached Mouzon on the 28th August, and he was therefore unable to bring his whole army across the Meuse before it was struck by the Crown Prince.

MacMahon was at first opposed to any operation of the kind; he was for leading back his army to the neighbourhood of Paris, to assist in the defence of the city. When, therefore, he broke up from the camp of Chalons, on the 21st inst., he marched in a north-westerly direction to Rheims. The Government of the Regency desired, on the contrary, that he should march to the relief of Bazaine. Accordingly, M. Rouher, leaving Paris on the 20th, travelled to the camp; not finding the army there, he followed it to Rheims, and at the village of Courcelles obtained an interview with the Marshal, at which the Emperor was also present, in which he strongly urged upon MacMahon the views of the Government. Public opinion, he said, demanded that Bazaine should not be sacrificed without a strenuous effort being made for his relief. The Emperor supported the arguments of Rouher; but MacMahon stood firm, and as he was responsible for the safety of the army, nothing more could be done. But on the morning of the next day, the 22nd, MacMahon received a message from Bazaine, saying that he still reckoned upon breaking through the investing lines, "taking the direction of the north." MacMahon's decision, already shaken perhaps by the arguments of Rouher, was completely altered by the receipt of this intelligence. He now resolved to march by the route near the frontier which has been already indicated. But his progress was slow, and his strategic plan does not seem to have been thoroughly thought out beforehand. The delay of two days (the 25th and 26th) at Rethel bespoke a wavering mind that had no genuine faith in the wisdom or the success of what it was engaged in.

In order to protect MacMahon's communications with Paris, and support his left wing, Count Palikao ordered the division d'Exea of the 13th Corps, just formed at Paris under General Vinoy, to proceed to Rheims, and the remainder of the corps to move by rail to Mezieres, a town close to the Belgian frontier, about ten miles from Sedan. Thus to denude Paris of troops was not, the Count remarks, the act of a Government with which dynastic considerations were paramount to all others.

On the 30th August, the 5th Corps (De Failly) was at Beaumont near the Meuse. They had arrived there only that morning, after a fatiguing march; the soldiers were engaged in cooking; and the scouting and outpost duties appear to have been shamefully neglected. While engaged in the multifarious avocations of a camp, and dreaming of no danger, the doomed men were startled by the bursting of shells among them, fired by a battery belonging to the 1st Bavarian Corps (Von der Tann) which

* The Fourth Army was formed out of the Second Army immediately after the battle of Gravelotte; it consisted of the Prussian Guards, the 12th Corps (Saxons), and the 4th Corps, and numbered from 70,000 to 80,000 men.

* Colonel Rustow.

had advanced unperceived through the woods. Von der Tann was presently supported by the 4th Corps (Alvensleben II.) and the 12th Corps (Saxons). Surprised and outnumbered, the French made a feeble resistance, and were driven in confusion from the field, with the loss of their camp, twenty-three guns, eleven mitrailleuses, and nearly 3,000 prisoners. Of the beaten troops, some succeeded in crossing the Meuse, others fled northward in the direction of Sedan. MacMahon was deeply distressed on hearing of the ill conduct of the 5th Corps—of the negligence which had allowed it to be surprised, and the ease with which it had suffered itself to be dispersed and demoralised. A portion of the beaten troops had been, as we have seen, cut off from the Meuse, and thrown back in the direction of Sedan; it was this probably, as well as the knowledge that the head of Vinoy's column was at Mezieres, which induced MacMahon—although the 1st and 12th Corps had already crossed the Meuse and were marching upon Montmédy, and the 7th Corps crossed it at Villers below Mouzon in the course of the 30th—to give orders on the evening of that day for the abandonment of his former line of march, and the concentration of all the forces under his command upon the heights surrounding the fortress of Sedan and on the right bank of the Meuse above the town. In the course of the 31st this movement was effected. The 7th Corps, forming the extreme left, was posted from the village of St. Menges to that of Illy; to its right, and partly in its rear, stood the 1st Corps, guarding the valley of Givonne; the 12th Corps was massed on the low ground about the villages of Balan and Bazeilles; and the 5th Corps was held in reserve in the entrenched camp of Sedan.

General Vinoy, commanding the 13th Corps, has published a highly interesting narrative of the share which he took in these events, marked by the clearness and masculine simplicity which characterise the true soldier. Ordered by Count Palikao to proceed with the main body of his corps to Mezieres, he arrived at that place, with the head-quarters and the division Blanchard, late in the night between the 30th and 31st August. On the following morning he sent a captain to Sedan by train to obtain an interview if possible with MacMahon, inform him of all needful particulars respecting the movements of the 13th Corps, and ascertain what were the Marshal's intentions and hopes for the future. After leaving Donchery, the train was fired at by a Prussian battery posted on the opposite, or southern, bank of the Meuse; the Zouaves who were in the train immediately jumped out and began firing their Chassepots in all directions, though, as the General drily remarks, the shots fired by half of them, on the *off* side of the train, could not have done much execution. On entering the town, the Captain found the streets crowded with men who had come down without leave from their regiments posted on the surrounding hills; everything was hubbub and confusion. Making his way to the Sub-Prefecture, he obtained an interview about 10 A.M. with the Emperor, who had just arrived in Sedan, having travelled all night from Mouzon, whence on the previous day he had prudently sent the Prince Imperial—who, poor boy, had already had his fill of campaigning—into Belgium. The Captain, whom the proximity of the Prussians on the left bank of the Meuse had alarmed for the safety of his own corps, induced the Emperor to write an order to Vinoy, directing him to concentrate all the troops under his command on Mezieres. Napoleon gave him the order, but at the same time told him that he held no real command, and only did so because of the difficulty of finding MacMahon. The Emperor added that the Marshal's intention was to fall back on Mezieres. Leaving the Emperor, the Captain had the good fortune soon afterwards to fall in with Marshal MacMahon, and introduced himself to him. The Marshal received him kindly, and expressed his approval of the Emperor's order, and confirmed the statement that he intended to retire upon Mezieres—a movement to which neither he nor the Emperor at that time supposed that the enemy could offer any opposition. Speaking of the action at Beaumont, the Marshal expressed his sentiments in the manner that we have already described. But shortly after this interview the Captain understood that the Marshal had changed his mind with regard to retreating on Mezieres, and that he was now resolved to accept battle where he stood. Yet common prudence, it would seem, might have suggested that the *possibility* at least of a retreat on Mezieres should have been sedulously preserved, by preventing the enemy from crossing in force to the right bank of the Meuse below Sedan. So long as Sedan was not beset on the western side, the Army of Chalons, though defeated, might have made good its escape to Mezieres, and thence to Laon and Paris. But by some unaccountable negligence the 11th German Corps (Bose) was allowed by the French to throw two pontoon bridges, apparently without opposition, across the Meuse at Donchery, over which the whole 11th Corps was transported to the right bank by the morning of the 1st September, and was shortly after followed by the 5th Corps. By this operation the doom of the French army was sealed.

We will leave the two armies encamped round Sedan on the night of the 31st August, the one already half enveloped in the toils of the other, in order to return to Paris, and see what had happened there since the date of the operations round Metz. General Trochu, a Breton, born in 1815, the favourite aide-de-camp of Marshal Bugeaud in Africa, severely wounded in the Crimea, and distinguished for his gallantry and conduct at Solferino, had fallen into the background since the Italian campaign; and had not, of course, increased his popularity at head-quarters by the publication, in 1867, of his celebrated book on "L'Armée Française." Yet, as he was pre-eminently and undeniably the one man in all France best fitted for the post, Count Palikao had appointed him, on the 17th August, Governor of Paris—a post which in the course of the war could not but become one of the highest distinction and importance. By this appointment of a man out of favour at the Imperial Court, Palikao gave creditable proof of an intention to break away from the corruptions and hollowness of the Imperial régime. Trochu announced his acceptance of the office in a proclamation, placarded through all the streets of Paris. It

ended with the words, "And to complete my task, which done, I shall, I assure you, retire again into the obscurity from which I have emerged, I take one of the old devices of the province of Brittany where I was born—'With the help of God, for our country.'" The proclamation contained no allusion to the Emperor, whose name was now seldom heard in Paris; his very existence seemed to be ignored. With Trochu was associated a Committee of Defence, on which, after much contention between the opposition and the majority in the Chamber, three members of the Corps Legislatif were appointed to serve, on the nomination of the Government.

Little had hitherto been done to place Paris in a state of defence, but now General Trochu began the task with the greatest zeal. The works which he introduced were —(1) the arming of the fortifications; (2) the arming of the artillery; (3) providing living forces; (4) provisioning; (5) instituting measures for internal safety.

"Paris, which had become in 1841 a gigantic fortress, the like of which does not now exist elsewhere, nor has been seen since the days of Babylon and Nineveh, required immense labour to render it presentable as such to the enemy. . . . The ramparts in the detached forts, as well as in the principal *enceinte*, required to be levelled for the reception of guns and men, *banquettes* had to be marked out, embrasures cut, and the thickness of the parapets regulated. Ditches had to be excavated before the various gates, drawbridges constructed, and cover provided. The entrances of the eight railways into the town had also to be secured. The exits of the canals of St. Denis and of De l'Ourcq were strongly bridged over, and parapets raised upon this bridging; the ditches of the main *enceinte* were filled with water; the entrance and the exit of the Seine were secured by new works; a flotilla of gun-boats was formed upon the river; and then the construction of well-covered powder magazines in the *enceinte*, which were altogether wanting, was taken in hand; and, lastly, the system of detached forts was to be completed by the erection of new works. These tasks required time for their execution; but they were all at least begun by the first days of September, and time was gained for the completion of the most important."*

With regard to the garrison of Paris, its nucleus was the 13th Corps, which, though it was sent to Mezieres, yet extricated itself, as we shall see, from the disastrous rout of Sedan, and made its way back to the capital. By calling up the 4th or depôt battalions of various line regiments, and by completing them with men of the reserve, and with recruits, it was thought that it would be possible to form another Army Corps; so that the regular troops in Paris would amount to about 60,000 men. The service of manning the detached forts was chiefly in the hands of a body of 12,000 sailors, brought up from the sea-ports, and united in a marine division under the command of Vice-Admiral la Roucière de Noury. It was thought that the heavy guns of the forts could be worked by none so effectually as by sailors, and experience confirmed this anticipation. Then there was the Municipal Guard of Paris, infantry and cavalry, 100,000 men of the Garde Mobile, drawn in from the provinces, and the National Guard of Paris, which was to be brought up to a strength of at least 200,000 men. All these forces together would make a total for the garrison of Paris of about 400,000 men.

With regard to food, all was done that could be done; numerous trains, full of corn, rice, and salt provisions, arrived in Paris, in the third and fourth weeks of August, from Nantes, Havre, and Rouen; a large paddock for cattle was formed in the Bois de Boulogne, and many new mills were erected. It was hoped to provision Paris sufficiently to enable it to stand a siege of six months; but to accumulate a stock of comestibles capable of supporting the lives of 1,800,000 persons during so long a period was not found to be practicable.

On the 25th August, General Trochu, availing himself of the more earnest mood which approaching peril had spread among the population, caused a raid to be made on the quarters inhabited by females of loose life and conversation, and expelled a great number of them, together with their friends, from Paris. Colonel Rüstow remarks that among the latter were found an extraordinary number of foreigners, and that the fact is worthy of notice, as a certain party in Germany are always discoursing, with virtuous indignation, on the immorality of the French. On the 28th a far more questionable measure was put in force; all foreigners, being subjects of states at war with France, were ordered to leave Paris within three days. Under this proclamation, it is said that 80,000 natives of Germany were compelled to leave, of whom some had married French women, while great numbers had been engaged in various industrial or professional employments for many years, had broken the ties which bound them to their native country, and saw all their temporal prospects ruined by the order of expulsion. There was, however, much truth in the declaration of General Trochu, that it was for the good of the Germans themselves that they should depart. Some of them had been rash and malicious enough to triumph openly in the successes of their countrymen. This had led to riots and ill-blood; and, considering the furious excitement to which the Parisian population were worked up before the conclusion of the siege, it was probably for the interest of these unfortunate Germans themselves to be out of the way.

Three members of the Corps Legislatif had been nominated members, as has been already mentioned, of the Committee of Defence. The opposition in the Chamber made strenuous efforts to gain a preponderating influence in the Committee, bringing forward motions for this purpose, which Count Palikao denounced as "unconstitutional." Thiers made a remarkable speech in reply. "I most earnestly beg," he said, "that no one will let such an argument have place in this assembly. We all know why France is fighting at this moment; she is fighting for her independence; she is fighting for her greatness, for her glory, for the inviolability of her territory. We all know it—the Left, the Centre, and the Right; this truth is clear as day, and all our hearts beat

* Rüstow, II. 86.

in unison when you speak of these great, these sublime interests of the nation. But speak not to us of institutions; . . . you cut us to the heart by reminding us of those institutions which, in my conviction, are the principal cause, more than the men themselves, of the calamities of France."

But General Trochu, although he laboured with unflagging self-devotion and great ability to organise the means and perfect the plan of defence, was personally no sharer in the confidence with which he strove to inspire the Parisians. Like the melancholy Persian in the army of Xerxes, whose dark forebodings of the fate of the expedition are described by Herodotus, Trochu, thoroughly conversant with the military system of France from end to end, did not flatter himself with the hope that one man's, or many men's, self-sacrifice could avert from his country the chastisement which her vanity and folly had deserved. In a conversation of two hours, held on the 21st August, with Jules Favre and several other members of the Opposition, the Governor of Paris unfolded to them, in eloquent and appropriate words, his ideas on the exact nature of the situation. With a secret horror they heard him calmly declare that he had no hope of a successful issue. After having long expatiated on the rottenness and hollowness of the whole military system of France, such as the Empire had made it, he added, "As for Paris, its defence can be no more than an heroic madness. I know it, but I devote myself to its cause." In the old Roman spirit, but with the faith and fervour of a Christian martyr, the Breton soldier accepted the humiliations which he knew the future would bring, trusting that out of them the regeneration of his country would arise. It was not merely that—

Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni;

but, looking more deeply into the future than the Roman Stoic, Trochu saw that even the defeat of a cause might sometimes be accompanied by the favour of Heaven.

We must now return to the operations of the armies round Sedan. The dispositions made by MacMahon on the 31st have been already described. On the evening of the 30th, orders had been sent from the royal headquarters that the Army of the Meuse, occupying the right wing, should prevent the French left from escaping to the eastward, between the Meuse and the Belgian frontier; while the Third Army continued its march northwards, and attacked the enemy wherever he was fallen in with. These orders had been complied with, and the 11th Corps had been pushed across the Meuse at Donchery during the night of the 31st, so that on the morning of the 1st September seven German corps and a half, together with cavalry and artillery, forming a force of upwards of 200,000 men, with from 600 to 700 guns, were already posted in such positions as to leave no way of escape for

THE SURPRISE AT BEAUMONT.

the French, except across the Belgian frontier. On the extreme right were the Prussian Guards, facing the French left across the valley of the stream that runs by Givonne and joins the Meuse at Bazeilles, and continually extending and advancing their right as the battle proceeded, so as to preclude the possibility of a retreat of the French into Belgium. The Saxons of the 12th Corps, under their Crown Prince, were on the left of the Guards, and pressed forward against that part of the valley just mentioned which lies between Daigny and Moncelle. To the left of the Saxons was the 1st Bavarian Corps, under Von der Tann, to whom the duty of capturing the village of Bazeilles had been assigned. Across the Meuse, near Wadelincourt, between their countrymen of the 1st Corps and the 5th North German Corps, and within supporting distance of either, was the 2nd Bavarian Corps. Then came the 5th Corps, massed near Donchery, and the 11th, which advanced from the neighbourhood of that place soon after daybreak, to cut the road to Mezieres, and complete the investment of the French position.

Two independent armies being on the field, the commander of neither of which could properly take orders from the other, the King of Prussia came upon the scene, as he had done before the day of Koniggrätz, and assumed supreme command. During the greater part of the day he was posted on a hill between Frénois and Wadelincourt.

The battle began very early on the morning of the 1st September, while the summer haze still covered the low grounds, with the attack of the Bavarians on Bazeilles. Persons who visited the ruins of Bazeilles after the battle said that it must have been "something more than a prosperous village; it must have been a flourishing town emerging into importance, with substantial stone houses, numerous wide streets, hotels, churches, many factories, and several large public buildings."* The Bavarians had shelled and set fire to a part of the town on the previous day, in order to prevent the houses near the river from affording cover for French marksmen; and some of the inhabitants, who had taken refuge in the cellars of these houses, lost their lives. It is said that exasperation on this account led to the inhabitants exercising those acts of hostility against the Bavarians during the battle of the 1st, which were so horribly avenged. The assailants obtained a footing with little difficulty in the lower part of the village; but it was not till after many vicissitudes of success and defeat, lasting over several hours, in which they were frequently driven back by the men of Lebrun's corps, and after terrible hand-to-hand fighting in the streets and houses, that Bazeilles (about 10 A.M.) remained finally in the hands of the Bavarians. The latter allege that, while the contest was raging, many of the inhabitants, including

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* "The Franco-Prussian War," edited by Captain Hozier, I. 429.

women, fired upon them, and that they even threw, or tried to throw, some of their wounded into the flames of burning houses. A M. Hermann Voget wrote to a German newspaper the narrative of what he had himself seen; how a tall woman, with striking features, her grey hair wildly falling about her face, confronted a party of soldiers who broke into her house,—how she had fired two shots already, and with fatal effect,—how she cried, "*Vous avez assassiné mon mari; vous avez assassiné mes deux fils,*"—and how, upon her again raising the double-barrel gun which she held in her hand, the Bavarian soldiers shot her dead.* After losing, as they alleged, some fifty of their number killed and wounded from the fire of the inhabitants, and after having seized and shot several of the latter without effect, the Bavarians were ordered by their officers to set the town systematically on fire from one end to the other. This was done by placing masses of straw in a number of houses and setting it on fire. The destruction was complete; and an English artillery officer, who visited the place three weeks afterwards, declared that the ruins were, even then, smoking.

At an early period of the fighting for Bazeilles, Marshal MacMahon, who had come up to the front on hearing the firing, was struck down and dangerously wounded on the thigh by the splinter of a shell. He fell into the ditch by the side of the road leading from Sedan to Bazeilles; here he was found, placed in a litter, and carried to the rear. The command of the French army now—it was about half-past seven in the morning—devolved upon Ducrot, the commander of the 1st Corps. Ducrot, whom we shall meet again when we come to speak of the siege of Paris, thought of causing the army to fall back to the plateau of Illy, north of Sedan, so as, at least, to keep open the line of retreat across the Belgian frontier. But General Wimpffen, whom Count Palikao had just summoned from Africa, had arrived at Sedan the day before, and now asserted his right, as the senior officer, to take the command. This Ducrot accordingly gave over to him at 9 A.M.

General Wimpffen did not at first think the situation desperate; probably he underrated the real force of the Germans; and he stopped the movement of retreat northwards which Ducrot had commenced. At the same time, he sent no orders to the corps commanders: all that they knew was that they were expected to hold their positions as long as they could. Meantime the left wing of the Germans had been making alarming progress. The 11th Corps, having reached Vigne aux Bois at 7 A.M., was ordered by the Crown Prince of Prussia to wheel round to its right and attack St. Menges. This village lies a little to the east of the extremity of the great horse-shoe bend of the Meuse, nearly due north of Sedan. Following the 11th, the 5th Corps also passed round the head of the bend, and took ground to the eastward of Bose. Then turning southwards and deploying into line, both corps advanced against the 7th French Corps, which occupied the hilly ground between Floing and Illy. Distant onlookers from the hills behind Donchery could see the work of death going on here for several hours; lines of blue figures advancing from the north, in apparently irresistible numbers, then suddenly a band of devoted horsemen, with swords gleaming in the sunlight, attacking them in flank and routing them; these horsemen again received with a withering fire by lines standing firm in rear of those that had been broken, and hurled back, with many a horse and rider missing, to the position whence they had come;—such were the scenes that succeeded each other with rapid alternation during the forenoon on the hills of Floing. The bravery of the French cavalry was conspicuous on this day; but still the numbers and steady courage of the German masses, always directed with skill and valour by the officers, caused them gradually to gain ground. Before one o'clock, the ring of encircling fire had been so closed in that an interval of not more than 4,000 paces separated the left of the 5th Corps from the right of the Guards.

The Wurtemberger division, which had been posted to the west of Donchery, to watch the road from Mezieres, repulsed without difficulty a weak reconnaissance made from that direction by a portion of the 13th Corps. Vinoy had as yet only one division at his disposal, and of that had sent away detachments to execute important reconnaissances on the previous day; it was not, therefore, in his power to operate on the left flank of the Germans to any effect.

Balan, the village between Bazeilles and Sedan, was taken and held by the Bavarians and the 4th Corps about two o'clock. About 4 P.M., the French troops about Balan were ordered to fall back upon Sedan. General Wimpffen proposed to the Emperor to make a supreme effort to break through in the direction of Carignan, in order to rescue his person. The Emperor declined the offer; nevertheless, Wimpffen, joined by Lebrun, led forward the troops that he could draw together to the attack. Part of Balan was cleared of the enemy; but under the incessant hail of small arms and artillery the French could penetrate no farther. About three o'clock, the 1st Corps (Ducrot) was driven by the pressure of overwhelming numbers from the hills west of Daigny, and soon afterwards commenced to retreat upon Sedan. The 7th Corps had already been pressed back from Floing and Illy in the direction of the town. Some thousands, indeed, had escaped between the intervals of the Prussian corps, and had directed their flight partly towards Belgium, partly upon Mezieres, but they were a mere undisciplined mob; numbers of them had thrown away their arms and accoutrements, and their countenances bore the marks of terror and despair. Upwards of 10,000 of such fugitives—Zouaves, Turcos, linesmen, and artillerymen, all mingled pell-mell together—came within Vinoy's lines at Mezieres on the evening of that disastrous day.

At 5 P.M., the heads of all the German columns pushed forwards, and commenced to bombard Sedan with field-pieces. It is a small town of 15,000 inhabitants, without

* See the full particulars in the work just quoted.

detached forts, and powerless to resist the artillery of the present day. The whole French army being now pent up within its walls, a scene of indescribable confusion arose. Shells fell and exploded upon houses, and in the streets; the shrieks and groans of the wounded, the execrations of the infuriated soldiers, the cries of the miserable inhabitants, the helpless clamour and hubbub which reigned everywhere, must have formed together a picture such as only a Virgil or a Dante could paint.

Crudelis ubique
Luctus, ubique pavor; et plurima mortis imago.

Wimpffen desired to resign his command into the Emperor's hands; but to this Napoleon naturally would not consent. However, the Emperor himself caused a flag of truce to be hoisted over the gates of Sedan. To this it had come; and the sun of France, as the first military power in Europe, set—for how long, one knows not—on that fatal day.

The King of Prussia, perceiving from the heights of Frénois that Sedan had been set on fire by the bombardment, ordered it to cease, and sent an officer of his staff with a flag of truce towards the fortress. The officer learnt on his way that the white flag was hanging over the gate; he therefore proceeded on his mission, was admitted, and obtained an audience of the Emperor. The envoy began to speak of capitulation, but Napoleon answered that he could not dispose of the fate of the army; on that subject he must speak to General Wimpffen. The Emperor desired to surrender his own person into the hands of the King of Prussia, and sent to the latter, by General Reille, who accompanied the German envoy on his return, a letter thus expressed:—

"Monsieur, mon Frère,—N'ayant pas pu mourir au milieu de mes troupes, il ne me reste qu'à remettre mon épée entre les mains de votre Majesté. Je suis de votre Majesté le bon frère, NAPOLEON."

[*Translation.*] "Sire, my Brother,—Not having been able to die in the midst of my troops, nothing remains for me but to place my sword in the hands of your Majesty."

The King sent a courteous reply, in which he prayed the Emperor to nominate an officer of rank to negotiate with the officer whom he had named on his side, General Moltke, for the capitulation of the French army. Wimpffen undertook the sad and humiliating duty, and met Moltke at the Prussian head-quarters, in the village of Donchery. The Frenchman tried hard to obtain terms that fell short of an unconditional surrender. But the logic of facts was against him, and Moltke, calm as fate and cold as the grave, unfolded to him with pitiless accuracy the full horror of his situation. Taking down a map, he pointed out upon it the positions of the several German corps, and of their batteries; and observed, that even if the French army resolved upon trying once more the chance of arms, it could not, cooped up as it was in Sedan, deploy into line, except after issuing through the gates—an operation which, considering the position of the German guns, could only result in the useless butchery of brave men. Wimpffen still argued and protested, but all to no purpose; and Moltke informed him that unless the capitulation were concluded before nine o'clock the next morning, the German guns would recommence their fire. Nothing remained but to submit. The terms of surrender were settled at six o'clock on the morning of the 2nd September, and being ratified by the King soon after, came into force. The French army became prisoners of war, and all arms and material of war, whether belonging to the army or to the fortress, were to be handed over by a French to a German commission; the officers were to retain their freedom, their arms, and their personal property, on giving their word of honour not to serve against Germany during the continuance of the war. There were many officers, however, who preferred the nobler part of sharing captivity with the men rather than renounce the right of bearing arms against Germany so long as the war lasted. The wild excitement, rage, and grief which seized upon the soldiers, when they knew that they were to surrender their arms and go into captivity, surpass the power of description. By batches of about 10,000 at a time, they were transported, during several days, by rail, to Saarbrück, and thence to various parts of Germany.

The number of French who became prisoners of war by the capitulation of Sedan amounted to 83,000, including 4,000 officers. We have the explicit testimony of Vinoy to the fact that 10,000 fugitives made their way to his lines, and 15,000 more are said to have escaped into Belgium. In the action of Beaumont there must have been a loss sustained of nearly 5,000 men, and the killed and wounded in the battle of Sedan amounted to about 15,000. These numbers added together make up 128,000. Now we know that MacMahon started on his march from the camp of Chalons, on the 21st, with 135,000 men; of whom it is reasonable to suppose that at least 3,000 or 4,000 had abandoned the colours in the course of the marching since that date. This leaves a margin of only a few thousands for prisoners taken during the battle; it seems, therefore, that the German accounts, claiming to have made 25,000 such prisoners, must have been greatly exaggerated.

General Wimpffen, though in no jesting spirit, wrote to Count Palikao, "*Je puis dire: Je suis venu, j'ai vu, et j'ai été battu*" ("I may say: I came, I saw, and I was conquered"). He added that both he and the Count were in a state of great ignorance as to the state of MacMahon's army, and *the serious inconvenience of the presence of a sovereign there*; otherwise neither would he (Wimpffen) have desired to join it, nor would Palikao have pressed him to do so.

Seeing the terrible struggle which it had cost Wimpffen to agree to the terms proposed, Napoleon thought that could he see Bismark, he might perhaps obtain from him some alleviation of their rigour. About six in the morning, therefore, of the 2nd September, he set out in a carriage towards Donchery, having sent forward a messenger to inform Count Bismark of his desire for an interview. Bismark was still in bed, but immediately rose, and rode out to meet the Emperor. He met the carriage a little distance on the Sedan side of the Donchery bridge, and dismounting, respectfully approached it, and asked His Majesty's commands. Napoleon said that he wished

to speak with the King, whom he imagined to be at Donchery; but Bismark replied that the King of Prussia was then at Vendresse, some fourteen miles away. The party then proceeded towards Donchery, but stopped, in compliance with a suggestion from the Emperor, at a mean house, belonging to a working man, which stood by the roadside a hundred yards from the Sedan end of the bridge. Here, partly in the little shabby sitting-room of the house (like the "worst inn's worst room" which witnessed the close of the life of the brilliant Villiers), partly under the verandah outside, a conversation, lasting about an hour, took place between Bismark and the fallen Emperor. Napoleon first broached the subject of the capitulation, but Bismark declined to discuss it, on the ground that the military aspects of the position had been referred for decision to Moltke and Wimpffen. Bismark in his turn, desiring to ascertain whether any political use might be made of the astonishing success of the German arms, said to the Emperor that he was ready to discuss the situation of affairs with him with a view to the conclusion of peace. To this the Emperor replied that he had no power to bind the country; the government being vested absolutely and entirely in the hands of the Regency at Paris. Bismark then perceived, and did not conceal from the Emperor, that the practical question, now not less than on the previous day, was purely a military one; and on this he had already declined to enter.

Later in the day a meeting was arranged between the Emperor and King at a country house near Donchery, called the Château de Bellevue. A brief note from the King to Queen Augusta, written on the same day, enables us to realise the scene. "What a thrilling moment," writes His Majesty, "that of my meeting with Napoleon! He was cast down, but dignified in his bearing and resigned. I gave him Wilhelmshöhe,* near Cassel, as the place where he will stay. Our meeting took place in a small château in front of the western glacis of Sedan. From there I rode through the ranks of our army round Sedan. The reception by the troops—thou canst imagine it—indescribable!" The Emperor showed much anxiety to be spared being brought in contact with French troops or a French population during the process of his removal; and for this purpose it was agreed that leave should be obtained from the Belgian Government for his travelling *viâ* Bouillon and Liege, instead of through French territory. After his interview with the King, Napoleon conversed for a few minutes with the Crown Prince; and while alluding to the kind and courteous reception which he had met with from his father, was much agitated, and, indeed, overcome.

The Emperor quitted the Château de Bellevue on the morning of the 3rd September, and proceeded in a close carriage (it was raining heavily) to the Belgian town of Bouillon. A troop of Black Hussars escorted the carriage, but gave up their charge to one of Belgian Chasseurs on crossing the frontier. The road was encumbered by Prussian columns, trains of wagons, and captured French guns, and many hours were spent in accomplishing the short journey to Bouillon. Thence escorted by rail to Liege, and entering Prussian territory at Verviers, the illustrious prisoner reached Wilhelmshöhe on the evening of the 5th September, where suitable preparations had been made for his reception.

* Till 1865 the palace of the despoiled Elector of Cassel; see page 215.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Impression produced at Paris by the receipt of the News from Sedan—Meetings of the Chamber—Jules Favre proposes the deposition of the Emperor and his Dynasty—Illegitimate character of the Motion—The Session of the 4th September—Motion of Count Palikao—Motion of M. Thiers—The Mob break in and interrupt the Proceedings—Revolution—The Empress leaves the Tuileries and takes refuge in England—Suppression of the Senate—The Republic proclaimed at the Hotel de Ville—Trochu stipulates that he shall be made President of the Government—The new Ministry—Failure of an attempt to continue the Corps Legislatif in being—State of feeling in England—Interview of Lord Lyons with Jules Favre—Prince Metternich explains to the French Minister the position of Austria—The Chevalier Nigra excuses the neutrality of Italy—No hope for France of an armed intervention.

THE capitulation of Sedan was the occasion of one of those revolutions of Parisian manufacture which have been the curse of France during the past eighty years. The *coup d'état* of the 4th September was not indeed stamped by the same features of treachery and cruelty as the *coup d'état* of the 2nd December; it did not spring out of selfishness and ambition, but rather out of vanity and temerity; yet, considered as the illegal assumption of powers which those who grasped them had no right to appropriate, the two events stand on the same ground, and will receive a common condemnation from the verdict of history.

M. Jules Favre* informs us that late in the evening of the 2nd September a reliable person came to him, and informed him that Marshal MacMahon had been wounded, that the army had been defeated, and that it, along with the Emperor, was shut up in Sedan. All the next day a feverish anxiety reigned in every part of Paris. What was known was terrible, but a just foreboding whispered that there was still worse behind. A meeting of the Chamber was summoned by the Government at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 3rd September. Count Palikao announced the failure of Bazaine's sorties (hereafter to be described) on the 31st August and 1st September, and admitted that, after a partial success, the French army, overwhelmed by numbers, had been driven back, partly upon Mezieres, partly upon Sedan, and a small portion across the Belgian frontier. In presence of these grave events the Minister declared that the Government appealed to the strength, vigour, and patriotism of the nation; he added that 200,000 Gardes Mobiles were about to enter Paris, who, united to the forces already there, would ensure the safety of the capital. Jules Favre then rose. Availing himself of an admission made by Palikao, that the Emperor was not in communication with his ministers, and gave them no orders,

* See his "Government of the National Defence," already quoted.

he rushed to the conclusion that "the Government has ceased to exist," and began to enlarge upon the means which were at hand for supplying its place. But surely this hasty conclusion was both unwise and untrue. It was unwise, because, when so much was falling to wreck, common sense would suggest that the frame of government—the organised method and channel for the transaction of public affairs—should be, repaired indeed if it needed repair, but studiously maintained erect, and invested by the self-denying zeal and labour of all with the renewed strength which the misfortunes of the country rendered necessary. It was obviously untrue, because a temporary suspension of intercourse between the Emperor and his ministers did not and could not justify the inference that the Government had ceased to exist. The orator went on to survey the resources whence the materials of a new Government might be obtained. Strength, he said, was indeed needed above all; and where must it be sought for but in the country itself? in the country endowed with power; in the country which henceforth must depend only upon itself—upon those who represented it, not on those who had ruined it. Possessed by his democratic faith, M. Jules Favre talked about "the country" as if the populace were a divinity, and could do all things; as if it was only necessary to appeal to the great body of the people, and then the forces inherent in democracy would be elicited, and deliverance from the great perils of the hour secured. How vain and false was this surmise the event speedily proved.

Before separating the Chamber voted urgency for a proposition of M. Argence, calling to arms all men between twenty and thirty-five years, whether married or single. Filled with gloom and anxious apprehension, the members separated till the following day (Sunday, September 4) at five o'clock.

But soon after the meeting certain intelligence of the capitulation reached Palikao and the ministers, and the news, coming by various channels, soon flew over Paris. Immense crowds filled the boulevards; cries were frequently heard demanding the fall of the Government. M. Favre and some of his friends went to M. Schneider, the President of the Corps Legislatif, and prevailed upon him to convene it for a midnight sitting that same night. Jules Favre did not conceal from M. Schneider that he meant to propose the deposition of the Emperor; but to this the latter would by no means give his consent. He and many other honourable members of the Chamber believed themselves, even were there no other argument against a revolution, to be restrained by their oath of fidelity to the Emperor from joining in any project which contemplated either his dethronement or the repudiation of the dynasty.

The plan of Jules Favre and his friends of the Extreme Left was this: that the deposition of the Emperor and his dynasty should be proclaimed, and that the Chambers should assume all the powers of government, exercising them through an executive commission consisting of a few members, in which not only Palikao, but also M. Schneider would be retained. The plan was embodied in three articles, which ran as follows:—

Article 1. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his dynasty are declared to be deposed from the power given them by the constitution.

Article 2. A parliamentary committee, consisting of ——, is entrusted with the powers of government, and with the mission to expel the enemy from France.

Article 3. General Trochu remains in his post as Governor of Paris.

A moment's consideration will show what temerity, what febrile impatience, what overwhelming presumption, were involved in the first of these articles. Who was Jules Favre that he should propose, and what was the Chamber that it should decree, the deposition of the Napoleonic dynasty? That was a question surely which only a *constituent* Assembly had a right to deal with, not an assembly called together for the purpose of co-operating with the power which it was asked to overthrow. True patriotism would have refrained from stirring such questions for the present; it would have allowed the government of the Regency to stand, and postponed these matters till the war was over. The great work to be done was fighting; the best military head in France, Trochu, was already in his right place; and only inordinate vanity could persuade the group of civilians who followed Jules Favre that any one of them would make a better War Minister than an experienced veteran like Palikao. But as a bystander, looking on at a fencing match, may be tempted to snatch the foil from the unsuccessful fencer, even so it was with the *exaltés* and enthusiastic democrats of the 4th September. They had boundless faith in themselves, in their own energy, capacity, and resource; and they had also boundless faith in the invincible and inexhaustible potency of the popular forces to which they meant to appeal. Both persuasions, as we shall see, were equally illusory.

The articles prepared by Jules Favre were signed by twenty-seven members of the Corps Legislatif, but the name of M. Thiers was not among them. That experienced and wary politician appears to have had much confidence in the military knowledge and skill of Count Palikao, and on this account, as well as on account of the general considerations which may be urged against a revolutionary procedure, he would bear no part in a plan for overthrowing the Government. His own suggestion will be mentioned presently. M. Favre says that there was no opposition anywhere to the overthrow of the Government; that the conscience of the nation was awakened by misfortune, and, being thus awakened, resolved to put down the Imperial system, not as unsuccessful, but as wicked. That, at least, is what his reasoning comes to. A conscience enlightened after this fashion is not likely to be very calm or just, nor have the actions which it dictates any claim to be exempted from criticism. The reasoning of M. Favre is not sound. Conscience frequently tells us, on being "awakened by misfortune," that our own fault or folly produced the state of things which made the misfortune possible, but it does not always tell us to reverse that state of things. A man, for instance, may have married from cupidity, or lust, or some other unworthy motive;

but when he has come to see this clearly, it does not follow that he should immediately seek the remedy of the Divorce Court.

At the midnight sitting of the Chamber, no disguise being any longer possible, Count Palikao announced that the army, having been thrown back, after heroic efforts, on Sedan, and finding resistance no longer possible, had capitulated, and that the Emperor had been made prisoner. He then demanded an adjournment till noon of the same day (September 4), that the Government might have time to mature its proposals in this alarming crisis. The adjournment was not opposed; but M. Jules Favre gave notice that he should, at the midday sitting, bring forward the motion the terms of which have been already stated. The motion, if the Count Palikao is to be believed, was ill received by the majority of the members.

MARSHAL MACMAHON.

Between 8 and 9 A.M., a council of ministers was held at the Tuileries, presided over by the Empress, who displayed exemplary firmness and courage. It was resolved at this council to propose to the Chambers the nomination of a Council of Regency of five members (each member to be nominated by the absolute majority of the Legislative Body), with Count Palikao as its Lieutenant-General. But when he arrived at the Corps Legislatif, shortly before noon, and communicated to a number of deputies the plan of the Government, he found that the use of the term "Regency" was generally disapproved. Under these unexampled circumstances—with the Emperor a prisoner in Germany, mutinous democracy rampant in the streets, and nothing clear except the duty of self-defence—the majority of the Chamber might naturally object to the use of a term which implied so much, and bound them to so much, as the word "Regency." Thiers and his friends desired that the new council should be simply described as a "Council of Government." To this Palikao was unwilling to accede, because the words seemed to betoken a breach of continuity between the new Government and the old,—to be equivalent, therefore, to sanctioning revolution. An ingenious expedient occurred to him; it was to alter the words "Council of Regency" into "a Council of *the* Government and of National Defence;" thus avoiding the unpopular word, and yet implying that the Government had not come to an end, but was prolonged in and transformed into the new Council. The majority of the deputies appeared

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON ON THE ROAD TO WILHELMSHOHE.

to approve of the clause so worded; and the Empress, whose consent Palikao was careful to obtain, sent him word that she relied entirely on him, and approved of whatever he might do.

The hour for the meeting was now come. The approaches to the hall of the Legislative Body were occupied by troops of the line, and 600 mounted gendarmes were stationed in reserve in the Palais de l'Exposition in the Champs Elysées. Three propositions were brought before the Chamber: first, that of the Government; secondly, that of Jules Favre; and, thirdly, that of M. Thiers. This last was signed by forty-six deputies, and was conceived in the following terms:—

"In view of the existing state of affairs ['*Vu les circonstances*'], the Chamber names a Commission of Government and of National Defence.

"A constituent Assembly will be convoked as soon as circumstances will permit."

The three propositions were referred to the bureaux in the usual way, that a committee might be appointed to report upon them. But while deliberation was going on in the bureaux (which meet in committee-rooms distinct from the Legislative Chamber itself) events occurred which soon brought their labours to an untimely end.

Count Palikao asserts positively that while the bureaux were deliberating, several deputies of the Left, among them M. Picard and M. Pelletan, were stirring up the strangers who had made their way into the hall to raise the cry of the Republic. But how had these strangers made their way into the sanctuary of legislation? It seems that large bodies of National Guards had been parading the streets all the morning, accompanied by a turbulent mob; and that when some of these presented themselves at the entrance leading from the Quai d'Orsay into the enclosure of the Corps Legislatif and demanded admission, the soldiers and gendarmes who were on duty could not bring themselves to oppose a forcible remonstrance to their entry. Possibly the orders which they had received from head-quarters were not very rigorous. In truth, the Government of the Empress had little reason to cling tenaciously to power. The strength of the nation seemed crumbling all around them; if they continued to direct affairs, what other prospect lay before them except to make peace as soon as possible? But Germany had already intimated pretty plainly that she would not make peace except on condition of a cession of territory. Now, if the Emperor's Government, within a few months of having recklessly plunged the country into war, had signed an inglorious peace, abandoning French territory to Germany, is it morally conceivable that a tempest of popular indignation would not speedily have hurled it, and the dynasty along with it, from the seats of power? On the other hand, if the democrats made a revolution, and took the administration of affairs into their own hands, the prospect for the Empire was not an utterly hopeless one. If they drove out the Germans, then the military system which the Emperor had founded would have the principal credit; if they failed to drive them out, and were obliged to consent to an ignominious peace, then the principal share of shame and discredit would fall on them, not on the Empire.

However this may be, between two and three o'clock, the Chamber was invaded by the mob, which, rushing through the ante-rooms and corridors, filled the public galleries, raising the cry of "*La Déchéance*," joined with cries of "*Vive la France*," "*Vive la République*." M. Schneider was at his post in the President's chair; Count Palikao was also in his place. Then a truly ludicrous scene occurred. Instead of either looking about for the police, and insisting upon their clearing the hall, or giving up the game and going out to address King Mob in the open air, several members of the Left adopted the undignified and contemptible course of addressing the miscellaneous crowd that had surged into the galleries, and entreating them to behave themselves and let the business proceed. M. Crémieux made the first appeal, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, was ineffectual. M. Jules Favre then describes in the following terms the mellifluous address of M. Gambetta to the lawless howling roughs in the galleries:—

M. Gambetta: "Citizens, a little calm under present circumstances."

Several voices: "The Republic! the Republic!"

M. Gambetta: "Under present circumstances each one of you must contribute his part to the general order; in each gallery, each citizen must keep guard over his neighbour. It is in your power to furnish a grand spectacle and a grand lesson. Will you do it? Will you have it affirmed that you are at once the most penetrating and the freest of peoples? ['Yes! yes! *Vive la République.*'] Well, if that be your desire, I adjure you to take this advice. Let there be in every gallery a group which shall insure order during our deliberations. [Bravos and great applause.] The work of the commission charged with the examination of the proposition for the *déchéance* and that of the provisional Government is being prepared, and the Chamber is about to deliberate upon it in a few minutes."

Even M. Schneider, carried away it would seem by the folly of the hour, made a dignified speech to the noisy intruders, for whom a policeman's staff was the only suitable persuasive. The effect upon the mob of these touching appeals was just what one might have expected; it paid not the slightest regard to them. The body of the hall itself was soon invaded, and the noise and confusion were redoubled. M. Schneider at last rose and said, "Deliberation under such circumstances is impossible. I declare the sitting at an end." Count Palikao was attacked and roughly handled by the mob—set on, as he says, by Eugène Pelletan; he was rescued from them by his aide-de-camp, Colonel Barry, and two other officers. It was now three o'clock. The Count went to the Tuileries to inform the Empress of what had occurred, but he found that she had already fled. Already the mob was spreading through the court of the Tuileries, and the soldiers of the palace guard were quitting their posts. By whose order? asks the Count, and replies that he does not know. About three o'clock, the crowd had forced their way into the Tuileries gardens from the

Place de la Concorde, and advanced to the railing of the private garden close to the château. Troops drawn from the depôt of the Imperial Guard, under the command of General Mellinet, were stationed in this garden in considerable force. A man of the Mobile Guard was sent forward by the crowd with a white flag to open a parley. The General pointed to the roof of the château, from which the Imperial flag no longer waved, and said that he was willing to withdraw his troops if the National Guard would take over the Tuileries into their safe keeping. This being agreed to, the troops raised the butts of their rifles in the air; the garden gates were opened; the National Guard took possession; and the people streamed into the palace. Nothing was purloined, and nothing injured, except the Imperial eagles, the golden "N's," and other emblems of the prostrate dynasty.

The Empress—it having become evident soon after midday that the state of Paris was highly inflammable, and the fidelity of the soldiers not to be depended upon—resolved to seek safety in flight. Preparations being hastily made, she left the palace in a plain travelling dress. A *gamin* in the street recognised her and called out, "*Voila l'Impératrice,*" in reply to which a cry was raised, "*A la guillotine.*" But the crowd was, on the whole, good-humoured, and the Empress had no difficulty in reaching the house of a friend, whence she set out the same evening, and travelling by post all night, reached, on the next day, the little seaport of Deauville, near Havre. Here she found an English yacht, the *Gazelle*, belonging to Sir John Burgoyne, preparing to put to sea. To this gallant officer the Empress introduced herself, explained her difficult and trying position, and threw herself on his protection. Sir John Burgoyne, it need hardly be said, instantly placed his vessel at the service of the illustrious fugitive, who in it crossed the Channel to Ryde, and thence proceeded to Hastings, where she was joined by the Prince Imperial. Shortly afterwards the Empress fixed her permanent residence at Chislehurst in Kent.

The violence which had put a summary term to the functions and activity of the Corps Legislatif, could not be expected to spare the Senate, in which Napoleonic influences had borne uncontrolled domination. Under the presidency of M. Rouher, the Senate met for the last time on this day (September 4); the motion which was being made by Jules Favre in the "other house," for the *déchéance* of the dynasty, was referred to and indignantly stigmatised; certain senators, inspired by "the courage of their opinions," did not shrink, even in this desperate condition of affairs, from uttering words of loyal attachment to the Empire; and the Assembly broke up, after appointing a meeting for the next day at the usual hour. But that meeting never took place. The Provisional Government, of the institution of which we shall speak presently, declared the Senate to be abolished; its members became private citizens, and were soon dispersed through France, and absorbed in pressing local duties and the necessities of the hour.

After M. Schneider had declared the sitting of the Corps Legislatif at an end, and the Ministry had acted upon the principle of "*sauve qui peut*," a brief interregnum followed, during which France was without a Government. The party which alone had strong political convictions—to which faith in democracy and in its supposed healing and saving virtues stood in the place of any more positive religion—naturally came at once to the front. But as yet, beyond filling the Legislative Hall with noise and tumult, the Republicans had accomplished nothing practical. Jules Favre perceived that the citizens who had invaded the hall sacred to the deliberations of representative France were out of their element; they were Parisians, and how should they feel at home except at the seat of the Municipality, the Hotel de Ville? If you want a Republic, he said, it must be proclaimed at the Hotel de Ville, not here. Nothing could more plainly show how unsound and untenable was the transaction now in progress than these words.. For they really meant—Paris, from the seat of her political consciousness and activity, has a right to dictate the form of government which the whole of France shall adopt; a pretension the absurdity of which is apparent. The citizens caught at the suggestion of Jules Favre, and the cry was raised, "To the Hotel de Ville." The members of the Extreme Left, accompanied by a dense crowd of fraternising Parisians, proceeded by the quays along the left bank of the Seine, in the direction of the Hotel de Ville. Crossing the river by the Pont Neuf, they reached their destination. Jules Favre and his friends, who were all members of the Department of the Seine in which Paris is situated, installed themselves in the chambers of the magnificent building, and proceeded to deliberate on the names of those who, invested with all the authority that a street mob and a word supposed to be talismanic could give them, were to take charge of the destinies of France. While they were thus deliberating, General Trochu, to whom a messenger had been sent requesting his presence, came in plain clothes to the Hotel de Ville. A singular conversation ensued. The General begged leave to submit to the gentlemen who were engaged in forming a Government this preliminary question—whether they would protect the three institutions, Religion, the Family, and Property, and promise that nothing should be done at variance with their interests. They promised as he wished. Trochu then said, "Upon that condition I am with you, provided that you make me President of the Government. It is indispensable that I should occupy this post. As Minister of War, as Governor of Paris, I shall not be at the head of the army; and if we want to defend Paris, the army must be in our hands. I am not a statesman; I am a soldier; I know the sentiments of my comrades; if they do not see me at your head they will leave you, and your task cannot be fulfilled. It is not ambition which dictates to me this resolution; it is the conviction that without it nothing can be done. Besides, if we are to have any chance of success, it can only be by concentrating all power in the hands of one man. As military commander, my authority must be without limit; I shall not in any way interfere with you in the exercise of civil power; but its action must be in co-operation with

that of the defence, which is our supreme duty." This frank and unexpected declaration did not in the least degree offend Jules Favre and his friends; on the contrary, they recognised the essential truth of Trochu's views, and were not sorry to obtain for the new Government the solidity and respectability which his accession to it would confer. Again, his appointment as Governor of Paris having been made by the Imperial Government, Trochu's adhesion formed a sort of bridge or connecting link between the past and the future, and tended to reconcile the Imperialists to the new state of things, or, at any rate, to mitigate their opposition. For these reasons, Jules Favre and his friends willingly consented to the nomination of General Trochu as President of the Government. The other ministerial posts were thus distributed:—Foreign Affairs, Jules Favre; Interior, Gambetta; War, General Le Flo; Marine, Admiral Fourichon; Justice, Cremieux; Finance, Picard; Public Instruction and Religion, Jules Simon; Prefect of Police, Count Kératry. M. Etienne Arago was appointed Mayor of Paris. In the Committee of National Defence several names were included which did not appear on the ministerial list. Of these, the most important were, Emmanuel Arago, Glais Bizoin, Pelletan, and Rochefort. On the morning of the 5th September, the *Official Journal*, now become the *Journal of the French Republic*, contained the following manifesto:—

"Frenchmen! The nation has disavowed a Chamber which hesitated. In order to save the country in danger, it has demanded a Republic. It has placed its representatives not in power, but in peril. It was the Republic that saved the country when invaded in 1792. The Republic is proclaimed. The Revolution is accomplished in the name of right and public safety. Citizens! watch over the city which is confided to you; to-morrow you will be, with the army, avengers of the country."

Language such as this—highly coloured, emotional, and inflated—is the ordinary medium through which the partisans of democracy communicate with common mortals; with these startling Delphic utterances they amaze, and would fain impose upon, mankind; but since the oracle in this case notoriously failed, it is worth while to examine these sentences, and see what amount of truth they really contain. "The nation has disavowed a Chamber." This was palpably false; the nation of France was never consulted on the matter; an impatient and excitable section of the population of Paris, availing itself of the consternation into which the Government was thrown by the news of the great disaster of Sedan, and of the reluctance to allow French blood to be shed by French hands while it was being shed in rivers on the battle-field, mobbed the lower branch of the Legislature, and put an end to its proceedings. But the Chamber "hesitated." This means that the Chamber hesitated to nominate a committee invested with absolute authority, and charged with the mission of "expelling the enemy from France." But the measure which the Chamber is censured for not at once adopting did *not* save the country; their hesitation was therefore justifiable, and the censure directed against them falls to the ground. "The Republic saved the country in 1792." This superstitious reliance on a mere name is remarkable. It is sufficient to say that the feeling of nationality—the resolution to repel the insolent pretension of foreign Powers to dictate to France how she should govern herself—had far more to do with the defeat of the invasion of 1792 than any enthusiasm for a form of government. The cry of the victorious French soldiers on the field of Valmy was "*Vive la nation*," not "*Vive la République*." "It has placed its representatives not in power, but in peril." The nation, as we have said, had nothing to do with placing the gentlemen who thus addressed it where they were, and therefore to describe them as its "representatives" was false and misleading. And though their self-made position was certainly one of "peril," it is not true that it was not one of "power." They exercised, almost without let or hindrance, all the powers of government, so far as the German occupation permitted, and were only superseded when the country found out that they could not do what they undertook to do.

The Corps Legislatif did not resign itself without an effort to the violent suppression which had been effected. A deputation of its members, headed by M. Grévy, presently waited on the Provisional Government. M. Grévy stated that a considerable number of members of the Corps Legislatif, holding the same principles as those which animated the Provisional Government, and prepared to accept the fall of the Napoleonic system as an accomplished fact, were desirous of continuing the sessions of that body in a spirit of co-operation with the Government at the Hotel de Ville. It was arranged that a meeting should be held at the Presidency at eight o'clock the same evening, when Jules Favre and Jules Simon, as a deputation from the Provisional Government, would inform their former colleagues of the decision arrived at in reference to M. Grévy's proposal. The subject was then anxiously debated. M. Glais Bizoin informed the ministers that he had taken upon himself to close the doors of the Hall of the Corps Legislatif and seal them. This energetic proceeding it was deemed, upon the whole, advisable to sustain. The continuance of the Corps Legislatif would lead, it was feared, to political intrigues and complications of various kinds which would be unfavourable to that concentration of every one's faculties on the task of national defence which it was so desirable to promote. At the meeting in the evening, M. Thiers being in the chair, Jules Favre explained to the members present the reasons which actuated the Provisional Government in declining the co-operation of the Corps Legislatif. Thiers replied with exquisite *finesse*; spoke of Jules Favre as his "*cher ci-devant collègue*;" said that he could not approve of what had happened, but that he desired none the less earnestly that the courage of those of his colleagues who had not withdrawn before a formidable task might be profitable to the country, and gain for it that success which was the ardent desire of every good citizen.

In England the news of the fall of the Empire and the revolution of the 4th September was received with mixed feelings. A very general opinion prevailed that the

Emperor had been overtaken by a just retribution, though this feeling was qualified by the recollection of the real friendliness which Napoleon had invariably manifested towards this country, and in which his sincerity cannot be doubted. With regard to any change which the revolution just consummated might make in the position of France, and in the duties of the neutral Powers in her regard, the Government of Mr. Gladstone gave no indication of a belief that, either now or hereafter, interference (unless Belgium were attacked) could become the duty or the interest of England. France might be crushed, devastated, dismembered; but England, governed by the commercial masses, for which no political consideration that is not based on the interests of trade has any real force or value, was resolved to look on calmly to the end. But, as far as words went, the Provisional Government had no reason to complain of any lack of cordiality. Our Ambassador, Lord Lyons, was the first of all the foreign representatives to call on M. Jules Favre at the Foreign Office on the morning of the 5th September. Lord Lyons was full of good will. He reminded the minister that his Government had offered its mediation to France, which had refused it. He could not conceal that public opinion in England was still hostile to France, and that the mind of the Queen was strongly acted upon by the influence of relationship in favour of Germany. Yet it was possible that, in the course of events, the feeling in England might change; and that a sense of common interest might, if Germany pushed her successes too far and too unscrupulously, make the majority of Englishmen think that of two evils intervention was the least. In reply, M. Jules Favre, after laying great stress on the circumstance that the Imperial Government which rashly began the war had been overthrown, and that the party now in power had from the first been opposed to war, enlarged on those considerations which seemed to him to prove that England had a manifest interest in interfering to prevent France from being seriously weakened. England, he thought, would sink in reputation, and lose the respect which her magnanimous conduct at the beginning of the century had won for her among the nations of Europe, if she tamely suffered a people to which she was bound by so many ties to be destroyed piecemeal. England was now in a position, relatively to France, which might be compared to that in which France stood, relatively to Austria, after the battle of Sadowa. France then extended a generous and protecting hand, and saved Austria from ruin; so let England now act towards France. Lord Lyons promised to bring M. Jules Favre's observations under the notice of his Government, and after expressing the strong feeling of sympathy with France in her misfortunes by which he was personally animated, took his departure.

At the time of the formation of the new Government Jules Favre was honestly of opinion that the change in her representation would powerfully recommend the cause of France to the neutral Powers. The Emperor, he argued, made war upon personal or dynastic grounds; the Emperor is overthrown; the true France now makes her voice heard; declares that she would not have gone to war if she could have helped it; that her ideas all lie in the sphere of peace and the solidarity of peoples; and that the other Powers of Europe may safely make a collective representation to Prussia in order to bring about peace, because the Republic in France is a guarantee that no wanton aggression will ever be practised towards Germany hereafter. That this roseate view should commend itself to an ardent Republican was natural; but that his persuasion of the immaculate purity and peace-loving disposition of a French Republic should be shared in by other nations, and above all by Germany, was most improbable. The declarations of war of the French Convention, simply on the ground that the Governments attacked were hostile to the Rights of Man, are not yet forgotten. Count Bismark, though Jules Favre did not as yet know it, had already caused it to be understood that Germany held *France*, not the French Government for the time being, responsible for the declaration of war; and would not now grant peace till she had obtained guarantees for the future more solid than the supposed peaceful proclivities of a French Republic. In the interview held on the night of the 1st September, between himself and Moltke on the one hand, and Generals Wimpffen and Ducrot on the other, the Chancellor spoke as follows:—

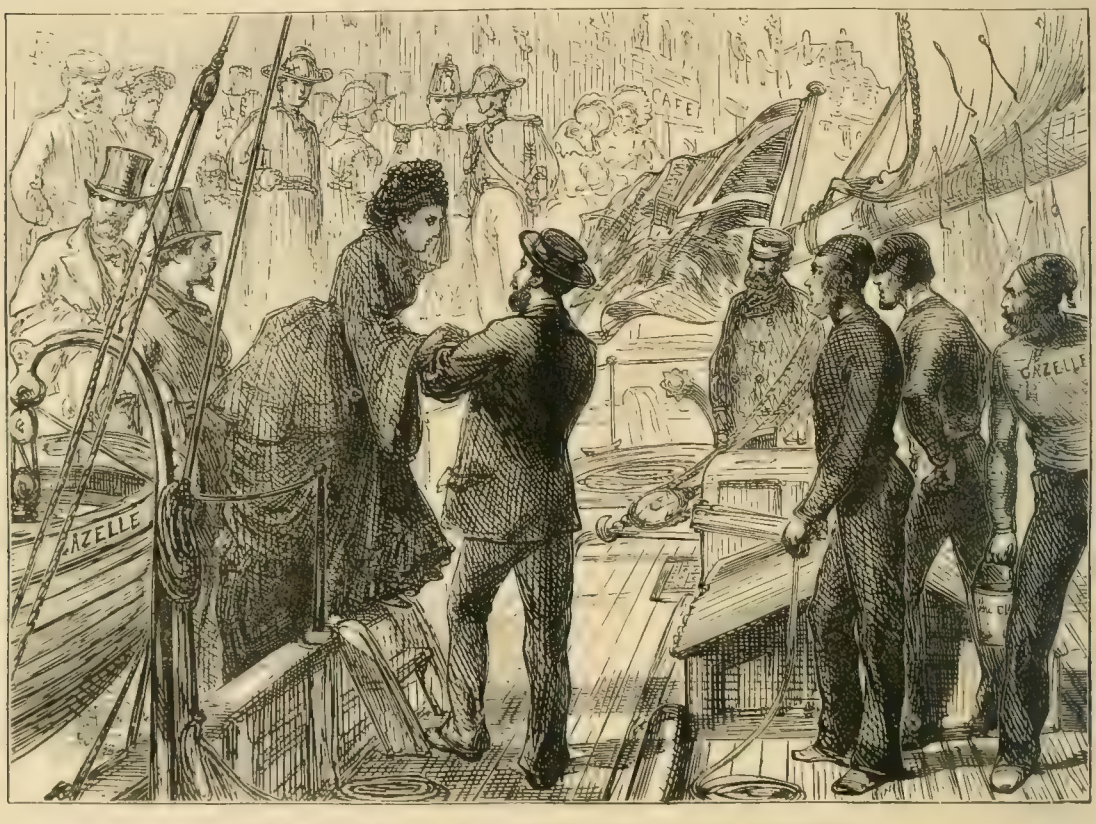
"Our course is clear; France must be chastised for her pride and her aggressive and ambitious character. We desire, in short, to be able to insure the security of our children, and to that end there must be a distinct line of demarcation between France and us. We require a portion of territory, fortresses, and frontiers, which shall protect us for ever from any attack on her part."*

Still, though England held back, might not France hope to be aided in her hour of need by one of the other Powers, or by a combination of them? M. Favre was firmly persuaded that both gratitude and interest ought to bring about a collective intervention on the part of the neutral Powers, which should force Prussia to negotiate for peace. Yet the grounds which he himself alleges for this persuasion are vague and inconclusive. The greatest among the neutral Powers "could not," he says, "open its annals without finding glorious instances of the devotedness of our chivalrous nation. All had enjoyed her hospitality, had found her generous, kindly, ready for any sacrifice, and seeking no recompense." Every word of this might be admitted, though not without qualifications; but what then? Admiration for the geniality and fertility of the French mind, recollection of cheering and stimulating hours passed within her borders, ought not to have blinded the neighbours of France to considerations of justice, nor to have induced them to shelter her altogether from the effects of the just resentment of Germany. That intervention was not resorted to later may be a legitimate subject of regret; but no neutral will be convinced by M. Favre's reasoning that it was the duty of his country to intervene immediately after the fall of the Empire.

* "La Journée de Sedan," by General Ducrot, quoted by M. Favre.

Unless, indeed, there were some special pre-existing obligation, by which a particular nation might be bound, in gratitude and honour, to come to the assistance of France. Jules Favre thought that there were two nations thus situated—Austria and Italy. With regard to Austria, the frank and cordial explanations of Prince Metternich, who called at the Foreign Office soon after Lord Lyons, dispelled all expectation of aid in that quarter. Austria had been saved by French intervention after the battle of Koniggrätz; Prince Metternich did not think of denying this, nor of extenuating the claim to intimated that if Austria interfered for France, the sword of Russia would be thrown into the opposite scale.

Italy remained; could the nation which owed its very existence to France refuse to lend its aid to its benefactor in this time of peril? To the Italian Ambassador, who called after Prince Metternich, M. Favre used decided, almost peremptory, language. M. Nigra was embarrassed and sad; perhaps he was thinking of the return that the Italian Government were at that moment preparing to make for the generous aid of France, in the shape of the annexation of the Papal territory. He did not



THE EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH EMBARKING IN THE "GAZELLE."

which such a service rendered his country amenable. He referred to some erroneous belief of the Duc de Gramont respecting words that had fallen from Count Beust. "It is not impossible," he said, "that M. Beust may have spoken of preparing 300,000 men if we were free to do so; but it is just this freedom which has always been denied us. The Emperor and his ministers will never brave the will of the Czar. Now the latter has threatened that if we were to declare ourselves for France, he would join Prussia. Our hands are therefore bound; but we will do nothing against you; we will even aid you in everything that is reconcilable with our neutrality." These words clearly define the position of Austria at this time. She would willingly have aided France; but the Court of St. Petersburg, impelled by strong family and dynastic ties to sympathy with Prussia, had contradict one of Jules Favre's assertions, but only took his stand on the impossibility of isolated action on the part of Italy. She was ready to unite with other Powers, and even to lead them, if they would follow. But nothing was to be done without the support of England or Russia. Now the former obeyed the systematic indifference of Mr. Gladstone and the private inclinations of the Queen. The latter was the kind patron of Prussia, and would do nothing to thwart her.

The Chevalier Nigra, we see, alluded in language closely agreeing with that employed by Lord Lyons to the political effect of the natural prepossessions which the close connection of the English royal family with various royal and princely houses in Germany begets in the mind of an English sovereign, when Germany is at war with any other Power. A general impression exists

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in England that no such political influence exists; that the policy of the country is shaped by the Ministry, who are themselves acted upon solely by Parliament and the press; but this impression is undoubtedly erroneous. There is good reason to believe that not the reluctance of Parliament, but the reluctance of the Court, induced Lord Palmerston to abandon the thought of giving material aid to Denmark in 1864.

These interviews opened the eyes of Jules Favre, and convinced him that France could hope for no armed intervention. She must trust to herself, and put forth her utmost energies to defend her capital, to kindle the flame of patriotism in the population, and to raise new armies in the place of those which had been lost. Meantime something might perhaps be hoped for from diplomatic intervention. But how her affairs sped under the new régime must be told in another chapter.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Meeting of a General Council at the Vatican—The opinion of its inopportuneness very prevalent—Letter of Dr. Newman—Influence of the Jesuits—Dr. Cumming proposes to attend the Council—Subjects for Deliberation—Discussion of the Tenet of Papal Infallibility—"Janus"—Opening of the Council—Analysis of its Personnel—Introduction of the *Schemata*—Petition of the Majority in favour of the Definition—France and Austria remonstrate—Answer of Cardinal Antonelli—Counter-Petition—Discussion of the Constitution *de Fide*—Speech of Bishop Strossmayer—The Constitution is voted—Discussion on the Dogma of Infallibility—Terms of the Definition—It is adopted by a Majority—The Bishops of the Minority absent themselves from the Final Voting—Analysis of the Negative Votes—Political Importance of the Definition.—The Italian Government, after the Disasters of France, resolves upon the seizure of Rome—The King's Letter to the Pope—General Cadorna invades the Papal Territory—The Papal Troops Surrender after a short Resistance—*Plébiscite* on the Question of Annexation—Terms of Accommodation offered to the Holy See—The Pope refuses them.—Affairs of Spain—Don Enrique de Bourbon killed in a Duel—Election of the Duke of Aosta to the Spanish Throne—Assassination of General Prim.

THE earlier portion of the year, of which the later months ushered in so much bloodshed and such dire calamities, was rendered memorable by the sessions of the Vatican Council at Rome, the first General Council of the Latin Church which Europe had witnessed since the Council of Trent. To England, indeed, as a Protestant country, the proceedings of a purely Roman Catholic council could not be of immediate and vital interest. Yet, besides the necessity and duty of watching keenly transactions tending to affect the faith and conduct of a large portion of that Christendom to which England also belongs, the closeness of our connection with Ireland, whose people zealously participated in the preparatory movements, brought the subject home to us in various ways;

the questions themselves which it was understood were likely to come before the Council were of a remarkable nature; and a well-founded apprehension existed that the settlement of these questions in a particular way was likely to have large and wide-spreading political results. It will not, therefore, be out of place in this History, while keeping clear of anything like theological discussion, to insert a brief notice of the Vatican Council, showing under what circumstances and with what intentions it was called together, and describing how, after great and weighty opposition, a dogma issued from its deliberations which has since acted like a firebrand cast into the society of all Roman Catholic countries.

The (according to the Roman computation) twenty-second General Council was convened, by the Bull *Æterni Patris* dated June 29th, 1868, to meet at the Vatican on the 8th December, 1869. The principal subjects for its deliberations were stated to be—the *magisterium* or supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, the relations between the State and the Church, and the deep-seated evils and corruptions of modern society, owing to the prevalence of revolutionary principles in religion, morals, and philosophy. Why the Council was summoned at this particular time, it was not easy to understand. Dissensions on questions of faith, threatening to terminate in schism, or which already had terminated in schism, appear to have been, in former ages of the Church, the invariable antecedents of the convocation of an Œcumenical Council. Thus it was to settle disputes concerning the person of Christ which had long distracted the East that the bishops of the Christian world were drawn together to Nicæa; the heresy of Eutyches preceded the Council of Chalcedon; and Protestantism had already assumed a separate existence before the Council of Trent was summoned to deal with it. But in the present case there never had been a time in which greater unanimity in faith, or a more ardent spirit of loyal obedience to the Pope, had pervaded the Roman Catholic world. It has been, indeed, alleged that the rash speculations of some German professors at the universities of Munich and Vienna, the drift of which was to extend the authority of National Churches, and to set limits to the Papal sovereignty, supplied a natural occasion and a sufficient justification for the fuller and more exact definition of the Pontifical and Petrine privileges which the promoters of the Council desired to see recorded. Yet at the time little was heard of these speculations: they did not aim at popularity; they were not taken up as the watchwords of any important party in the Church. The non-necessity for, the inopportunity of, the Council—at any rate, with reference to questions of dogma—was an opinion strongly entertained by many earnest and able Roman Catholics. "What have we done?" wrote Dr. Newman to Bishop Ullathorne, "to be treated as the faithful never were treated before? When has a definition *de fide* been a luxury of devotion, and not a stern, painful necessity? Why should an aggressive and insolent faction be allowed to 'make the heart of the just sad, whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful?' Why cannot we be let alone when we have pursued peace and thought no evil? . . . If it is God's will that the Pope's infallibility is defined, then is it God's will to throw back 'the times and the moments' of that triumph which He has destined for His kingdom, and I shall feel I have but to bow my head to His adorable, inscrutable Providence." Many were of opinion that the Society of Jesus, the members of which were numerous at Rome, were supposed to have great influence over the Pope, and were certainly very active in paving the way for the Council, saw in the extension and more precise definition of the Papal prerogatives, which the adoption of the dogma of infallibility would involve, an opportunity for strengthening that system of centralised and unquestioned power which they have done so much to establish in the Roman Church. The dogma, it was said, is intended to make the Pope the ruler of the world: but the Jesuits rule the Pope; therefore the master-influence for the future, in that large section of mankind which is included in the Latin Church, will be wielded by the Jesuits. Nor was this opinion as to the preponderating share assigned to the order in the arrangements for the Council confined to Protestants. Soon after the commencement of the sessions, Bishop Strossmayer, a Croatian prelate, denounced the Jesuits before the assembled fathers as manipulating and directing the business of the Council in a manner liable to be disastrous to the interests of the Church.

Soon after the publication of the Bull convening the Council a Papal brief appeared, addressed to all Protestants and non-Roman Catholics, informing them that a General Council was about to be held, entreating them not to rest contented with a position in which they could not be sure of their salvation, and urging them to reconciliation and submission. Dr. Cumming, of the Scotch Church, London, understood this appeal as tantamount to an invitation to the Council, and manifested an intention of attending at the Council at the time appointed, and taking part in the discussion. The Pope, however, writing to Archbishop Manning, desired that "Dr. Cumming, of Scotland," should be informed that no opinions and practices which had been condemned by any previous Council could be again brought under discussion, and that the object of reminding Protestants of the Council was to induce them to reflect upon the instability of their religious position. In order that confusion might not characterise the proceedings of so numerous an assembly, composed of men of every nation, a large proportion of whom had never set eyes upon each other before, six commissions were appointed by the Pope, with orders to prepare and rough-hew the materials for deliberation in council on the several topics of—Religious Dogma, Ecclesiastical Politics, Church Discipline, Monastic Orders, the East, and Rites and Ceremonies.

In Roman Catholic countries it was believed that the object for which the Council was convened was to declare the infallibility of the Pope; and for months before the Council opened great agitation prevailed. In France, Bishop Maret and Père Gratry, the Oratorian, published pamphlets impugning, not the opportuneness only, but the truth, of the doctrine in question. In Germany, the celebrated Dr. Döllinger contributed to the *Allgemeine*

Zeitung a short but weighty essay, "Against the Infallibility of the Pope." But of all writings of this class none attracted so much attention as an able work named "The Pope and the Council," and appearing under the pseudonym of "Janus." The object of the writer was to establish by reference to history the untenable nature of the claims now made on behalf of the Roman Pontiffs. The Governments of the Roman Catholic Powers became uneasy, and sought information from Cardinal Antonelli as to the probable course that the deliberations would take; some of them also spoke of asserting a claim to send ambassadors to the Council, as in former times, for the protection of lay interests. But Cardinal Antonelli replied in smooth and conciliatory terms; he would not admit that the definition of the dogma of infallibility was probable; and with regard to the non-admission into the Council of ambassadors from Roman Catholic Powers, he justified it by the changed circumstances of modern times.

The Council assembled for the first time on the appointed day, the 8th December, 1869. Out of 1,044 bishops, mitred abbots, or generals of orders, who were qualified to sit in the Council, 767 actually attended. The bishops of Poland alone, among European countries, were absent, having been forbidden to attend by the arbitrary mandate of the Czar. England and Scotland were represented by twelve or thirteen bishops, the most prominent of whom were Archbishop Manning and Dr. Ullathorne. Ireland sent twenty-three representatives, including Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop MacHale, and the learned and enlightened Bishop of Kerry, Dr. Moriarty. The French bishops were about eighty in number; those of North Germany only fourteen. The total number of bishops from all European countries—except Italy—amounted to 265. The Italian bishops, together with the hundred and nineteen bishops whose sees were *in partibus infidelium*, formed a total of 276. The missionary bishops—congregating to Rome from all parts of the known world, the expenses of their journey and residence in Rome being borne by the Papal treasury—formed nearly three hundred. It was objected that the representative character of the Council was impaired by the inequality of the relations existing between the bishops and the faithful who composed their flocks. The North German bishops, it was said, were only as one to 810,000 lay Catholics in North Germany; while the bishops from the Pontifical state numbered one for every 12,000 of the laity. Again, it was urged that, whereas in the primitive times one of the most distinctive characteristics of a bishop sitting in a council was that he bore testimony concerning the faith of his flock, this could not be the case with the numerous bishops *in partibus* now assembled at the Vatican, whose few and ignorant converts, for the most part just reclaimed from barbarism, had no traditional Christianity to put in plea. To all such objections it was replied, on the other side, that a bishop sat in council in virtue of his consecration only, and that the doctrine of equal numerical representation had never been received in the Church.

The place of meeting was the north transept of St. Peter's, which had been partitioned off from the body of the church, and converted into a magnificent hall of audience. But the acoustics of the place were unsatisfactory; what mortal voice but must be lost in the aerial spaces which intervened between the benches and that soaring and majestic vault? A huge curtain hung from wall to wall remedied, though not entirely, this defect.

For the regulation of the order of business the Bull *Multiplices inter* was prepared, and communicated to the Council at the commencement of its proceedings. It was said that under this bull the liberty of the Council was abridged to an extent never known in former councils. It lodged in the hands of the Pope the nomination of the presidents of all congregations and commissions, and enjoined that any proposition which a bishop desired to bring before the Council should first be laid before a special commission, which should decide on its admissibility and report accordingly to the Pope, without whose permission in the last resort it could not be brought forward. It need hardly be said that Latin was prescribed as the only language to be used in the public deliberations.

The first public session (December 8th, 1869) was devoted to the formalities of opening. The proceedings of the Council being suddenly suspended in October, there were but four public sessions altogether. The second was held on the feast of the Epiphany, January 6th, 1870; when, no decree being at that time ready for discussion, every bishop attending the Council, with the Pope at their head, made the formal profession of his faith by publicly declaring his adhesion to the creed of Pope Pius IV., in which were summed up the principal dogmatic definitions and decrees of the Council of Trent. In the course of January several *Schemata*, or rough drafts of decrees, were introduced into the Council, and referred to the several examining commissions. The first was the Schema *De Fide*; it was headed, in its original form, by a preamble containing language of a very disparaging nature respecting Protestantism, to the influence of which it ascribed those baneful errors—Rationalism, Pantheism, Atheism, Socialism, &c., which it proceeded to condemn and anathematise. The second Schema related to Church discipline, and was brought in on the 14th January; it dealt chiefly with the duties of bishops. The third Schema, *De Ecclesia*, on the Church and the Papal primacy, was brought in on the 21st January; it originally contained three chapters, but a fourth was added under the circumstances presently to be related.

The repugnance to the doctrine of Papal infallibility—or, at any rate, to the opportuneness of its definition at the present juncture—had been now so loudly expressed by a number of bishops (chiefly French and German, but with a sprinkling of English and Americans) that the majority in the Council began to fear that the advisers of the Pope would recommend the postponement of the subject to a future occasion. Wherefore a petition, or *postulatum*, was prepared, soon after the session of the 6th January, praying the Pope that the doctrine of the infallibility of the Chair of Peter might be defined; this was signed by five hundred bishops. The Govern-

ments of France and Austria, alarmed at this intelligence, thought that the time was come for exercising a pressure in a contrary direction on the Papal Court. Count Daru, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, instructed the Marquis de Banneville, the French Ambassador at Rome, to inform Cardinal Antonelli of the desire of the French Cabinet to be informed beforehand of all proceedings of a political nature which were taken by the Council, and of the decidedly adverse opinion of the said Cabinet against any definition of Papal infallibility. The Austrian Minister held similar language. Cardinal Antonelli replied to Count Daru in a long despatch written in March, when the prospect of the adoption of the dogma was increasingly favourable, denying that the Concordat existing between France and Rome gave the French Government any right to demand the special information required, and claiming it as the privilege and the duty of the Council to proceed to the doctrinal definition deprecated by the French Cabinet, which he hoped would be greeted by the faithful everywhere as "the rainbow of peace and the dawn of a brighter future." It has been stated* that the French Government replied to this letter from Cardinal Antonelli, stating that, as he determined to pursue a course which could only end in its ruin, France would for the future abstain from interference; but that on the day of the declaration of Papal infallibility the Concordat would cease to be valid, the State would separate itself from the Church, and the French troops would be withdrawn from the Papal territory. It is certain that the resolution to withdraw the French troops, which was officially communicated by the Marquis de Banneville to the Holy See on the 27th July, was arrived at before France had sustained any military reverses, and may therefore have been prompted, or at least accelerated, by the proclamation of the dogma; but it does not appear that the menace of treating the Concordat as invalid was ever acted upon in the smallest degree; it seems probable, therefore, that the terms of the despatch were not in reality quite so stringent.

In reply to the petition of the five hundred bishops, a counter-petition was prepared by the opposition, and received a hundred and thirty-seven signatures, chiefly those of French, German, and Hungarian bishops. But the signers of this document—which was drawn up by Cardinal Rauscher—were careful not to commit themselves to an unconditional hostility to the dogma. They were content with pointing out the stumbling-blocks and dangers by which the question was surrounded,—the thorny controversies, supposed to be long since buried, which it would disinter and quicken into a disastrous activity,—and the as yet unresolved difficulties which passages in the history of the Papacy opposed to the belief in its infallibility.

The controversy, both in and out of the Council, waxed hotter and hotter, especially when the Infallibilists, emboldened it would seem by the hesitating and qualified character of the opposition, as expressed in the counter-petition, brought in, in March, and annexed to the three chapters of the Schema *De Ecclesia* already submitted, the celebrated fourth chapter, containing the dogma itself, fully formulated. But for the moment discussion ran upon the Constitution *De Fide*, which was rapidly approaching maturity. The opposition required, and finally with success, material alterations in that portion of the preamble which said so many hard things of Protestantism. The eloquent Bishop Strossmayer, in the course of a memorable speech which he delivered on the 22nd March, said: "With regard to Rationalism, I conceive the venerable Commission to have been in error, when, in drawing up the genealogy of Naturalism, Materialism, Pantheism, Atheism, &c., &c., they asserted that all these errors were the offspring of Protestantism. . . . The errors above named are, not to ourselves only, but to the Protestants as well, objects of horror and abomination, so that they are of service and assistance to the Church and to us Catholics in opposing and refuting them. Thus Leibnitz, certainly, was a learned and in every respect eminent man,—a man just in his judgment of the institutions of the Catholic Church,—a man of excellent intentions and deserts in restoring concord among Christian communities. These men, of whom there are many in Germany, in England, and in North America, are followed by a multitude among the Protestants, to whom may be applied those words of the great Augustine: 'They err, but they err in good faith; they are heretics, but they hold us for heretics.' They did not themselves invent their error, but they inherited it from perverse parents who had been led into error; and they are prepared to lay down their error so soon as they shall be convinced of it. If these men do not belong to the body of the Church, they belong to its soul, and in a certain measure they participate in the benefits of redemption. In the love they bear to our Lord Jesus Christ, and in those positive truths which they have saved from the shipwreck of their faith, they possess so many particles of divine grace, which the mercy of God will make use of to bring them back to their first faith and to the Church, if we do not by our exaggerations and our short-sighted breaches of charity towards them retard the time of the divine mercy." The speaker met with frequent interruptions and cries of disapproval from the majority during the utterance of these bold and generous sentiments. In the end, the offensive preamble was withdrawn, and a new one drawn up which the minority could agree to. The Constitution *De Fide* was adopted unanimously in the public session of the 24th April, all the bishops present voting *placet*, but eighty-three adding the words "*juxta modum*," by which was meant that the signer adhered to the constitution in a particular sense attached by himself to its terms, and not in any other sense. Strossmayer alone absented himself from the voting.

The Constitution *De Fide* being now out of the way, that *De Ecclesia*, with its new fourth chapter, was pushed forward with the greatest ardour. The opposition resorted to the press, and several remarkable pamphlets by men of note appeared. One of these was by the learned Hefele, lately appointed Bishop of Rottenburg; it was a

* "Annual Register" for 1870, p. 266.

discussion of the well-known case of Pope Honorius, condemned for heresy by Pope Agatho and a council in the year 680. Other *brochures* on the same side were written by Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, the Cardinals Rauscher and Schwarzenberg, and Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis. The first meeting for the discussion of the Constitution *De Ecclesia* was held on the 14th May, and the debate was continued during three weeks. The principal speakers in support of the dogma were, Cardinal Patrizi, Cardinal Cullen, the Archbishop of Malines, and Moreno, the Cardinal Archbishop of Valladolid. One of the most able and effective speeches was that of Dr. Cullen, who endeavoured to convict Hefele of self-contradiction, by contrasting the conclusions of his late pamphlet with the account given of Pope Honorius in his Church History. Darboy, the Archbishop of Paris, made an earnest and powerful speech against the decree; and Simor, the Primate of Hungary, Jussuf, the Patriarch of Antioch, and Dr. MacHale, of Tuam, spoke on the same side. The discussion dragged on wearily. June arrived, and with it the burning heat and the unwholesome air of a Roman summer, and still the names of forty-nine bishops were inscribed, as desiring to take part in the discussion. At this point the majority exercised their right of closing the debate—what is called in France *la clôture*—and the general discussion was brought abruptly to an end on the 3rd June. Several weeks were then consumed in the consideration of the chapters, paragraph by paragraph. The voting on the fourth chapter, that enunciating the dogma, came on on the 13th July. As finally settled, the definition was expressed in the following terms:—

"We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed; that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, through the divine assistance promised to him in St. Peter, is strong [*pollere*] with that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed His Church to be furnished in defining doctrine concerning faith or morals, and that, therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church."

On this definition the Council voted in the general congregation of the 13th July, and with the following result: 400 *placet*, 88 *non placet*, and 61 *placet juxta modum*. About seventy others, though in Rome, abstained from voting. It was now a question with the minority what course they should take. Cardinal Rauscher proposed that they should all wait for the public session, which had been fixed for the 25th July, and then vote *non placet* in the presence of the Pope. But more pacific counsels prevailed. A letter was prepared on the 17th inst., and signed by 110 bishops, in which, after adverting to the particulars of the voting on the 13th, they declared to the Pope that their hostility to the definition of the dogma remained unchanged, and that by the present writing they confirmed their previous suffrages, but that, nevertheless, out of respect and affection for his Holiness, they had determined not to stay and vote openly, and "*in facie patris*," in a question so nearly concerning the person of the Pope. The bishops of the minority, accordingly, took their departure from Rome.

The turmoil caused by the approach of war led to the anticipation of the date which had been fixed for the public session. On the 18th July, the Pope himself presiding, the Constitution *De Ecclesia*, which included the definition of infallibility, was put to the vote and received 533 *placets*, and two *non placets*. The negative votes were given by Riccio, Bishop of Cajazzo, and Fitzgerald, Bishop of Little Rock, in the state of Arkansas in the United States. The Pope then read out the constitution to the assembled fathers, and confirmed it. During the reading a violent storm of thunder and lightning burst over St. Peter's, and the darkness became so great that the Pope was obliged to send for a candle. Little or no excitement was visible among the Romans; the Ambassadors of France, Prussia, and Austria pointedly stayed away.

An analysis of the eighty-eight negative votes in the general congregation of the 13th July, shows that thirty-two of them were given by German, Austrian, or Hungarian prelates, twenty-four by French, and seven by Oriental bishops. Two were Irish (Drs. MacHale and Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry); two English (Vaughan, Bishop of Plymouth, and Clifford, Bishop of Clifton); one Colonial (Conolly, Archbishop of Halifax), and five North Americans. Six Italian bishops, six bishops *in partibus*, and three whose names could not be ascertained, complete the list.

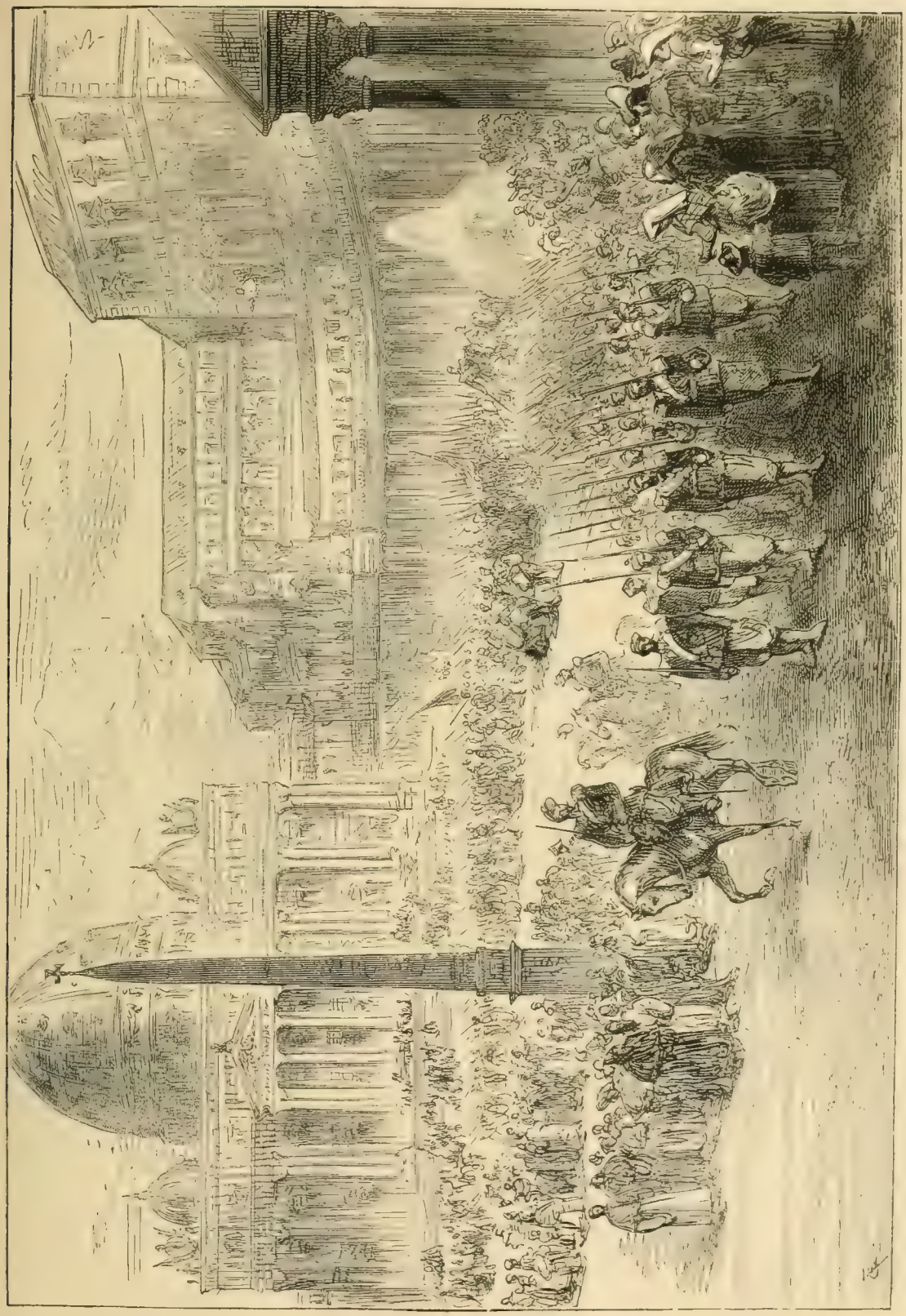
The importance of the definition of infallibility was considered by politicians and lay society in general to consist, not so much in the assertion and claim which the mere words of the decree contain, as in the retrospective force which it might be used to impart to Papal decisions dating from the Middle Ages, at a time when the power and pretensions of the Holy See were almost unbounded. If such a dogmatic utterance, for instance, as the Bull *Unam sanctam* of Boniface VIII., by which it was declared that "if the temporal power errs, it is judged by the spiritual," and that "there are two swords—the spiritual and the temporal; . . . both are in the power of the Church; . . . the former that of priests, the latter that of kings and soldiers, to be wielded at the good pleasure and by the allowance of the priest,"—if such a Papal declaration, and others of a similar kind to be found in the Roman *Bullarium*, were held to be *ex cathedrâ*, and therefore infallibly true, what a prospect was opened for the non-Roman Catholic sovereigns of Roman Catholic subjects should the new definition come to be generally accepted by the human conscience throughout the Roman Catholic world! It is this alarming prospect which explains the subsequent conduct of the North German Government, and also of the Federal Government of Switzerland. The Roman Catholic population in North Germany amounts to twelve or fourteen millions; in Switzerland it forms nearly one half of the total population of the Republic; it is, therefore, of the utmost

importance to the Protestant Governments of both countries that the doctrine supported by the majority at the Vatican Council, involving possible practical applications of the gravest character, should be discountenanced and repressed wherever the influence of the State extends.

So far as it was connected with temporal power, the supremacy asserted for the Pope by the Constitution *De Ecclesia* was about to receive a notable check and diminution. The Lanzi Ministry, which was at this time in power in Italy, was disquieted all through the spring and early summer by the seditious threats and speeches of the Republicans and Garibaldians. In August, Mazzini, who was known to be the brain and soul of the Republican movement, was arrested at Palermo while wearing a disguise, and placed in confinement at Gaeta. The declaration of war between France and Prussia had been speedily followed by an announcement (July 27), on the part of the Ollivier Government, that France would withdraw all her troops from Rome, and this was soon after effected. The Opposition in the Italian Parliament immediately began to attack the September Convention, and to urge the occupation of Rome; but Signor Lanzi replied that the Convention was still binding, and must be adhered to. But in September, after the fall of the Empire and the Regency, the Italian Government could not afford to overlook the opportunity which the prostration of France afforded, of extending a kingdom which was itself in so large a measure the child of revolution, by a further application of those revolutionary means, of which the violence of the democrats and the weakness of the Pope alike suggested the application. Already, on the 6th September, the Chevalier Nigra sounded Jules Favre on the possibility of obtaining the approval and sanction of the new French Government to the King of Italy taking possession of Rome. M. Favre, though not personally opposed to the measure, was too well acquainted with the feeling which prevailed in France on the subject to give the slightest official countenance to the act, of the imminence of which Nigra informed him. On the 8th September, the King addressed a letter to Pius IX., fulsome in its expressions of affection to the person and reverence for the office of the Pontiff, in which, grounding his determination on the critical condition of Italy, and also on the presence of foreigners among the troops composing the Papal army, he announced his intention to send Italian troops into the Roman territory, who should occupy those positions which should be "*indispensable for the security of your Holiness*," and for the maintenance of order.

CARDINAL ANTONELLI.

Count Ponza di San Martino waited on the Pope, on the 10th September, with the King's letter, and, according to his instructions, offered the following terms: That the



DEPARTURE OF THE PAPAL ZOUAVES: RECEIVING THE POPE'S BLESSING.

Pope should retain full sovereignty over the Leonine city (that part of Rome which lies on the right bank of the Tiber) and all ecclesiastical institutions in Rome; that the income of the Pope, the cardinals, and all the Papal officials, should remain unchanged; that the Papal debt should be guaranteed; and the Roman Catholic clergy throughout Italy should be freed from Government control. Those terms Pius IX. refused to accept.

An Italian army of 50,000 men, under the command of General Cadorna, crossed the Roman frontier on the 11th September, occupied Viterbo without resistance, and directed its march on Rome. In the course of the 17th and the two following days the city was completely invested. The total strength of the Papal army did not exceed 12,000 men, and the Italian portion of these could not be entirely depended upon. The Pope resolved that just so much resistance should be offered as would make it evident that he yielded only to force, and that his troops should then capitulate, in order that useless bloodshed might be prevented. Writing to General Kanzler, the commander of the Pontifical forces, on the 19th September, he said, "So far as regards the duration of the defence, I feel it my duty to command that it shall only consist in such a protest as shall testify to the violence done to us, and nothing more; in other words, that negotiations for a surrender shall be opened so soon as a breach shall have been made." At five o'clock on the morning of the 20th September the Italian batteries opened fire, General Bixio, on the west side, conducting the attack against the Porta San Pancrazio, while Cadorna himself, on the north-east, directed the principal attack against the Porta Pia. The Papal Zouaves made a vigorous defence; but after the cannonade had continued nearly five hours, a practicable breach was effected in the wall near the Porta Pia, and preparations were made for a storm. In compliance with the Pope's orders, the white flag was then hoisted, and the command passed along the ramparts to cease firing. A capitulation was soon agreed to, by which possession of the city was given up to the Italian forces. The Zouaves bivouacked that night in the Piazza of St. Peter's; in the morning, as they were preparing to march off, Pius IX. appeared at a window of the Vatican, to bid a last farewell to the defenders of his temporal throne. The soldiers shouted loud *vivas* for the "Papa e Re," and then knelt to receive the Pontifical blessing, after giving which Pius "raised his arms to heaven, and then buried his face in his hands."* The Zouaves were then marched out of the city by the Porta San Pancrazio, and laid down their arms; after which they were sent by rail to Civita Vecchia, and thence to Genoa, in order that from that seaport they might regain the countries to which they respectively belonged. The brave Colonel Charrette bade farewell to his English and Irish friends among the Zouaves, saying that, as there was no further possibility of defending the Pope, his duty called him to France, to fight for the defence of his country.

The Italian Government, desirous of covering the seizure of Rome under a show of legality, ordered an appeal to be made to the people of the Papal territory, who were invited to vote on the question whether or not they approved of the annexation of Rome to the kingdom of Italy, the spiritual rights of the Pope being preserved. The voting took place on the 2nd October, with the following result: Ayes, 133,681; Noes, 1,507. The Italian Parliament met in December, and sanctioned the transfer of the capital from Florence to Rome. Victor Emmanuel made his public entry into Rome on the 31st December.

The Pope having refused the terms offered through the Count Ponza di San Martino, the following arrangements were made by the Italian Government, with the sanction of the Parliament, without consulting him. He was confirmed in the possession of his sovereign rights, allowed to retain his guards, and provided with an income of 3,255,000 francs (which, however, Pius IX. has never consented to accept). He was to keep the Vatican Palace (the Quirinal Palace being confiscated for the use of the King of Italy), the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, his residence at Castel Gandolfo, and their dependencies. Various provisions were added for the purpose of securing the freedom and inviolability of the Papal correspondence; and it was stated that the seminaries and other Roman Catholic institutions were to derive their authority from the Holy See alone, without any interference from the Italian educational authorities.

Spain, the unlucky causer of the deadly war which had broken out between France and Germany, though earnestly striving after repose and a settled government, failed to obtain it. In March a lamentable incident occurred. Don Henry of Bourbon, brother to the King Consort of Spain, had, for reasons known to himself, espoused the Republican cause, and was incensed against the Duke of Montpensier, the Queen's brother-in-law, who was supposed to be a candidate for the vacant throne. In a manifesto published on the 7th March, Don Henry warned the "French and Spanish conspirators"—at the head of whom he placed the Duke of Montpensier—"that in Spain the man of prestige and national veneration is the illustrious Espartero, and not this braggart of a French pastry-cook." The Duke, though no fire-eater, thought himself bound in honour to challenge the Prince to the combat; a duel took place near Madrid; three shots were exchanged, the adversaries approaching nearer each time, and at the third shot the Prince fell dead. Montpensier was tried by court-martial, and sentenced to a month's banishment, and to pay 6,000 dollars to the family of the Prince.

In May, the names of Espartero and Montpensier were formally before the Cortes as candidates for the throne. But Espartero soon after retired, on the ground of his advanced age; and Prim, whose influence was predominant in the Government, would not hear of the election of the Duke of Montpensier. In June, Queen Isabella abdicated in favour of her son Alfonso, the Prince of Asturias. The next month witnessed Prim's unsuccessful attempt to secure the elevation to the throne of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. Not daunted by so many failures, Prim now turned his eyes again to the House of

* [illegible], "Two Years with the Pontifical Zouaves."

Savoy, and prevailed on the King of Italy to consent to the acceptance of the Spanish crown by his second son, the Duke of Aosta. In October, this arrangement was given out as completed, subject to the approval of the Cortes. On the 16th November, a formal vote was taken in the Cortes, and there appeared—for the Duke of Aosta, 191 votes; for the Federal Republic, 60; for Montpensier, 27; for a Unitarian Republic, 3. Supported by this decisive majority, Prim proceeded to make all the necessary preparations for the fitting reception of the new sovereign. The Duke and Duchess of Aosta embarked at Leghorn, and landed at Cartagena on the 30th December. They were received by Admiral Topete, and informed by him of a terrible crime which had just occurred in Madrid. On the 28th December, Marshal Prim, while going in his carriage from the Cortes to the Ministry of War, was fired at by some assassins (supposed to be Republican fanatics, to whom Prim was odious as the supporter of monarchy), and severely wounded in the arm and hand. The assassins made their escape. The wounds were at first not believed to be dangerous, but inflammation set in, and Prim expired on the night of the 30th December. When made aware of the rapid approach of death, he bade his friends adieu with composure, only expressing anxiety for the young king, whom he had been the chief agent in raising to the throne. The Cortes voted that Prim—who was but fifty-six years old when thus untimely cut off—had deserved well of his country, and that his family should be placed under the protection of the nation. If he had erred through ambition, the brave Prim was yet a true lover of his country, and a wise, courageous, and sagacious ruler; and at this critical juncture of her affairs, his death was to Spain an unspeakable and irreparable loss.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Paris after the Revolution of September 4—Circular of Jules Favre—Reply of Count Bismark—Interview at Ferrieres.—Description of the Forts round Paris—The German Investment—Sortie of the 30th September.—Siege of Strasburg.—Mission of M. Thiers.—Gambetta escapes from Paris.—Blockade of Metz—Sortie in Force on the 7th October—The Regnier Incident—Exhaustion of the Supplies—Capitulation of Metz and of the Army of the Rhine—Proclamation of Gambetta—Excitement in Paris—*Plebiscite* in Paris—Evacuation of Mount Avron.—Other Sieges: Fall of Laon, Toul, Phalsburg, &c.—Formation of the Army of the Loire—General d'Aurelle de Paladines—Defeats Von der Tann at Coulmiers—The French re-occupy Orleans—Plans of d'Aurelle—Combat of Beaune-la-Rolande—Battles round Orleans—Orleans re-occupied by the Germans—Chanzy appointed to the Command of the Second Army of the Loire—Battles of Villorceau and Vendome—Chanzy falls back on Le Mans.—Affairs in the East of France—Garibaldi arrives at Tours—Surprise at Chatillon—Belfort invested.—Russia declares that she will not be bound by the Black Sea Conference—Correspondence between Earl Granville and Prince Gortschakoff—Prussia proposes a Conference.

In the last chapter but one we brought down the narrative of the Franco-German War to the capitulation of Sedan, and the Revolution of the 4th September. Some fulness of detail up to this point might be not inconsistent with the design of this History, when the closeness and cordiality of the relations which the Emperor Napoleon did so much to establish between France and this country, and the deep interest which Englishmen consequently took in his fortunes, are taken into consideration. Of the gallant struggle made by the French nation after the fall of the Empire, when the gentlemen who had installed themselves in the seats of power vainly tried to bring back to the standards of the raw Mobiles that victory which had deserted the eagles of the veterans of the Crimea, it does not fall within the scope of this work to speak at length. That task has already been ably and graphically accomplished, as the readers of "Cassell's History of the War between France and Germany" are well aware.

M. Jules Favre, Gambetta, Cremieux, and the rest, (always excepting Trochu), believing in democracy with an implicit and absolute faith, seem to have been honestly convinced that what the French, or rather the Parisian, populace were determined should be or should not be, would in some way or other be arranged to suit their wishes. How else could the foolish and presumptuous language—falsified so miserably by the event—of M. Favre's circular of the 6th September have escaped from the pen of any man of common sense or common prudence? The Empire, he said, sought to divide the nation from the army, but misfortune and duty have brought them together again; "this alliance renders us invincible." He then proceeded to misrepresent what the King of Prussia had said in his proclamation upon entering French territory, as if he had declared that he made war, "not against France, but against the Imperial dynasty;" whereas the King merely announced that he was making war against the armies of France, not against the civil population—a very different thing. But if Prussia was so ill advised as to continue the war, the new Government would accept the challenge. "*We will not cede either an inch of our territory or a stone of our fortresses.*"

Bismark, upon receiving a copy of Jules Favre's circular, dispatched a counter manifesto to the Prussian diplomatic agents, characterised in an eminent degree by the strength, the lucidity, the manly good sense, which belong to this extraordinary man. He calmly exposed the extravagance of the expectation that Germany should march her armies home again, serenely confident in the future, because the "*Messieurs du Pavé*" who had undertaken to govern France were men of peace, and apostles of fraternity and the solidarity of nations. "The demand that we should conclude an armistice without any guarantees for our conditions of peace, could be founded only on the erroneous supposition that we lack military and political judgment, or are indifferent to the interests of Germany." Germany cared nothing about the dynasty; but whatever permanent Government might be established in France must be prepared to give to Germany solid guarantees for the maintenance of peace. "We are far from any inclination to mix in the internal affairs of France. It is immaterial to us what kind of government the French people shall formally establish for themselves. The Government of the Emperor Napoleon has hitherto been the only one recognised by us; but our conditions of peace with whatever Government, legitimate for the purpose, we may have to negotiate are wholly independent

of the question how or by whom France is governed. They are prescribed to us by the nature of things, and by the law of self-defence, against a violent and hostile neighbour. The unanimous voice of the German Governments and German people demands that Germany shall be protected by better boundaries than we have had hitherto against the dangers and violence that we have experienced from all French Governments for centuries. As long as France remains in possession of Strasburg and Metz, so long is its offensive strategically stronger than our defensive power, so far as all South Germany, and North Germany on the left bank of the Rhine, are concerned, Strasburg, in the possession of France, is a gate always wide open for attack on South Germany. In the hands of Germany, Strasburg and Metz obtain a defensive character."

With views so divergent, the inutility of a conference between the French Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Prussian Chancellor would seem to be obvious. Nevertheless, the pressure of circumstances brought about such a conference, and for this reason—the Government of September 4, though it probably continued to regard itself as a "heaven-born Ministry," had become alive to the fact that its earthly title to legitimacy was but slender; it therefore desired to bring about the convocation of a National Constituent Assembly, which might, as it saw fit, either confirm them in their offices or choose another Government. On the other hand, it was to the Germans also a matter of prime importance that a regular Government should be established in France, in order that negotiations might be opened with it for peace. But in order that the elections from which such an assembly was to result might be held, there must be a temporary cessation of hostilities; and this was a matter which could only be arranged by means of an interview. Through the exertions of Lord Lyons, the consent of the King of Prussia to a meeting between Bismark and Jules Favre, to settle the terms of an armistice, was obtained. Several interviews between the two took place, at Ferrières, near Meaux (September 19 and 20), but no accommodation could be arrived at. As a military equivalent for the consent to a cessation of hostilities, Bismark demanded the surrender of Toul, Phalsburg, and Strasburg; but to this Jules Favre would not listen, and became violently agitated at the suggestion that the garrison of Strasburg should give themselves up as prisoners of war. Again, the subject of an armistice was taken up in connection with the re-provisioning of Paris. During the three weeks which would be required for the election and first meeting of a National Assembly, if an armistice were to prevail, Paris would naturally seek to augment the stock of provisions within the walls; but, in that case, Bismark said, Germany must have a military equivalent to compensate her for the long delay, which, after all, should the National Assembly turn out impracticable, might prove to have been a mere loss and disadvantage to her; and, as such an equivalent, he demanded the surrender of the fortress of Mont Valérien. Favre was again much excited; he said, and certainly with reason, that Bismark might as well ask for Paris at once. The conferences were broken off without result, and Jules Favre returned to Paris.

The remainder of the events of the war to the end of 1870 we propose to sketch briefly in the following order:—(1) The siege of Paris (noticing in connection therewith the sieges of Strasburg and Metz); (2) Other sieges and storms of fortresses; (3) The operations on the Loire; (4) The operations in the east of France. The operations in Normandy and Picardy we shall reserve to the following year.

The main defence of Paris consists, as is well known, in the outer ring of forts, heavily armed, by which the lines of investment of a besieging army are kept at such a distance that the bombardment and destruction of the city are rendered impossible until the forts themselves have been reduced. The names of these forts are—beginning at the north, and proceeding from left to right—La Double Couronne du Nord and the Fort de l'Est, situated near St. Denis; Aubervilliers, Romainville, Noisy, Rosny, and Nogent, on the east side of the city; Charenton, Ivry, Bicêtre, Montrouge, Vanves, and Issy, on the south side; and Mont Valérien, crowning its lofty and commanding hill, on the west side. To the south of the forts of Bicêtre and Ivry is the plateau of Villejuif.

On reference to the map, the reader will see that the weak points of this system of forts are three. On the south side the forts are not sufficiently distant from the city to make it unattainable by shells, with the present range of artillery, to an enemy who has seized the heights of Meudon and Clamart, and the plateau of Villejuif; secondly, the interval left between the fort of Issy and Mont Valérien is far too great; and, again, the interval between Mont Valérien and the forts of St. Denis is dangerously large. To remedy these defects a system of earthworks was planned, and partly executed, after Trochu had charge of the defence. At Meudon, Chatillon, Arcueil, and Villejuif, redoubts in advance of the southern forts were constructed; between Issy and Valérien similar works were thrown up at Brimborion, near Sèvres, and Montretout; and an immense redoubt was commenced at Gennevilliers, to the north-east of Mont Valérien. The disastrous issue of the sortie of the 19th September, made by General Ducrot in the direction of Chatillon, when the redoubt at that place fell into the hands of the Prussians, and the 14th Corps, yielding to a disgraceful panic, fled in disorder to the city gates, not only, in General Vinoy's opinion, exercised a baneful influence over the whole subsequent defence, but led to the evacuation by the French of the whole of the redoubts above described. Two of them, however, called Les Hautes Bruyères, and Le Moulin Saquet, one to the west, the other to the east of Villejuif, were re-taken by General Vinoy, with little loss, on the 23rd September; and being immediately repaired and put in the best possible condition of defence, were held by the French during the remainder of the siege, throwing back the Prussian line of investment at this point considerably, and making the bombardment of the city, on all the eastern half of the southern face, impossible. Had equal energy been shown in holding, or recovering, the redoubts of Meudon and

Chatillon, Paris could not have been bombarded to any purpose on this side.

After the repulse of Ducrot on the 19th September, the investment of Paris, which could not be considered final till the quality of the troops composing the active army had been ascertained, was regularly completed. Its salient points were Stains on the north, Chelles on the east, Sceaux on the south, and Garches on the west.

On the 30th September, General Vinoy headed a grand sortie against the 6th Corps (Tümpling), which guarded that portion of the Prussian lines which lay south of Villejuif, with the intention of driving the Germans out of Choisy le Roi, and destroying the bridge over the Seine at that point, so as to make a break in the German communications. It was hoped that the enemy would have been surprised; but a delay of twenty-four hours required by Trochu, in order that a larger force might be got ready to share in the operation, and the vigilance of the German Intelligence department, caused that expectation to fail; and the German troops at Choisy, being reinforced and prepared for the attack, could not be dislodged. General Guilhem fell at the head of his brigade while leading it to the attack of Chevilly. The French loss was considerable, amounting to nearly 2,000 men; but the troops fought well, and the retreat was effected in good order.

Two days before, General Uhrich, Governor of Strasburg, had signed a capitulation for the surrender of that city. We have seen that, after the battle of Wörth, the Crown Prince detached General Beyer with the Baden division to form the investment of Strasburg, as a preliminary to a regular siege. The besieging force was gradually increased, until it consisted, besides the Badeners, of two divisions of Prussian Landwehr, and thirty-seven companies of siege artillery, the whole under the command of General Werder. The garrison numbered some 17,000 men, but only 3,000 of these were regular troops of the line. The population of Strasburg, according to the Census of 1866, was 85,000. The town, the defence of which had been scandalously neglected by the German Empire, was seized in time of peace by Louis XIV., in 1681. Since the French Revolution, Strasburg, and Alsace in general, have attached themselves heart and soul to France; and when the Austrians were beaten at Solferino, in 1859, no population in France exceeded that of Strasburg in demonstrations of frantic delight at the overthrow of their German compatriots. France seems to possess the secret of attaching to her the populations with which she comes in contact, in a degree which no other nation, whether in ancient or modern times, has ever equalled. Colonel Rüstow asks—What had the princely and aristocratic system of the German tribes to offer to the Alsatians "in comparison to the fact of belonging to a great nation, which has always understood how to preserve and cherish, if not political freedom, at all events the more humane feeling of equality—a feeling priceless to those who have once become acquainted with it?"

The fortifications of Strasburg were strong, relatively to the power of the old artillery; but it had no detached forts, and therefore it could not be protected from a bombardment. But is the bombardment of a large and crowded city justifiable; and if it is, was it in this particular case expedient? The Germans professed to regard the Strasburgers as brothers—erring brothers, indeed, and sadly infatuated, since they preferred the French to the German citizenship, but brothers still in blood and the qualities of a common nature, whom a little intercourse with the virtuous people from whom they were descended would reclaim. If this were so, nothing could be more inexpedient than to bombard their city. For a bombardment is in any case a cruel measure, and is only justified, even in the judgment of military men, if its effect, through the sufferings which it inflicts on the civil population, be to cause them to exert a strong moral pressure on the governor in order that he may surrender the place. If the Strasburgers had been burning to throw themselves into the arms of Germany, a few shells thrown in would have sufficed to cause them to exert pressure on General Uhrich. But so far was this from being the case, that in spite of the terrors of a bombardment continued during many weeks, which killed numerous non-combatants, including women and children, and laid a great part of the city in ruins, the citizens were so loyal to France that they forebore to represent their sufferings to the commandant with the urgency which might have been expected, and could not have been condemned. Therefore, in Colonel Rüstow's opinion, the bombardment was cruel and inexpedient, "because such an act can never be a convincing proof of brotherly love," because it could only exasperate and alienate still more the people of Strasburg, and because the place could have been reduced without it.

The fortress of Strasburg was in the shape of a rude oblong, much longer from east to west than from north to south; its eastern end was filled up by the citadel. General Werder, as soon as his siege guns arrived, commenced (August 24) to bombard the place. Terrible devastation was the consequence; the glorious cathedral was injured, though, happily, not irreparably; the ancient library, containing a large number of rare books and valuable MSS., which no money could replace, was utterly destroyed; the town was set on fire in several places; grey-headed men, helpless women and children, lost their lives; and the majority of the unarmed inhabitants sought refuge in the cellars. The venerable bishop endeavoured to mediate, but without success. Still there was no talk of surrender; no one pressed the Governor to capitulate. On the French side, the guns of the citadel opened fire on the town of Kehl, across the Rhine, and set it on fire. Finding that the bombardment did not produce the desired effect, General Werder commenced regular approaches against the fortress at its most vulnerable point, the north-west corner. No fewer than 241 battering guns were planted in the different batteries. The defences were ruined, and a continual plunging fire from small mortars prevented the garrison from repairing them. By the 27th September, two wide breaches had been made in the wall, and preparations were set on foot for the assault. On that day General

Uhrich hoisted a white flag on the cathedral, and the German artillery at once ceased their fire. A capitulation was soon concluded, the terms of which were similar to those which had been granted at Sedan. Thus was Strasburg lost to France.

About this time, M. Thiers, at the request of the Government of the National Defence, visited all the principal Courts of Europe, everywhere eloquently pleading the cause of his country. Nowhere, not even in Russia, did his words fail to awaken interest and sympathy; but when M. Thiers hinted at active intervention, he was met by a general indisposition, proceeding from causes many imagination could never have presented to his divining spirit a tithe of the humiliations which the distant future reserved for the country where he reigned and the palace which he built.

On the 7th October, Gambetta effected his escape from Paris in a balloon, and landed safely in the neighbourhood of Rouen. He at once repaired to Tours, where a delegation from the Government of Paris had been for some time established. He lost no time in issuing a proclamation, to be circulated through France, describing in highly-coloured language the patriotic exertions which the Parisians were making, and urging the inhabitants

THE ASSASSINATION OF MARSHAL PRIM.

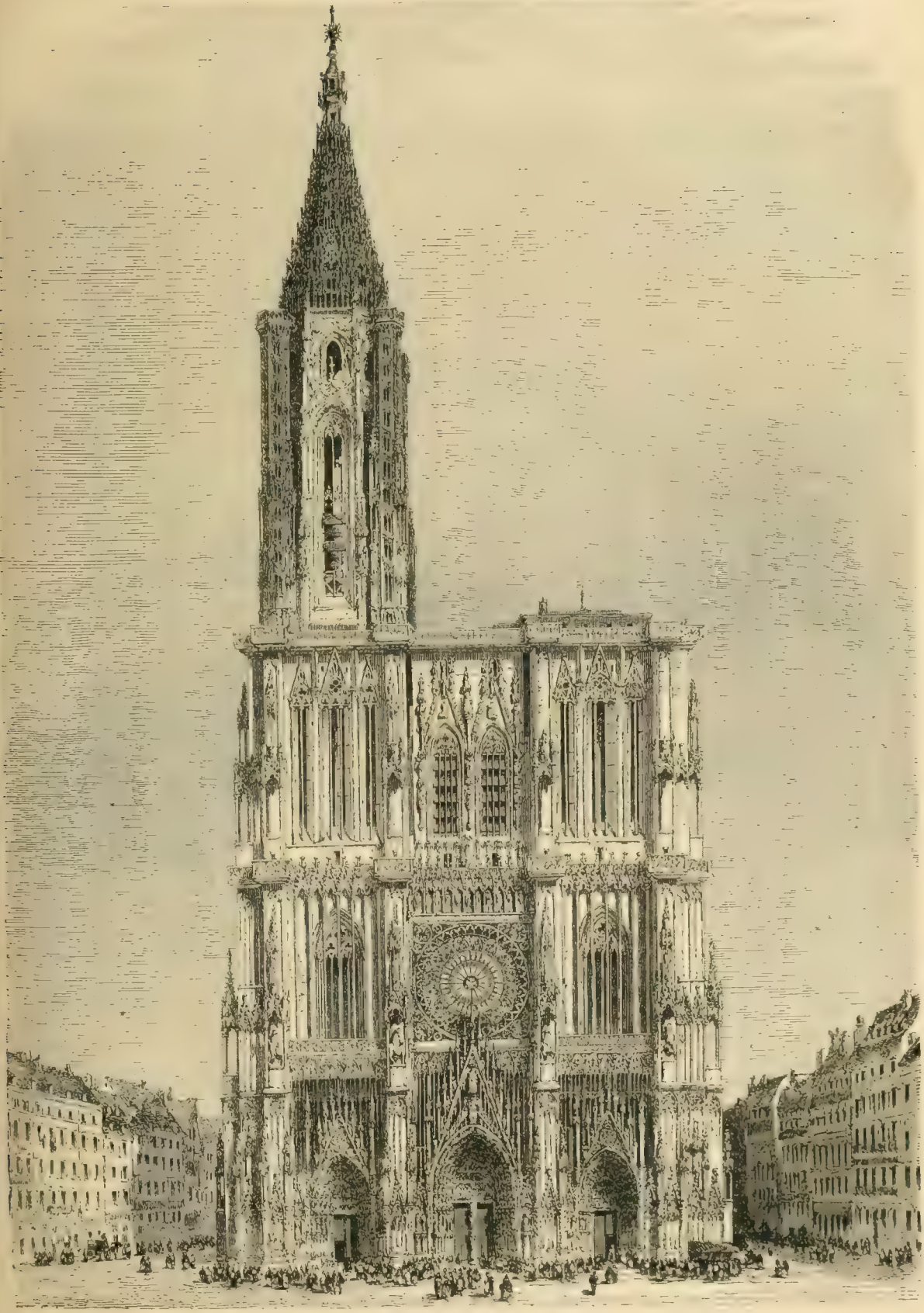
of which we have already specified, to interfere at the present stage of the struggle.

A decree of the King of Prussia, dated August 17th, organised the conquered provinces of Alsace and Lorraine under German civil governors—General von Bonin and Count Bismark Bohlen, the former being stationed at Nancy, the latter at Hagenau, whence he removed to Strasburg after the fall of the city.

At the beginning of October, about a sixth part of France was in the hands of the German armies, which, by continual reinforcements, had now reached the enormous number of 650,000 men. The King of Prussia moved his head-quarters, on the 5th instant, from Ferrières to Versailles, and installed himself and the warriors who formed his suite in the gilded apartments of the Grand Monarque. Louis XIV. was brought very low before the Peace of Utrecht, but the wildest freak of his

of the unoccupied provinces to rise and hasten to her succour. He then superseded Cremieux in the Ministry of War, and appointed himself to the office, in addition to that of Minister of the Interior. Gambetta evidently thought himself another Carnot, about to "organise victory." The real nature and scope of his abilities, which were undoubtedly great, appear to have been seized by a keen-eyed newspaper correspondent, who said that Gambetta reminded him of an "energetic traffic-manager" on an English railway. But his activity and hopefulness were inexhaustible, and he certainly did contrive to conjure up, as it were out of the earth, armies of some sort or other, and to find arms and accoutrements for them; though the first were not uniform, and the second miserably insufficient. Of his military arrangements we shall speak presently.

Meantime the days crept on, and the time came when



STRASBURG CATHEDRAL.

famine forced the defenders of Metz to drop their arms. When last we spoke of Bazaine, it was to mention that after the battle of Gravelotte he withdrew the Army of the Rhine under cover of the fortifications of Metz. Nothing of moment occurred for some days; Prince Frederick Charles was engaged in hutting the German army round Metz, and entrenching his positions; while Bazaine was busily preparing for another attempt. A messenger from MacMahon, passing safely through the German lines, brought word to Bazaine that the Army of Chalons had commenced its march to his relief on the 21st August. In order to co-operate with it, Bazaine planned a great sortie for the 31st, about which day he calculated that MacMahon would have arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress. The army, issuing from its lines to the east of Metz, was to take a northerly direction and march on Thionville. Thus was brought on the battle of Noisseville, on the 31st August and 1st September. The success of the sortie was ruined by bad arrangements. Had the French attacked at once on the morning of the 31st, when they commenced their movement, they could easily have overpowered the small German force then opposed to them, and have continued their march on Thionville. But Bazaine delayed the attack till the afternoon, for reasons which, even upon his own showing, appear insufficient; and through the indecision of subordinate commanders, another delay supervened, so that the advance was not made till four o'clock. The proverb says, "Fore-warned is fore-armed;" and so it was in the present case. The Germans had time to concentrate a sufficient mass of troops in the rear of Noisseville and Servigny to repel the French attack, which was made with no great vigour. Bivouacking on the ground, the French resumed the action on the next day; but their efforts were ill-planned and ill-united; the Germans brought up an overpowering artillery to crush the French right; and between two and three o'clock, Bazaine, who had heard nothing of the approach of MacMahon's army, gave the order for retreat. The losses on the French side on the two days were 3,550; those of the Germans fell a little short of 3,000.

The revolution of the 4th September occurred, and the news was received by Bazaine with unmitigated disgust. The master whom he had served long, and who had rewarded him well, was the Emperor; if the Emperor was a prisoner, and could give him no orders, then his obedience was due to the Empress as Regent. He determined not to recognise, and to hold no communications with, a set of men who had supplanted a regular Government under favour of a street riot and the Republican cry. So far, if Bazaine's antecedents are considered, it is impossible to blame him; he did not become culpable till he made the interest of France—which had a more sacred claim on his allegiance than any form of government—subordinate to political aims and personal ambition.

After the 1st September, there was a long cessation of active operations. A careful inquiry was instituted into the state of the food supplies, and it was ascertained that there were sufficient supplies, both for the town and the army, for about four weeks; and by the use of horse-flesh, limiting the rations, and foraging by means of small sorties, it was thought the supply might be made to last for eight weeks. Within that time Bazaine probably calculated that either peace would be made, or some combination of new French armies would raise the siege.

From the 23rd September, Bazaine commenced a series of foraging sorties with small bodies of men, the object of which was to collect supplies. In one of these the French penetrated as far as Peltre, the first station on the railway by which the investing army drew its supplies from Germany, and obtained abundant spoil in the shape of railway wagons loaded with comestibles. On the 7th October what looked like a serious attempt to break out was made. The Imperial Guard was marched to the attack of General Kummer's two divisions of Landwehr, quartered in front of Mezières, to the north of Metz, and on the left bank of the Moselle. The action that ensued was bloody; the Landwehr, after a brave resistance, were driven out of a line of villages situated between Mezières and Ladonchamps, and had the Guards been well supported by other troops, there seems no reason to doubt that the German lines might have been broken through. But the number of troops employed by Bazaine on this vitally important operation did not exceed 40,000; it is evident, therefore, that he had no serious intention of fighting his way out, and marching away from Metz. The loss on both sides in this action of the 7th was considerable; that of the Germans was 1,800 men killed and wounded, and the sensation caused in Germany by the tidings was out of all proportion to the number of the fallen, because the Prussian Landwehr men are for the most part fathers of families, and when they fall they leave wives and fatherless children behind them. General Kummer, perceiving that the French were not reinforced, obtained the assistance of portions of the 10th and the 3rd Corps, and with their help dislodged the French from all the positions which they had won, except the château of Ladonchamps.

In the course of September a strange incident occurred. There was an individual of the name of Regnier, much attached to the Empire, and who was said to have held some appointment in the household of the Empress. M. Regnier seems to have been a fanciful and vain personage; and the notion came into his head that he might become the humble but serviceable instrument of liberating the Emperor, re-establishing the Imperial system, and terminating the misfortunes of France. For this, it seemed to him, three things were necessary: the consent of the Imperial family; the negotiation of a treaty of peace between them and the Germans; and the liberation of Bazaine and his army in consequence of that treaty, who should act as an "Army of Order," put down the Republic and the men of September 4, and replace the Emperor on the throne. Regnier first went to Chislehurst, and propounded his views to the Empress, begging her that she would furnish him with some kind of credentials, as he intended to visit Napoleon at Wilhelmshöhe, and also to seek to obtain access to the German head-quarters. The Empress, it is plain, put little faith either in the man or in his project; however, after much

importunity, she allowed him to take away a photograph of Hastings, on the back of which were a few commonplace words in the Prince Imperial's handwriting, addressed to his father. Having obtained this, Regnier, instead of attempting to go to Wilhelmshöhe, repaired to Ferrières, where the King and Bismark were then quartered. He obtained an interview with the Chancellor, and unfolded his plan. Bismark was at first inclined to treat him as a dreamer and a meddler; but when the visitor produced the card with the Prince Imperial's handwriting upon it, Bismark—who had had an interview that very day with Jules Favre, and found him impracticable in the matter of a cession of territory—was to some extent interested, and thought the scheme of Regnier might be worth a trial. He accordingly gave him a general pass, which would allow of his passing through the lines of any German army that he might meet with, in order that he might go to Metz and sound Bazaine with reference to the project. Passing in this way through the lines of Prince Frederick Charles, Regnier entered Metz, and sought an interview with Bazaine (September 23). The Marshal, though he expressed himself cautiously, did not disguise the feelings of aversion and contempt with which he regarded the Government of the National Defence; and in consequence of Regnier's visit he sent Bourbaki, the commander of the Imperial Guard, that same evening out of Metz on a mission to Chislehurst. The emissary—Prince Frederick Charles being doubtless cognisant of the whole intrigue—found no difficulty in passing through the investing lines. Up to this point Regnier's little plan had apparently prospered, but now the bubble burst. The Empress was not a woman of that strength and sternness of character which, in the pursuit of an object of ambition, would lead her to brave obloquy and play high for a mighty stake. If she signed a treaty of peace as Regent, providing for the cession of Strasburg and Metz to Germany, the name of the Napoleonic dynasty, she thought, would be eternally execrated in France; and, after all, it was not certain that Bazaine could restore the Empire, or that his army, as a body, would support him in the attempt. She therefore absolutely declined to be a party to the scheme, and it fell through. Bourbaki returned to France; but, instead of attempting to re-enter Metz, placed his sword at the disposal of the Government of Tours.

In October, the only description of food that remained abundant in Metz was horse-flesh, and that was obtained at the cost of the efficiency of the cavalry and artillery. On the day after the sortie of the 7th, Bazaine caused a meeting of divisional generals to be held, to consider the situation. However distasteful the thought of a capitulation might be, yet the fast diminishing supplies of food compelled these officers to face it; they were of opinion that a capitulation should be arranged on terms that would allow of the army retiring, without laying down its arms, to the south of France, under a pledge not to serve against Germany during the continuance of the war. If, however, these conditions were not acceded to by the German leaders, it was the understanding of most of the divisional generals, and of the mass of the officers under them, that a desperate effort must and would be made to cut a way, sword in hand, through the investing forces.

At a meeting of the corps commanders, called by Bazaine on the 10th October, it was resolved that no new sorties should be attempted, but that efforts should be made to obtain a military convention, by negotiation with the enemy. The use of the term "military convention" shows that something different from an ordinary capitulation—something political—was in view. Prince Frederick Charles, at Bazaine's request, gave permission for General Boyer to go to Versailles to ascertain what terms could be obtained from the German leaders,—a permission which he would hardly have given had not some great political object, such as the acquisition of an advantageous peace, been understood to be involved.

Boyer arrived at Versailles on the 13th October. The course of the negotiation which ensued was curiously similar to that which the Regnier incident had occasioned. "You ask," said Bismark, "that the army in Metz may be allowed to retire to the south of France, pledged not to bear arms against Germany during the continuance of the war. But who is to guarantee the convention under which such an arrangement would be executed? Whom does Bazaine obey? What is the Government that he serves? If the Government of the National Defence,—that is an authority which we Germans do not recognise, at any rate until a Constituent Assembly shall have met and validated their powers. If the Emperor,—he is a helpless prisoner in Germany. If the Empress and the Regency,—that may perhaps be satisfactory; but her sanction must be obtained; she must sign a treaty which will give us what we want; and the Army of the Rhine, besides the pledge not to bear arms against Germany, must proclaim the Regency as the legitimate Government of France, and Bazaine must undertake to play the part of Monk in an Imperial restoration." Boyer returned to Metz with this answer on the 18th October, and thence was sent to Chislehurst. The result was the same as before: the Empress, after much wavering, refused to sign any treaty of peace by which French territory would be ceded to the invader. General Boyer communicated to the King on the 23rd the ill-success of his mission, and Prince Frederick Charles was immediately instructed to inform Bazaine that all hope of arriving at any result by *political* negotiation was abandoned at the royal headquarters.

One more council of war was called by Marshal Bazaine on the 25th October. At this it was resolved that General Changarnier, a veteran distinguished for brilliant service in Africa under Louis Philippe, should be sent to the Prince, bearing a proposal that either the army of Bazaine should be allowed to depart for Algeria, or that an armistice should be concluded, during which the Corps Legislatif, suppressed by violence on the 4th September, should be invited to resume its functions and negotiate a peace. No sane man among the French officers could have seriously expected that such proposals would be listened to. Prince Frederick Charles refused them at once, and demanded simply the surrender of the army and fortress.

The French army was now weakened by a long continuance of scanty rations, and the important arms of cavalry and artillery were rendered impotent by the consumption of so large a number of horses for food. Nothing remained but to submit to the inevitable. The chiefs of the staff on either side, Generals Stiehle and Jarras, met and arranged the terms of the capitulation. As at Sedan, the officers were to be released on parole; the men became prisoners. The very eagles, or a large proportion of them, were given up to the enemy: they were deposited in the armoury on the evening of the 28th, and the understanding in the army seems to have been that they would be burnt; some were certainly destroyed, but fifty-three passed into the hands of the Prussians. The capitulation included the fortress of Metz also, the governor of which was General Coffinières. The detached forts, with their powerful armament, the guns mounted on the walls, the arms of the capitulating force, and military stores and munitions of all kinds, to the value, it is said, of 80,000,000 of francs, became the spoil of the victors. So complete a discomfiture is without a parallel in modern history. Yet, great as it was, the German bulletins exaggerated it enormously. In a proclamation to his troops, Prince Frederick Charles declared that 173,000 French soldiers had become prisoners of war, and this mis-statement was for a time universally believed. In reality, there being nearly 20,000 sick and wounded in the hospitals, and the cavalry and artillery being unserviceable for want of horses, there were but 65,000 men, according to the positive statement of Marshal Bazaine, who at the time of the surrender were fit for service in the field.

The fall of Metz, following so soon after a long series of misfortunes, though in a certain sense expected, spread consternation and distress to the remotest districts of France. Gambetta, the Indomitable, fulminated a fierce manifesto from Tours, which he fancied would electrify all his countrymen and reanimate their drooping spirits. Unfortunately its effect—so little did he understand the army which he presumed to rule—was widely different. "The army of France," he declared, "had been engulfed, *by the treason of its chiefs*, in the disasters of *la patrie*." The officers of the Army of the Loire, then striving with all their power amidst the greatest difficulties to organise fresh forces for the defence of their country, were indignant at this offensive language; and a mutinous spirit towards their officers was aroused by it among many of the private soldiers.* But, it may be urged, did not the subsequent trial of Bazaine prove that Gambetta was in the right? Certainly not. Marshal Bazaine was found guilty of not having done "all that honour and duty required" to save Metz and his army; but he was not found guilty of treason. And even if he, individually, were ever so much a traitor, did the "chiefs" of the army deserve to be branded with treason—men like the brave Ladmirault, or Canrobert, or Changarnier?

* See General d'Aurelle de Paladines' "La Première Armée de la Loire."

The confirmation of the news of the capitulation of Bazaine, and the rumour that an armistice was under consideration, caused a great ferment in the anarchical or communist element of the Parisian population. Bands of armed men marched (October 31) from Belleville to the Hotel de Ville, placed Trochu and other members of the Government under arrest, declared the independence of the Commune of Paris, and generously undertook its government. The leaders were Flourens, Felix Pyat, Blanqui, &c. Fortunately, Ernest Picard, the Minister of Finance, contrived to escape, and before the day closed he brought a Breton battalion of the Gardes Mobiles to the Hotel de Ville, who soon rescued their countryman Trochu, and dispersed the revolutionists. The utmost forbearance was shown to the rioters by the partisans of order, to be repaid in the manner that we shall see, when the Communists got the upper hand. Trochu and his colleagues, after this *émeute*, thought it desirable to submit the question of their remaining in power to the suffrages of the people of Paris. The votes were taken accordingly; nearly 558,000 were favourable to the Government, while 62,638 were dissentient.

M. Thiers, on his return from his unsuccessful journey to the foreign Courts, was requested by the Government to re-open negotiations with Count Bismark, with a view to a cessation of hostilities and the election of a Constituent Assembly. But the project again foundered on the question of revictualling Paris, to which the military authorities at the Prussian head-quarters would not allow Bismark to consent, unless on condition of the surrender of one, if not two, of the forts round Paris—a concession which Thiers could not make.

Sad and dull was life in Paris during the month of November, cheered only by one gleam of better fortune, when news came that the Army of the Loire had gained a victory at Coulmiers. At the end of the month a grand sortie was resolved upon, in order to facilitate the flanking operations of General d'Aurelle de Paladines' army, which Gambetta hoped to impel upon Paris at the same time. Great preparations were made, and several demonstrations against various points of the German lines concerted, in order to deceive the enemy as to the object of the main attack, which was the peninsula of Champigny, beyond Charenton. Breaking through the Prussian lines at this point, Trochu hoped to push forward into the district of Brie, and march onwards till he fell in with the advancing army of De Paladines. Ducrot was appointed to the command of the troops destined for the operation, which numbered about 60,000 men. Bridges were thrown across the Marne, and on the morning of the 30th the Saxons and Wurtembergers who guarded this part of the line were vigorously attacked, and the villages of Brie and Champigny wrested from them. Still no great progress was made, and on the night of the 30th it became suddenly cold, and the French soldiers, unused to the hardships of campaigning, suffered terribly from exposure. The 1st December was employed by Trochu and Ducrot in strengthening the line, Brie-Champigny, which they had seized. On the 2nd, the Germans brought up fresh forces, and severe fighting took place, at the end of which the

French retained all their positions, except the eastern end of the village of Champigny. On the 3rd, Trochu resolved to retreat, moved to do so by the absence of any news of De Paladines and the increasing severity of the weather. The retreat was covered by the guns of the forts, and was effected with little loss. But the four days' fighting was attended with a total loss of 6,000 men to the French, and 5,000 men to the Germans.

Another great sortie was made on the 21st December, with some vague hope of co-operating with a northern army, supposed to be at that time advancing towards Paris. The attack was directed against the Prussian Guard at Stains, and the Saxons more to the east. It was repelled with little difficulty, the French losing considerably, and showing in this sortie a lack of spirit and endurance naturally to be accounted for by want of food, severe cold, and the depressing circumstances of the siege.

Nothing of much importance occurred during the remainder of December, except the evacuation on the 28th of Mont Avron, a hill in advance of Fort Rosny, which Admiral Saisset with his marines had occupied on the 28th November, and on which batteries had been erected, which had caused great annoyance and loss to the Germans. A converging fire from heavy guns rendered the plateau untenable; the guns were withdrawn, and the position abandoned.

2. Besides Metz and Strasburg, eight other fortified places were compelled to surrender before the close of the year. To the reader of the history of former wars, accustomed to regard a siege as an arduous and tedious operation, the celerity with which these French fortresses were reduced by the Germans may appear extraordinary. But it is in fact easily explained. It was not the ruin of their defences by the enemy's fire, but the destruction of the lives and property of the defenceless inhabitants by a distant bombardment, that brought about the surrender of most of these towns. In the case of Laon, the surrender of a citadel and a position remarkably strong by nature was rendered necessary by the weakness of the garrison. Laon stands on a lofty isolated hill, rising out of a vast plain; its noble cathedral, visible for many a mile to the traveller approaching from Rheims or from Amiens, rises near the east end of the town; beyond the cathedral is the citadel, occupying the eastern termination of the hill. General Vinoy felt much inclined, as he passed through Laon on his retreat after Sedan, to leave a portion of the 13th Corps to occupy so admirable a defensive position; but the deficiency of supplies, both of food and ammunition, and the paramount importance of strengthening the defence of Paris to the utmost, caused him to abandon the idea. The only force which the Governor of the citadel, General Theremin d'Hame, had at his disposal was a battalion of untrained Mobiles, half of whom had deserted. When, therefore, the Duke of Mecklenburg, at the head of a Prussian division, appeared before the place and summoned it, on the 9th September, the Governor had no alternative but to surrender. But as the Prussians were entering the citadel, and the Mobiles taking their departure, the Duke of Mecklenburg being engaged in friendly conversation with the Governor, a fearful explosion occurred. The magazine had been fired, and the ground was immediately covered with the dead and dying. Three hundred of the Mobiles and fifty German soldiers perished; General Theremin d'Hame received severe injuries which occasioned his death a month afterwards, and the Duke and his brigadier were slightly wounded. Five large stones were hurled by the force of the explosion through the east windows of the cathedral, and did great damage in the interior. Suspicion fell at first on the Governor, but it was proved to be wholly unmerited; and there is little doubt that the culprit was the *garde d'artillerie*, who was never seen alive after the catastrophe.

Toul, after a savage bombardment for several days, by which the town was set on fire in several places, surrendered to another Duke of Mecklenburg on the 23rd September. Soissons, Verdun, La Fere, and Thionville were reduced in the course of October and November. Phalsburg, the fortress at which is laid the scene of Erckmann-Chatrian's famous novel, "Le Blocus," after its brave commandant, General Talhouet, and its no less brave inhabitants, had endured a bombardment and blockade—the first intermittent, the second continuous—during seven months, was compelled to surrender, by failure of provisions, on the 12th December.

3. The narrative of the formation of the Army of the Loire, of its successes and its reverses, is one of the most striking and instructive chapters in the history of the war. All that will be here attempted is to give an outline of the course of events, as it may be clearly traced in the works of the two French generals who had most share in them, General d'Aurelle de Paladines,* and General Chanzy.†

Soon after the revolution of the 4th September, it being apparent that France must either raise fresh armies or submit to whatever terms the victors of Sedan might impose, the formation of a new army corps, the 15th, was commenced at Bourges, under the command of General Motterouge. By the beginning of October its organisation was nearly complete. Then came the advance of Von der Tann towards Orleans, the defeat of Motterouge at Artenay, and the first German occupation of Orleans; the 15th Corps being driven over the Loire, and falling back as far as Ferté St. Aubin. On the 11th October, General d'Aurelle de Paladines, an officer on the retired list, who had offered his services and his experience to the new Government, was appointed to supersede General Motterouge. Soon afterwards the 16th Corps, which was organised in the second half of October, at Blois and Bourges, under General Pourcet, was placed under the supreme command of d'Aurelle. D'Aurelle desired to have some time and sufficient security to allow of the organisation of the force under his command, according to his idea of what

* "La Première Armée de la Loire." Paris, 1872.
† "La Deuxième Armée de la Loire." 4th Ed. Paris, 1872.

the service and the times required; he therefore removed the head-quarters of the 15th Corps to Salbris, a strong position in the Sologne, covering Vierzon and Bourges. Here he formed a camp, and proceeded with great energy to revive a strict discipline among both officers and men. The military hierarchy throughout the corps was carefully settled in all its grades; obedience to orders was sternly enforced by fitting penalties, death being the doom of the incorrigible; plundering was severely punished; drill and exercise indefatigably pro-

THE PRINCE IMPERIAL.

ceeded with; and in all ways d'Aurelle laboured to prepare a race of soldiers who, to the quick intelligence of the Gaul, should add those solid military virtues in which the Prussians had hitherto so far surpassed their opponents. Frequently visiting the bivouacs, the General would call the officers of each battalion together, and addressing them, along with their men, in that blunt and unadorned eloquence which a full mind and an earnest heart supply, he would speak to them of the sufferings of the country which they all loved so well, point out the causes and the circumstances of the deterioration which had given the Prussians so terrible an advantage, and implore them, by resolutely returning to the ways of order, temperance, courage, and obedience, to merit that a happier day should dawn for France. These speeches usually made a deep impression on the soldiers, and called forth loud cries of "*Vive la France.*"

By the end of October came the disastrous news of the fall of Metz. Prince Frederick Charles was now free to march southward with 100,000 victorious troops, and to break up the nascent organisation of the Army of the Loire. Several weeks, however, must elapse before he could reach the Loire, and in that time the force which d'Aurelle's energy had rendered formidable might still be able to strike a blow. On the 25th October, the General concerted with the Minister of War, Gambetta, and his delegate, M. Freycinet, the plan of an advance of the 15th and 16th Corps on Orleans. This M. Freycinet was a mining engineer, whom Gambetta, fancying he saw in him an extraordinary genius for strategy and organisation, and heedless of his utter lack of military education and experience, and also of his innocence of what we should call in England "the feelings of a gentleman," had taken into the War Office and made his "*alter ego.*" Crossing the Loire at Blois and other places, the 15th and 16th Corps, preceded by numerous bodies of Franc-tireurs, forming altogether an army of between 60,000 and 70,000 men, were ranged, at the end

of October, on a line facing the north-east, and extending from the forest of Marchenoir to the Loire, near Beaugency. Von der Tann, who commanded in Orleans, and whose force was considerably weaker in point of numbers, was alarmed at the movement, and prepared to march out and attack the enemy, intending, should he be unsuccessful, to evacuate Orleans. D'Aurelle continued to press forward, handling his troops warily and deliberately, as well knowing how disastrous, with such inexperienced soldiers, the consequences of any mistake might easily be. The two armies met on the 9th November, on the plain around the village of Coulmiers, ten miles west of

EVACUATION OF METZ.

Orleans. Chanzy was now in command of the 16th Corps, which ill health had compelled General Pourcet to relinquish. The 15th Corps on the right, advancing under the eye of the general-in-chief, carried successively the Bavarian positions at the villages of Baccon and La Renardière, which had been entrenched and fortified with great care. In the centre, Chanzy, with the 16th Corps, carried the village of Coulmiers. When night closed, the Germans were thoroughly beaten, and they took advantage of the darkness to make a forced march in retreat on Patay. But for the grave error of General Reyau, commanding the cavalry, Von der Tann's retreat on Paris might have been cut off, and his whole army would probably have been made prisoners. That officer, who covered the left of Chanzy's corps, had been ordered to advance towards the German right, and prepare to intercept their retreat should the day go favourably for the French. General Reyau, after engaging in a useless artillery combat with the German batteries at St. Sigismond, in which he lost many men, mistook the Franc-tireurs of Paris, a body of whom happened to be marching towards his left, for a German reinforcement menacing his flank, and under this impression led back his ten regiments of cavalry to the positions which they had occupied in the morning. Thus the chance of annihilating the retreating Germans was lost. Admiral Jauréguiberry, commanding the 1st division of the 16th Corps, sent the forty-five horsemen composing his personal escort in pursuit of the retreating column, which they overtook near Patay, and captured two guns, 130 prisoners, and quantities of baggage and ammunition! What then might not have been effected with a strong force of cavalry, if these few troopers could accomplish so much?

The loss on the French side in the battle of Coulmiers was about 1,500 men killed and wounded. The German official report returned their losses at less than 700 men —a gross under-statement in the opinion of General d'Aurelle. 2,500 unwounded prisoners were taken.

On the following day (November 10) General d'Aurelle entered Orleans, and was welcomed enthusiastically by the inhabitants. He fixed his head-quarters at Villeneuve d'Ingre, about three miles outside the city. He has been repeatedly censured for not leading his army, after the victory of Coulmiers, directly upon Paris,

so as to raise the siege. Had Prince Frederick Charles been still detained at Metz, this is what d'Aurelle undoubtedly ought to have done. But the Prince, in his southward march, was already almost as near Paris as the Army of the Loire; his head-quarters on the 10th November were at Troyes. D'Aurelle with good reason shrank from the enterprise of attacking the Duke of Mecklenburg (whose army, swelled by the remains of Von der Tann's corps, amounted to about 50,000 men, and was posted near Chartres), with the certainty that Prince Frederick Charles, a man not likely to miss an opportunity, was, with 100,000 victorious Prussians, within striking distance of his right flank. D'Aurelle's plan, therefore, was this—to form a large entrenched camp in front of Orleans and fortify it with great care, mounting on the works a number of heavy marine guns of long range; behind these entrenchments to continue the organisation of the army and the instruction of the soldiers, in both of which respects there was still much improvement to be desired; and to receive here, with his forces united and well in hand, the attack which Prince Frederick Charles was marching to deliver. Had that attack been successfully resisted, had the Prussian legions been beaten back from before the walls of Orleans, then, General d'Aurelle thought, there might be a chance of marching safely and effectually to the relief of Paris.

In these views Gambetta himself, and his delegate, M. Freycinet, at first acquiesced. But days passed on, and the letters which pigeons or balloons brought from Paris told a sad story of diminishing supplies and increasing mortality. The Minister of War, ignorant of the real difficulties, the thousand practical obstacles, which beset military operations, became impatient at d'Aurelle's inaction. He had been organising several corps, on paper, and really bringing large numbers of men together; all these he wished to place under d'Aurelle's command, and impel him at their head upon Paris. Freycinet wrote to the General, on the 19th November, informing him that, including the 15th and 16th Corps, a force of 250,000 men either had been already or would be in a few days placed under his orders, and urging him to make a forward movement for the relief of Paris. A slightly contemptuous tone is perceptible in d'Aurelle's reply. "It is dangerous," he says, "to trust to the deceptive mirage of figures grouped on the paper, and to take them for a reality." To show the real value of Gambetta's military administration, it is worth while to test this total of 250,000 men officially stated on the 19th November to be at the disposal of the general commanding the Army of the Loire, by means of the materials which the works of d'Aurelle and Chanzy supply. Freycinet, in the despatch under consideration, estimates the 17th Corps at 40,000 men. Chanzy tells us that its commander, ten days later, returned the 17th Corps as numbering 25,000 men. Difference, 15,000 men. General Crouzat, at Gien, writes Freycinet, has 50,000 men in hand; they are placed under your orders. General Crouzat, replies d'Aurelle, has just written to me to say that he has 20,000 good troops under his command, besides a division of the 18th Corps, which belongs to Bourbaki's command at Nevers. This division Freycinet in his letter estimates at 15,000, so that he clearly reckoned Crouzat's own army at 35,000, whereas it was but 20,000. Difference, again, 15,000 men. The 18th Corps, when united, will consist of 45,000 men, says Freycinet; we place it under your orders. The troops composing the 18th Corps are in process of formation, answers d'Aurelle, and cannot be counted upon to march against the enemy in the same way as if they were fully constituted. Deducting one-third on this account, the 18th Corps would be equal to 30,000 men; difference, 15,000 men. For the same reason, the 20,000 men reckoned in by M. Freycinet under the title of the 21st Corps, being in a still more embryonic condition than the 18th Corps, ought not to be reckoned as equal to more than 10,000 good troops. The strength of the 15th and 16th Corps, estimated by Freycinet at 110,000 men, seems to have fallen short of that number by at least 10,000 men. These differences, if added together, make up a total exaggeration of 65,000 men. At the outside, the Army of the Loire could not be estimated at more than 185,000 men; and a large proportion of these were still so utterly ignorant of all military duties that a wise general would have preferred not to be burdened with them, when taking the field against homogeneous, hardy, and experienced troops.

However, General d'Aurelle, who seems to have been blessed with a large share of patience, would have been none the worse for the melodramatic appeals of the young Gambetta, nor for the conceited lectures and absurd advice of the mining engineer, if they would only have let him be in fact, as he was in name, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Loire. Unfortunately this was not the case. The Ministry of War took upon itself to address orders directly to the different corps commanders, without previous consultation with General d'Aurelle, and sometimes even without his knowledge. Thus, when a rumour reached Tours, of a westward march of the army of the Duke of Mecklenburg, Gambetta, in great alarm, sent orders to the commanders of the 20th Corps (Crouzat), and the first division of the 15th Corps (Paillères), to execute a diversion by marching to the attack of Pithiviers. Again, contrary to the wishes of d'Aurelle, he caused the 17th and the 21st Corps, forming the left of the army, to extend themselves so far to the left, in the direction of Chateaudun, as to be unable, when a sudden emergency arose, to bring timely support to the centre. The movement on Pithiviers, ordered by the Minister of War, against which d'Aurelle had vainly protested, terminated in disaster. After several minor actions—at Ladon, Maizières, and Juranville—Crouzat, on the 28th November, attacked General Voigts Rhetz, who with the 10th Corps (part of the army of Prince Frederick Charles) had occupied the town of Beaune la Rolande. The French attacked with great spirit, and were certainly at first in a great superiority of numbers. But the houses and garden walls had been carefully loopholed, and the street of the town barricaded, so that the defenders were able to hold the place against repeated assaults, until, late in

the day, the approach of considerable German reinforcements from Pithiviers compelled the French to retire. In most histories of the war d'Aurelle is made responsible for the action of Beaune la Rolande, the ill-success of which cast the first cloud over the brighter scene which Coulmiers seemed to have opened for France. But, in fact, as we have seen, the advance towards Pithiviers was ordered by the Minister of War, and the superintendence of the French movements during the battle was in the hands of one of d'Aurelle's subordinate generals, he himself being far distant from the field.

By this time the works for the defence of Orleans, which had been constructed under d'Aurelle's own eye, were in a state of great forwardness. Five batteries, sheltered by breastworks, and armed with heavy naval guns, besides six other batteries, armed with guns of a lesser calibre, commanded the main approaches from the north. Shelter trenches had also been constructed for infantry in advance of the batteries. A council of war was held on the 30th November, at St. Jean de la Ruelle, near Orleans, at which d'Aurelle, Chanzy, and Freycinet were present. Against the wishes and ideas of d'Aurelle, Freycinet communicated the formal order of Gambetta to advance with the whole army on Pithiviers, with a view to the relief of Paris. There was no choice but to obey. On the following day, Chanzy, with the 16th and 17th Corps, forming the left of the army, advanced by Patay against the army of the Duke of Mecklenburg, and drove it back a considerable distance. But Prince Frederick Charles, observing the fatal error into which the French had fallen, through the insensate meddling of Gambetta and Freycinet, of dispersing their troops too widely, executed on the 2nd December a masterly manœuvre, which in its results changed the whole aspect of the campaign. Concentrating the heavy masses of the German infantry on a narrow front, on either side of the great road which joins Artenay and Chevilly, he advanced, engaging Chanzy with his right, but directing the heaviest attack against the 15th Corps, which lay between him and Orleans. The strongest division of that corps (Paillères) had been sent away, as we have seen, some days before, towards Pithiviers, by Gambetta's orders, and had not yet rejoined the main body. Pressing steadily forward, the Germans overpowered the resistance of the two remaining divisions of the 15th Corps, and drove them back beyond Chevilly. Chanzy's troops in this day's battle held their ground on most points, but the division Barry, of the 16th Corps, gave way, and Chanzy lost his hold of the road to Chateaudun. On the 3rd, the fighting continued, the Germans slowly pressing onward, step by step. D'Aurelle, fearful of a block at Orleans, if the retreat of the whole French army should be directed thither, sent orders to Chanzy to retire on Beaugency. He was not prepared for the immense force which the enemy had developed in his front, and he seems to have abandoned the hope that his beaten troops, even behind the entrenchments which he had prepared, could make an effectual stand. On the 4th, the arrival of Paillères with his division at head-quarters inspired d'Aurelle with a momentary hope that the entrenchments might yet be held, and he telegraphed to Chanzy, directing him to march on Orleans. But it was now too late; the enemy held the Chateaudun road, and was interposed between Chanzy's army and Orleans. Moreover, the troops of Paillères' division, and of the 15th Corps generally, weary and dispirited, exhausted by want of sleep and proper food, could not be induced to man the entrenchments. They pressed on into Orleans, many even of the officers forgetting their duty, and repairing, without permission, to inns and private houses in the town. D'Aurelle entreated, expostulated, and threatened, but all in vain. Then he saw that Orleans must be evacuated, and made arrangements accordingly. The immense supplies which had been accumulated there were safely removed, and on the night of the 4th December the 15th Corps defiled over the Loire bridge, leaving about a thousand prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Thus was Orleans re-occupied by the Germans.

D'Aurelle now determined to concentrate the army on a line extending from Romorantin to Argent, with its centre at Salbris; to strengthen the position by throwing up field works, and to continue the as yet imperfect work of organising and training the new levies. He meant to bring the 16th and 17th Corps, under Chanzy, over the Loire at Beaugency and Blois, and to bring up the 18th and the 20th Corps from the direction of Gien. With the army thus concentrated once more, he calculated upon being ready to take the offensive again at the end of a few days, and he mentally resolved to admit of no more dictation on the part of civilians as to the movements of the army. But all his plans were rendered nugatory by the receipt of a despatch from Gambetta, on the 6th December, depriving him of the command, creating a second Army of the Loire under Chanzy, and giving the command of the First Army (15th, 18th, and 20th Corps) to Bourbaki. This was the reward which the noble-minded d'Aurelle received from the incapable dictator, to whose hands the fate of France was unfortunately committed,—for having laboured night and day to create, discipline, instruct, and moralise the army which he then, alone of all French generals hitherto, had known how to lead to victory.

The new Second Army of the Loire, under Chanzy, had an eventful history, which must here be summed up in a few words. Chanzy struggled gallantly; but so far from advancing nearer to Paris, he was ever driven farther away from it; he was continually fighting and falling back. He fought a battle at Villorceau, on the 8th December, against the Duke of Mecklenburg, and maintained all his positions, except on the right, at Beaugency, which the Prussians obtained possession of in the night. This disaster was owing to another interference by Gambetta with the movements of the troops. Admiral Jauréguiberry had given positive orders to General Camo, who commanded the movable column of Tours, to hold firmly a strong position which he assigned to him in front of Beaugency. But during the day a direct order was received by Camo, from the Minister of War, to retire *behind* Beaugency; this order he obeyed, and the result was tantamount to a

defeat. After two more days' fighting, Chanzy fell back to the line of the Loir, hoping to protect Vendome. Prince Frederick Charles followed, and a general engagement took place near Vendome on the 15th December, in which, as before, the French fought well; but at its conclusion, his line being forced back at one point, Chanzy resolved to evacuate Vendome and fall back on Le Mans. He arrived at Le Mans on the 21st December, and here for the present we will leave him.

In the east, the military operations were not at first of such importance as to have much effect on the issue of the war. Since France had declared herself a Republic, the sympathies of Garibaldi were enlisted on her behalf; he came to Tours on the 9th October. Colonel Charrette, of the Papal Zouaves, was at Tours at the same time, seeking a commission from Gambetta. A common cause thus strangely united the champion of the Pope and Ultramontanism, and the bitter enemy of both. Garibaldi was warmly received by Gambetta, and appointed to a special command in the east of France; a brigade of Franc-tireurs, of miscellaneous composition, being placed under his orders. Garibaldi's health was too infirm to allow of his exhibiting any great activity in the field. He is said to have chiefly distinguished himself by plaguing and troubling the French clergy, for whom his aversion was notorious. His head-quarters were fixed at Autun, where he turned the fine old cathedral into a barrack for his Franc-tireurs. General Werder, who commanded the German troops employed in this part of France, was little hampered in his movements, either by the efforts of Garibaldi, or by those of his more regular opponent, General Cambriels. A dashing exploit was performed by Ricciotti Garibaldi on the 19th November. He had heard that a German battalion, 800 strong, was quartered at Châtillon, between Tonnerre and Chaumont. By a night march he surprised the Germans, having himself only 560 men under his command; carried off 160 prisoners, drove the remainder out of the town, and returned to Saulieu with considerable booty. Before this, on the 29th October, the important town of Dijon, the ancient capital of Burgundy, had fallen into the hands of Werder. The strong fortress of Besançon defied the German arms. It was of the highest importance for them to take Belfort, a fortress of the first class, situated in the southern corner of Alsace, in the gap between the Vosges mountains and the Jura. General Treskow appeared before the place on the 3rd November, and commenced to invest it; but the investment was for a long time very incomplete, and communication with the country outside was scarcely interrupted. Garibaldi marched towards Dijon, on the 27th November, at the head of a column of Mobiles and Franc-tireurs 10,000 strong. At a place called Pasques he fell in with Werder's outposts, who held his force in check till the arrival of a brigade from Dijon, by which the Garibaldians were easily routed, with the loss of many prisoners. On the whole, the employment of Garibaldi did more harm by causing disunion among the French, than it did good by any loss that it inflicted on the Germans.

General Michel was appointed to succeed Cambriels in the command of the French Army of the East. But Gambetta, in November, called him and his forces into the valley of the Loire, to augment the army under d'Aurelle de Paladines. The Germans in Alsace being thus left unmolested, besieged and took nearly all the fortified places remaining in the province at their leisure.

In September, a circumstance occurred which gave us the disagreeable certainty that, although secured from the direct risks of war by what Mr. Gladstone calls "the silver streak," we too might be injuriously affected by the disturbance of the European equilibrium caused by the prostration of France. A circular note, addressed by Prince Gortschakoff to the representatives of Russia at foreign Courts, and made public at the end of October, declared that it was the intention of His Majesty the Czar no longer to be bound by that clause of the Treaty of 1856, concluded after the Crimean War, which prohibited Russia from keeping up a naval force above a certain strength in the Black Sea. Among those who interested themselves in the state of the East, the feeling had been growing for some time that, considering the altered state of things since the date when the treaty was concluded, and the greater political solidity of Turkey, it was no longer desirable that a restriction so galling as that now in question should be maintained; and had Russia proposed a conference with a view to the re-consideration and amendment of the treaty in this sense, the weight of English opinion would have been in favour of acquiescence. But in the mode of action chosen by the Russian Government there was an apparent discourtesy—a disregard of the rights and susceptibilities of the Governments that were co-signatories with her to the Treaty of 1856—which elicited much angry comment from the Press, and not a little disquieted Mr. Gladstone's Government. Lord Granville, in a despatch to Sir A. Buchanan dated the 10th November, 1870, stated that the British Government could give no sanction to the course announced by Prince Gortschakoff, whose despatches "appear to assume that any one of the Powers who have signed the engagement may allege that occurrences have taken place which, in its opinion, are at variance with the provisions of the treaty; and, although this view is not shared by the co-signatory Powers, may found upon that allegation, not a request to those Governments for the consideration of the case, but an announcement to them that it has emancipated itself, or holds itself emancipated, from any stipulations of the treaty which it thinks fit to disapprove. Yet it is quite evident that the effect of such doctrine, and of any proceeding which, with or without avowal, is founded upon it, is to bring the entire authority and efficacy of treaties under the discretionary control of each one of the Powers who may have signed them, the result of which would be the entire destruction of treaties in their essence."

The conciliatory tone adopted by Prince Gortschakoff in his reply to Lord Granville went some way to neutralise the disagreeable impression which the circular had produced. He would not admit that Russia encouraged a laxity of principle in regard to the obligation of treaties;

and in the case of this particular treaty he declared that in its main stipulations Russia considered it as binding as ever, although she declined to be bound any longer by the special convention with Turkey which it contained, regulating the number and size of the men-of-war which the two Powers might maintain in the Black Sea. With regard to the objection that Russia had not sought for a modification of the treaty through the medium of a conference, Prince Gortschakoff remarked that Lord Granville well knew that "all the efforts repeatedly made to unite the Powers in a common deliberation, in order to do away with the causes of complication which trouble the general peace, have constantly failed." There was something deceptive in this way of stating the matter, because it did not follow, if difficulties had arisen in the way of the meeting of congresses to settle all the perplexing questions of Europe, such as that proposed by Napoleon in 1863, or to prevent the meeting of a congress to settle some one or two dangerous questions, such as that proposed by the neutral Powers in 1866, that therefore a proposal by Russia for a conference of the signatory Powers to discuss the comparatively unimportant matter now on the *tapis*, would have encountered any serious opposition. Lord Granville pointed out this distinction, admitting at the same time with satisfaction the moderation and courtesy of tone by which the Russian despatches were distinguished. Here, as between England and Russia, the matter rested. But a doubt, not unattended with anxiety, remained, whether the conduct of Russia had not been previously sanctioned, possibly even instigated, by the Court of Berlin. Mr. Odo Russell was sent to the royal head-quarters at Versailles to clear up this delicate point, and brought back the tranquillising assurance from Count Bismark that the German Government had given no sanction to the step. At the same time a proposal was made by Prussia that a conference of the Powers should be summoned, and meet in London, in order to settle the question. This was accepted both by Russia and this country, on condition that the conference should assemble "without foregone conclusions."

CHAPTER XL.

The War in the North of France—Manteuffel marches on Amiens—Battle of the Hallue—Surrender of Peronne—Battle of St. Quentin—British Ships sunk in the Seine—Battle of Le Mans—The Bombardment of Paris—Sortie in force—Trochu resigns—The Capitulation and Armistice—Retrospect of the Siege—The Germans occupy the Paris Forts—The War in the East—Battle of Nuits—Bourbaki marches to the relief of Belfort—Fighting on the Lisaine—The French defeated and driven into Switzerland—Meeting of the National Assembly—Surrender of Belfort—Fall of Gambetta—Negotiations for Peace—The Preliminaries are signed—Cession of Alsace and Lorraine—Indemnity of Five Milliards—The English Government declines to intervene—The impossibility of intervention traced to the character of Mr. Gladstone—Extraordinary language used by the Government in its communications about the War—A part of the German Army enters Paris—Preliminaries of Peace ratified by the National Assembly: which votes the Deposition of Louis Napoleon and his Dynasty—Creation of the New German Empire.

THE opening of the new year found the besieged population of Paris enduring with exemplary patience the manifold hardships and gathering perils by which they were beset. An additional source of danger and distress was about to be unclosed, in the bombardment of the forts and city; but this also, as we shall see, they sustained with the greatest fortitude and resignation. From the beginning of the year the bread distributed by the Government consisted of a detestable compound of flour mixed with all kinds of foreign ingredients.

On the 3rd January, some Franc-tireurs brought some newspapers through the investing lines, which gave no cheering account of the state of affairs in the provinces. On that very day a battle was fought at Bapaume, the issue of which ought to have contributed to amend the state of things, but through some strange mismanagement it produced no good effect. We will take this opportunity to give a brief sketch of the military operations in the northern district since the fall of Metz. When that event happened, the First and the Second German Armies, which had been united before Metz while the siege lasted, were again separated. The bulk of the Second Army marched with Prince Frederick Charles upon the Loire; the First Army, placed now under the command of General Manteuffel, was detached towards Amiens and Rouen, in order to disperse or press back any new French armies which might threaten to attain to such a consistence as to interfere with the secure prosecution of the siege of Paris. After leaving the 7th Corps on the Moselle, one division of it to form the garrison of Metz, the other to form the siege of Thionville, and detaching three brigades of the 1st Corps to besiege Mezieres and La Fere, Manteuffel had still the whole of the 8th Corps, one brigade of the 1st Corps, and a division of cavalry, under his immediate command, when he received intelligence that a considerable French force had been concentrated in front of Amiens. This force, commanded by General Farre, has been variously estimated; a German military writer, Major von Blumé, supposes it to have numbered about 30,000 men; Colonel Rüstow estimates it at 35,000; English writers with Prussian sympathies, such as the author of the history of the war edited by Captain Hozier, have swelled it to 50,000 men. Perhaps Colonel Rüstow's estimate may be taken as most approximating to the truth. In that case (since the admirable system of reserves established in Prussia enabled all gaps in the ranks of divisions serving in the field to be regularly filled up for a long time after the declaration of war), Manteuffel's army, which must have numbered 36,000 men, and was particularly strong in cavalry and artillery, must have been superior to that opposed to it in numbers as well as discipline.

General Farre disposed his troops about a mile and a half to the south of Amiens, on a line extending from Villers Bretonneux on the left, by Boves, to Dury on the right. The Prussians attacked on the morning of the 27th November. On their left they were in overpowering strength, and quickly pushed back the French right for a considerable distance; on the right, however, towards Villers Bretonneux, they could make no progress, and even, on the appearance of a column advancing towards their right flank from Corbie, gave ground considerably.

But in the evening the cavalry division came into action on this wing and enabled the infantry again to advance. As the final result of the engagement, the French were defeated at all points and fell back to and behind Amiens. That important manufacturing city was immediately occupied by General Manteuffel. A far richer prize fell into his hands a few days later. The army defeated before Amiens retired towards Arras and Lille, and Rouen thus found itself open to attack while the military preparations for its defence were still very incomplete. General von Goeben, at the head of the 8th Corps, encountering only trifling opposition, occupied Rouen up from Rouen, and a cavalry brigade was on the march from Amiens. The consciousness of reinforcements coming has much to do with the tenacity with which soldiers fight. Manteuffel resolved to attack Faidherbe in his position on the Hallue. Falling upon him on the morning of the 23rd December, he drove in the French outposts, and, in the course of the day, carried all the villages along the Hallue, as far as the foot of the hills rising from its left bank. This was the main French position, and it was held firmly against all attacks. Manteuffel ordered his troops, since they could not dislodge the French, to secure their position in the villages which they had won.

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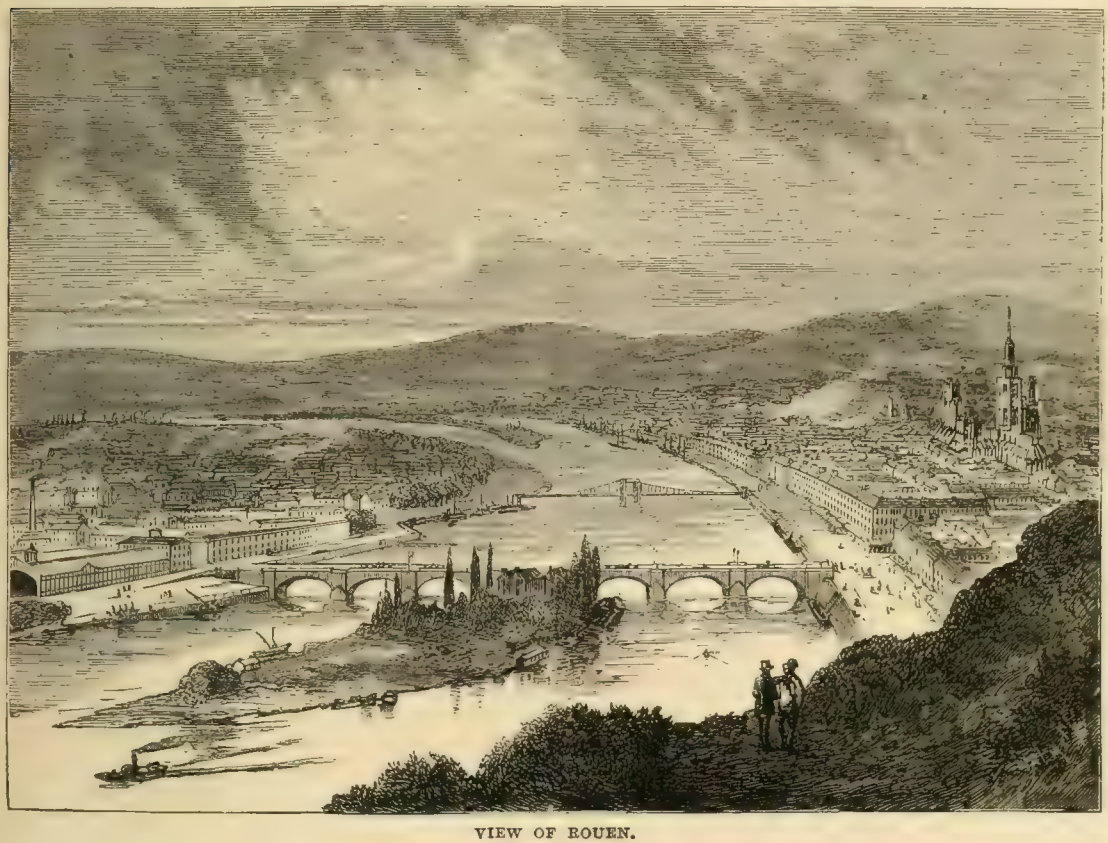
on the 6th December, and immediately made a heavy requisition on the city for stores and clothing.

General Faidherbe, formerly the governor of the French colony of the Senegal, an officer of great talents and experience, reached Lille on the 4th December, and took over the command of the Army of the North. After re-organising the troops as well as he could, he advanced in the direction of Amiens, and took up a strong position on the left bank of the little river Hallue, somewhat to the north-east of the site of the late battle on the south side of the city. In the battle which ensued we are again left in doubt as to the exact numbers engaged on each side. Major von Blumé estimates the French at 50,000 men, but this is probably too high; Colonel Rustow believes the numbers on each side to have been pretty nearly equal. The German force was about 36,000, as in the battle of Boves, but six fresh battalions were coming It was clearly a drawn battle. On the next day the armies remained facing each other; it was a question which would browbeat the other into retiring first. Unfortunately for France, Faidherbe, on account of defects in his commissariat, found himself compelled to retreat on the night of the 24th December, and fell back, first to Albert, and ultimately beyond Bapaume. The French loss in this battle was 1,049 killed and wounded, and so many as 1,200 missing—a fact which sadly testified to the loose hold which discipline had as yet established on these raw recruits. The German loss was 862 killed and wounded, and 93 missing.

On the 27th December, Manteuffel sent General von Goeben to lay siege to Peronne. This little fortress on the Somme, the name of which is familiar to the readers of "Quentin Durward," it was a main object of German strategy to reduce, because the whole line of the Somme

would then be in their power, and the passage of the river by a hostile force, especially considering the season of the year, would be attended with great difficulty. Of course, for the same reasons, it was important for the French to raise the siege. General von Goeben posted a covering force of ten or twelve thousand men at Bapaume, while the siege, or rather bombardment, was being carried on with the greatest vigour. The covering force was attacked by General Faidherbe on the 3rd January, 1871, and driven, with heavy loss, into the town of Bapaume. The battle was over; already Von Goeben had given orders for a retreat during the night, and his baggage trains had begun to move off, when the welcome news reached him that the French had fallen back. With a little more firmness General Faidherbe would have forced the Germans to retire, and Peronne would have been saved. Defective commissariat arrangements were again alleged by him, in a letter written shortly afterwards, and also a reluctance to destroy the town of Bapaume. As for the first reason, he ought to have seen that his army was capable of marching forwards when he took the field; and as for the destruction of Bapaume, as Colonel Rüstow pertinently observes, if he ever expected to get to Paris, it was idle to be deterred by such considerations, for there were plenty of towns and villages between him and Paris which the Germans would not let him occupy without hard fighting and battering.

Unrelieved, Peronne was obliged to surrender on the 10th January, after many of its inhabitants had been killed by the bombardment, its ancient and beautiful church irreparably damaged, and great part of the town laid in ruins. Not less barbarous was the treatment of Mezières, which was taken by bombardment about this time. One great evil of this system of making war, not against the garrison and the defences of a fortified town, but against the peaceable inhabitants, has not been generally noticed; it is that the hatred thus engendered tends to estrange nations from one another, and to make the periodical recurrence of wars a certainty. For so long as the war is carried on in the country of the belligerent to whom the towns belong, there is no possibility of retaliating; for one cannot bombard one's own towns: at the same time a fierce and revengeful desire that the day may come for "rewarding him as he hath served us" is nursed in the inmost hearts of the generation which has suffered from these barbarities. In the interests of civilisation and humanity, it is earnestly to be hoped—since it is idle to expect much from a congress—that should war unhappily break out again between France and Germany, and France be more fortunate than in 1870, she will be magnanimous enough, should her armies traverse German soil, to refrain from imitating the precedent set by her adversaries—that she will not inflict on the churches and houses of Marburg and Spire the same ruthless



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destruction which the Prussians visited on those of Peronne, Strasburg, Mezières, and many more.

On the 19th January, hearing that a strong French force was approaching, the Prussians occupying St. Quentin evacuated the town. Faidherbe then took possession of it, and concentrated its army outside the walls, on the west and south sides. Von Goeben, who was now in command of the First Army, Manteuffel having been sent to assist Werder to defeat Bourbaki, at the head of what was called the Army of the South, resolved to strike a decisive blow. Calling in his detachments from all parts, and skilfully combining their movements so as to result in a concentric attack on the French position, having also obtained the promise of Moltke to send him a reinforcement by rail from Paris, so as to arrive at what was likely to be the critical part of the battle, he advanced against Faidherbe at St. Quentin on the 19th January. Faidherbe had little more than the 22nd and 23rd Corps under his command, and these were so depleted by sickness, desertion, and losses in the field, that he afterwards declared that he had not more than 25,000 serviceable troops. If this were so, the Germans were in a great numerical preponderance, for they seem to have had the whole of the First Army present on the field, and also some 4,000 or 5,000 men of the 4th Corps, sent down from Paris. The result could not be doubtful; after a resistance bravely kept up by the 22nd, less tenaciously by the 23rd Corps, the French army was broken, and driven into and beyond St. Quentin. Ten thousand prisoners are said to have been made, and the French loss in killed and wounded was about 3,000; that on the side of the victors was nearly as heavy.

This was the last regular battle of the war. Von Goeben advanced northwards and summoned Cambray to surrender, but the Governor refused. Nothing else of moment occurred in this part of the country, till the surrender of Paris brought about the cessation of hostilities.

An incident occurred on the Seine, towards the end of 1870, between Rouen and Havre, which caused some irritation in this country, until proper explanation and satisfaction had been made. The Prussians at Rouen, fearing that steam gunboats would be sent up the river to attack them, seized without ceremony six British colliers that were lying in the Seine off Duclair, and scuttled them, in order that they might form an obstruction in the stream. Much stress was laid on this trivial affair at the time, the tension on men's spirits on account of the continued misery of France being considerable, and the high-handed ways of Prussian officials not having been perhaps pleasant to put up with on the part of neutrals peaceably plying their avocations. But when Lord Granville wrote to Count Bismark, nothing could be more frank, explicit, or satisfactory than the Chancellor's reply. He authorised Count Bernstorff to say to Lord Granville that the Prussian Government sincerely regretted that its troops, in order to avert immediate danger, had been obliged to seize ships which belonged to British subjects; that their claim to indemnification was admitted, and that the owners should receive the value of their ships, according to equitable estimation, without being kept waiting for the decision of the legal question, who was finally to indemnify them.

No gleam of hope came from the west after the beginning of the year. Chanzy, as we have seen, reached Le Mans with the Second Army of the Loire on the 21st December, and being left in peace there for two or three weeks was able to do much towards the better organisation of his forces. A succession of small combats, between the line of the Sarthe and that of the Loire, took place between the 27th December and the 10th January, in some of which the French obtained the advantage; while others, particularly the later ones, marked a continual pressing back of the French outposts and small detachments by the army of Prince Frederick Charles, who had now made the necessary preparations to attack Chanzy, and drive him, if possible, still farther west. The decisive battle took place on the 11th January. Chanzy had drawn up his army in front of Le Mans, the 16th Corps (Jauréguiberry) on the right wing, with the division of the mobilised Breton levies, just brought up from the camp at Conlie, on their left, the 17th Corps (Colomb) occupying the centre, and the 21st Corps (Jaurès) the left. In numbers the French were probably much superior to the army which was about to attack them. But their *morale* was fearfully shaken by the continued ill success which had attended their arms; neither in themselves nor in their generals could they place confidence; and the terrible hardships of a winter campaign (the snow was lying thick on the ground on the day of the battle) were beyond what these young conscripts, uncheered by victory or glory, and caring nothing for the Republic, for the sake of which Gambetta would have cheerfully sacrificed all their lives, could be expected to sustain. The battle raged all day along the whole line, and at six o'clock in the evening the French still held their ground. At one time in the middle of the day the 17th Corps had lost the strong position of the plateau d'Auvours, the permanent occupation of which by the Germans involved the piercing of the French centre and the loss of the battle. General Goujard, the commander of the troops of Bretagne, then collected a body of about 2,000 men, chiefly Breton volunteers, and placing himself at their head, led them up the hill of Auvours, in the face of a murderous fire, and re-took the position. The admiral had maintained all his positions with his usual spirit and energy, nor had Jaurès been seriously shaken. But an hour or two after dark a strange incident occurred. Shrewdly counting, it would seem, on the nervousness and unsteadiness of young troops at night, Prince Frederick Charles ordered a strong force of all arms to attack, about 8 P.M., the division of mobilised Bretons who were holding the strong position of La Tuilerie. The Bretons, hearing rather than seeing the enemy coming upon them, when the first shots fell in their ranks, broke and fled.*

* It has recently (1874) been alleged by Count Keratry that these Bretons had only received proper firearms on the very day before the battle, Gambetta having purposely not complied with the reiterated applications made for them, because he feared that if arms were placed in the hands of the Bretons, who were supposed to be Legitimists and religious, they would use them against the Republic.

A wild panic seized the entire division. Quickly the contagion ran through the rest of the army; by the morning it seemed hardly to have more cohesion than a rope of sand; thousands of prisoners fell into the hands of the Germans; and a retreat beyond the Sarthe became indispensable. Chanzy fell back to Laval on the Mayenne, fifty miles west of Le Mans, and began again his Sisyphean task.

The losses of the German army in the advance from the Loire to the Sarthe were rather heavy: they amounted to 3,500 in killed and wounded. Those of the French were probably not much, if at all, more considerable. But after the battle of Le Mans not fewer than 16,000 unwounded prisoners are said to have fallen into the hands of the pursuing enemy.

Thus Chanzy, with a beaten and demoralised army, was driven back to a greater distance from Paris than ever; nor could any reasonable man now entertain the hope that whatever exertions he, or Gambetta on his behalf, might make, his army could again become formidable before the lapse of many weeks. But with the Parisians starvation was become an affair of a few days.

The bombardment began on the morning of the 5th January. There were three attacks—that directed against St. Denis and its forts; that against Fort Rosny and other eastern forts; and, lastly, that against the three southern forts, Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge. This was the principal attack, the forts being here commanded by the higher ground about Meudon and Clamart that was in the possession of the enemy, and no points having in this direction been seized and fortified by the French in advance of the forts, as was the case with the redoubts near Villejuif recovered and solidly held by General Vinoy. Two hundred guns concentrated their fire against these southern forts. The unimportant attack on the east was maintained by sixty guns, while a hundred and fifty thundered on St. Denis from the north. Issy, on account of the too great distance between it and Mont Valérien, was the fort against which, more than any other, the Germans could bring to bear a concentric fire, and it was accordingly more knocked about than any of the rest. The most formidable of the German batteries, containing twenty-four pieces, was on the terrace of Meudon. From the whole of them an average shower of ten thousand projectiles per diem was rained, during the continuance of the bombardment, on the forts and on Paris. In the daytime the fire was chiefly directed at the forts, in the night it was turned against the city. After a lull, the batteries would wake up into a diabolical activity about midnight, the guns being aimed high, and sending their shells among the sleeping population of the distant city. The promise of Count Bismark, expressed with more force than elegance, that the Parisians should "fry in their own gravy," was now fulfilled. Thanks to the distance, and to the number and extent of the open spaces within the *enceinte*, the mortality caused by the bombardment was far less than might have been expected; absolutely, however, its victims were not few. Ninety-seven persons (including thirty-one children and twenty-three women) not employed in the defence were killed by the bombardment, and two hundred and seventy-eight (including thirty-six children and ninety women) were wounded. Among the public buildings and institutions injured by it were, the Jardin des Plantes, the Pantheon, the Val de Grace, the Observatory, the Church of St. Sulpice, and the Hotel des Invalides. Nothing, says General Vinoy,* could be more admirable than the behaviour of the people while the bombardment was going on. The effect of it was to harden rather than weaken the spirit of resistance; and Trochu, forced as it were by the enthusiasm of those by whom he was surrounded, declared (January 6) that he would never capitulate. The effect of the fire upon the forts was far less than the Germans had expected. Even of Fort Issy the defences were far from being ruined; it could still have held out a long time after the capitulation was settled. In fact, the German batteries were too far off; and it is General Vinoy's opinion that even now, with all the change in artillery, if a commander wishes to reduce a fortress by force, not by famine or "moral pressure," he must resort to the old methods of sap, and mine, and parallel.

The last great military operation attempted by the besieged was a sortie, in force, in the direction of Versailles, made on the 19th January. This affair is sometimes called the battle of Montretout. The council of war which ordered the movement can hardly have expected much from it; perhaps its failure was counted upon as likely to reconcile the Parisians to that capitulation which the leaders knew could not be deferred beyond a few days. A force of 84,000 men was sent out on this sortie; Ducrot commanding on the right, Bellemare in the centre, and Vinoy on the left. Sallying from under the guns of Mont Valérien, the troops under the command of Vinoy carried with a rush the greater part of the buildings of St. Cloud and the redoubt of Montretout. General Bellemare also, in the centre, drove back the enemy from their first line; but Ducrot, whose troops had farther to march, delayed hour after hour to come up on Bellemare's right, and when he did appear his attack was feeble and did not push back the German lines. Meantime the enemy had brought up a number of guns to bear upon Montretout, to which Vinoy, through the weakness of the artillery horses and the blocked condition of the road from Mont Valérien, found it impossible to bring up enough pieces to make an effectual reply. In the end the whole French army was driven back under the guns of Mont Valérien, with a loss of 3,000 men killed and wounded. A battalion of Mobiles, 300 strong, was accidentally cut off at St. Cloud when the troops retired; no other prisoners appear to have been taken.

When the failure of the sortie became known through Paris, furious indignation was expressed against Trochu among the revolutionary classes. Foremost in the outcry were the battalions of the National Guard, recruited among those very classes, belonging to Montmartre and Belleville, which had shown least courage in the field,

* In the work already quoted.

and had first abandoned the ranks and made their way back to Paris. Trochu, who knew that there was nothing more to be done in the way of resistance, and who, after his late declaration, could not decently negotiate for a capitulation, resigned the command of the Army of Paris. General Vinoy, much against his will, and only because an *émeute* had broken out on the 22nd which it was of the utmost importance to the salvation of all honest people promptly to put down, accepted the vacant command. The Reds broke open the Mazas prison, and liberated the conspirator Flourens; after that they attacked the Hotel de Ville, but a battalion of the Mobiles of Finisterre (Bretagne), installed in the building, fired from the windows upon the rioters, and easily dispersed them.

Paris was at the end of her resources. She could not wait to know the result of the great combination—Gambetta's masterpiece—by which Bourbaki, at the head of 130,000 unhappy conscripts, had been impelled against Werder and the German communications. Of that expedition we shall speak presently; but whether it succeeded or not, not a day was to be lost in coming to any terms whereby a fresh supply of food might be obtained for the 1,800,000 persons cooped up in Paris. Jules Favre visited the German head-quarters on the 24th January, and on several days afterwards, to arrange for a capitulation and an armistice. At seven o'clock in the evening of the 26th, General Vinoy received the order to cause all the forts and field works to cease firing by midnight on the same day. The order was obeyed, and the siege of Paris was at an end.

This memorable siege may be divided into two periods—the investment, and the active siege—the former lasting from the 19th September to the 27th December, when fire was first opened on Mont Avron; the latter, from the last-named date to the capitulation. The Germans, in the opinion of General Vinoy, executed every operation connected with the investment with the utmost ability and completeness. They drew a girdle a hundred kilomètres in length round the city so tight that all communication between it and the country outside practically ceased; and it was to this investment, and to the imminence of famine which it caused, that the fall of Paris was due. On the other hand, the active part of the siege was, in the General's opinion, mismanaged from first to last. It involved a maximum of expenditure of ammunition with a minimum of destruction to the defences, sacrificed to no purpose the lives of a number of helpless civilians, and did not hasten the surrender by a single hour.

The convention establishing both a capitulation and an armistice for the masses of the belligerent armies was signed by Bismark and Favre, at Versailles, on the 28th January. The military details were arranged on behalf of France by General Beaufort d'Hautpoul. The armistice was to last twenty-one days, and was to be established wherever military operations were being actually carried on, except in the departments of Doubs, Jura, and Côte d'Or; the siege of Belfort also was to continue. Bismark would have readily consented to extend the armistice to these departments also; but unfortunately Jules Favre (who must have reposed a confidence in the strategy of his colleague, Gambetta, which few Frenchmen could at this time have shared) fancied that Bourbaki had achieved, or was about to achieve, great things, of which the relief of Belfort was the least; he would not therefore include his army in the armistice. The object of the cessation of hostilities was declared to be, the convocation by the Government of a freely-elected National Assembly, which was to meet at Bordeaux, and to decide whether the war should be continued or not. The forts of Paris, with all guns and war material contained in them, were at once to be surrendered to the German army, which, during the continuance of the armistice, was not to enter the city. The guns forming the armament of the *enceinte* were also to be surrendered. The entire garrison of Paris were to become prisoners of war and to lay down their arms, except a division of 12,000 men, which the military authorities would retain for the maintenance of internal order. After giving up their arms, the soldiers were to remain within the *enceinte* during the armistice. All corps of Francs-tireurs were at once dissolved by order of the French Government. After the surrender of the forts, the reprovisioning of Paris would proceed without let or hindrance by all the ordinary channels of traffic, except that no supplies were to be drawn from the territory occupied by the German troops. A war contribution amounting to £8,000,000 sterling was imposed on the city of Paris.

The terms of the armistice were punctually carried out, and on the 29th January the German troops were put in possession of the forts. All along the line, except in the three departments and before Belfort, the combatants dropped their arms. In that region a crowning disaster had already overtaken the last convulsive efforts of France. The reader will remember that when Gambetta, after the second capture of Orleans by the Germans, divided the Army of the Loire into two parts, he placed that part which retained the name of the First Army, consisting of the 15th, 18th, and 20th Corps, under the command of Bourbaki, who had placed his services at the disposal of the Government. Gambetta calculated that Prince Frederick Charles would fear to leave so large a force as that of Bourbaki free to threaten the investing army or the German communications, while he marched against Chanzy. But that experienced and able commander knew how to gauge an army by its quality as well as by its quantity—a knowledge which Gambetta never attained. The "Besieged Resident" wrote from Paris that it was commonly said there that Chanzy and Bourbaki had surrounded Prince Frederick Charles, while to a few, less hopefully disposed, it appeared that the Prince had *got between them*; the latter proved to be the real state of the case. The plan of d'Aurelle, to concentrate the whole army on a strong position south of Orleans, and occupy some time in re-forming its wasted ranks and improving its discipline, was evidently the only reasonable one. France would then in a few days have had one formidable army: under Gambetta's plan, she had two armies, neither of which was in the least formidable.

Prince Frederick Charles, upon finding that Bourbaki had marched away on some expedition to the eastward, had not the slightest fear but that, against an army composed of such loose and untried materials, Moltke would furnish a force sufficient to ward off its feeble strokes; he therefore put the great masses of the Second Army in motion to overwhelm Chanzy, and succeeded in doing so as we have seen.

In the east, General Werder, an officer of great ability and undaunted resolution, made head at Dijon for a long time against the French forces mustering to overpower him. On the 18th December, he marched from Dijon upon Nuits, a place on the railway between Dijon and Lyons, where a force of about 20,000 men had been collected under General Cremer. After a hard-fought action, the French were defeated and driven out of Nuits. Some days later, Werder routed the Garibaldians at Pasques, as has been already related. But now the movements of the large army which had been collected under Bourbaki began to develop themselves, and Dijon became a position too far to the west to be advantageous; it was therefore evacuated by the Germans on the 28th December, and immediately occupied by Garibaldi and Cremer. The three corps which had been placed under the command of Bourbaki, together with the 24th Corps (Bressolle), which was to be moved up from Lyons to co-operate in the movement, formed an army of about 130,000 men. With this force Bourbaki was expected to fall upon Werder and overpower him, raise the siege of Belfort, and, crossing the Rhine, to carry the war into Germany; while Garibaldi and Cremer, after the defeat of Werder, fell on the great German line of communications by the Strasburg-Paris railway. With seasoned troops, and in the hands of a commander accustomed to handle large masses of men, the operation would probably have succeeded. Even with raw troops and an unskilful general, some measure of success might have been attained had the movement been made in the summer and not in the winter. But under the actual circumstances the enterprise was foredoomed to failure; and Bourbaki himself seemed to feel this, for he fell into a deep depression of spirits, terminating in actual aberration of mind. Gambetta had associated with him a Polish adventurer calling himself De Serres, described by Colonel Rüstow as a "young swindler," to whose interference Bourbaki would scarcely have submitted had not his mind been already disordered. Entering Dijon on the 2nd January, 1871, Bourbaki directed the main body of his army to concentrate round the fortress of Besançon, whence in two or three days he led it to the relief of Belfort, moving through the broken country between the parallel streams of the Oignon and the Doubs. Werder, who had fallen back from Dijon on Vesoul, the capital of the department of the Haute Saone, attacked Bourbaki's left flank on the 9th January, at Villersexel, on the Oignon, his object being to gain time for the main body of his troops to fall back on the line of the Lisaine, in front of Belfort, and fortify a position there. The action at Villersexel was indecisive, but the march of the French was delayed by it, and Werder gained the time which he so greatly needed.

Behind the Lisaine, a stream running parallel to the little river Savoureuse, on which Belfort stands, and like it flowing northwards to join the Doubs, Werder resolved to stand firm, and bar the advance of the French towards Belfort. It was a bold resolve, for he had not more than 50,000 men at his disposal, and of these 15,000 were engaged in laying siege to Belfort. But the event showed that he rightly estimated the large deductions which the rawness of the troops, the inexperience of the general, the terrible severity of the weather, and the various moral agencies which were at work to deprive the French soldiers of their historic *élan* and natural hopefulness, left it reasonable for him to make from the mere numerical strength of his opponents. On the 15th, 16th, and 17th January, Bourbaki made successive attempts to force Werder's position behind the Lisaine, but always without success. With his immense preponderance in numbers, the boldest flank movements would have been permissible, and could hardly have failed to dislodge the Germans; but Bourbaki simply attacked them in front, and as they were strongly posted, and had a solidity which his own troops had not, his efforts failed. On the night of the 15th January, the thermometer stood at twenty-five degrees below zero, and the sufferings of the French soldiers, imperfectly clad and shod, with no shelter from the piercing wind, and but little firewood to be got, were indescribable. On the 18th Bourbaki resolved to retreat; and by the 22nd instant he had again concentrated his army in the neighbourhood of Besançon.

By the failure of the French to force Werder's position the fall of Belfort was made a certainty; but a greater disaster was behind. An Army of the South had been formed by Moltke, and placed under the command of Manteuffel, who took charge of it, on the 13th January, at Chatillon-sur-Seine. Marching southwards to the assistance of Werder, Manteuffel was still sixty miles distant from the Lisaine on the 18th January, the day on which Bourbaki made his last fruitless attack. Pressing forward, he seized Dole, to the south-west of Besançon, and sent detachments to occupy various points near the Swiss frontier, so as to intercept the retreat of Bourbaki's army in that direction. After reaching Besançon, Bourbaki remained for some days irresolute what to do; the desperate situation of his army, and the consciousness, perhaps, of his own incapacity to command, overset his reason; and on the 24th he attempted to commit suicide by shooting himself through the head. Happily the wound was not mortal, and ultimately the General recovered. The want of supplies sufficient both for the fortress and for the support of so large an army was probably the cause why Clinchamp, upon whom the command devolved, instead of keeping the army under the shelter of the mountain forts and lofty citadel of Besançon, resolved on continuing the march southward, in order either to elude the Germans by escaping along roads close to the Swiss frontier, and so reaching Lons le Saulnier, or, if the worst came to the worst, to cross the border and surrender to the Swiss authorities. Eventually the 24th Corps, under General Bressolle, succeeded in making its escape and reaching

Lyons. The rest of the army, overtaken and attacked by Manteuffel in and around Pontarlier, after losing thousands of prisoners, was driven into Switzerland. A convention was entered into by Clinchamp (February 1) with the Federal General Herzog, under which about 85,000 French soldiers, having with them 11,000 horses and 202 guns, were interned in Switzerland. The friendly

A SORTIE FROM PARIS: THE BATTLE OF MONTRETOUT.

Swiss flew to the assistance of their unfortunate guests, whose state of destitution and misery was truly pitiable. Fully one-third of the whole army were said to have had their feet frost-bitten.

In pursuance of the terms of the armistice, elections were held throughout France in order to the convocation of a National Assembly. By the 12th February, about three hundred members only, out of the seven hundred and fifty who were to compose the new Legislature, had arrived at Bordeaux; but so urgent was the case that the Assembly proceeded to constitute itself on that day. On the 16th February M. Grévy was chosen President of the Assembly, and on the following day M. Thiers was appointed, by a large majority, Chief of the Executive Power. Some days before this, it being evident that the armistice, which was only to last till the 19th February, would expire before the Assembly could come to a decision upon the momentous question before it, Jules Favre hurried up to Versailles in order to obtain a prolongation of the time. It was granted, but at the same time the fate of Belfort, the Governor of which had hitherto repelled all attacks, was sealed: the fortress was to be surrendered to the Germans, but the garrison, with their arms and stores, and the military archives, were to march out with the honours of war, and be allowed to retire

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT: GRAND ENTRANCE.

to the south of France. Accordingly the garrison, still 12,000 strong, marched out and proceeded to Grenoble; and the fortress was occupied by the Germans on the 18th February. This may be regarded as the closing scene of the Franco-German War.

Gambetta fell from power as suddenly as he had risen to it. He caused the Delegation of the Government at Bordeaux to publish an electoral decree on the 31st January, excluding from the possibility of being elected to the Assembly all persons who had stood in any official relation to the Second Empire. Against this outrageous decree Count Bismark could not refrain from protesting, and fortunately he could appeal to the phrase in the article of the capitulation bearing on the question, which spoke of a "freely-elected" National Assembly. It was a critical moment, for had M. Gambetta found a large body of Frenchmen mad enough to back him in this frantic course, great delays must inevitably have arisen, the legality and plenary authority of the Assembly might have been disputed, and perhaps the Germans might have been called in, or might themselves have stepped in, to arbitrate in a question of French internal politics. This consummation was happily avoided. The Government at Paris undertook to cancel the decree of the Delegation, and sent one of their number, Jules Simon, to Bordeaux, with instructions to publish and enforce their decision. Gambetta, finding his proceedings disavowed, resigned office on the 6th February. A dictatorship more disastrous to the nation which submitted to it than any which history records was thus brought to a termination. It may be freely conceded that M. Gambetta was well-intentioned and incorrupt; we must also allow that he was patriotic, so far as a man could be so who was a Republican first and a Frenchman afterwards, and who, on many an important occasion, treated the plain interests of the country as secondary in comparison with the prosperity of the Republican cause. But his inordinate self-esteem led him to confound ambition with capacity, celerity with efficiency, quantity with quality. Having no true insight into character, he was perpetually working irreparable mischief by elevating incompetent men into posts of responsibility for which they were not fit, and depriving competent men of that latitude of action which a wise administrator would have eagerly thrust upon them. He placed Freycinet—the civilian, the mining engineer—over all the professional soldiers, who fumed with rage and scorn at the upstart's arrogance; while he foolishly and fatally interfered with General d'Aurelle de Paladines in the direction of the army which he had himself created. He lavished the blood of Frenchmen like water, himself incurring no danger; and spent their money by the milliard, himself suffering no loss by the war. It is indeed probable that the catalogue of his rash and foolish acts is as yet far from being thoroughly revealed. The Frenchmen of future generations will probably deem that, among many things difficult of explanation in the war of 1870-1, the most inexplicable of all was their forefathers' quietly permitting a rhetorical Italian to send them into a hundred fields of blood, and involve them in an abyss of debt, while possessing absolutely no one quality of greatness which should have induced them to trust in his leadership.

On the 19th February, the National Assembly elected a diplomatic commission of fifteen members, who were to accompany MM. Thiers and Jules Favre to Paris, and assist them in negotiating a peace. No serious intention of continuing the war was entertained by any considerable party or fraction in the Assembly. The members from Alsace and Lorraine did indeed, while protesting against the supposed intention of Germany to demand the cession of those provinces, declare that the populations which they represented were prepared to continue the war rather than consent to separation. The declaration was listened to by the majority with deep respect and sympathy, but it awakened no response. The Red Republicans of Paris, whom the failure of all their predictions as to the invulnerability of the "holy city," and the certainty that the besieging troops would all find a grave under its walls, had exasperated almost to frenzy, raved and spouted against the "treason" of all who had had anything to do with governing France, Gambetta included, and proposed to retire to the fastnesses of the Cevennes, and wage an internecine war. But the majority of the Assembly, representing the sound, sensible, Conservative feeling of the rural districts of France—Monarchists on principle and attached to religion—knew that the military resources of the country were exhausted, and that to prolong the struggle was to endanger the existence of their institutions and even of society itself.

On the 21st February, the French negotiators met Count Bismark at Versailles. Thiers knew that the Germans meant to have, substantially, the terms which they demanded, and he did not waste time by idle reclamations or counter proposals. On two points, however, his efforts achieved a certain success. Count Bismark desired to retain Belfort, a fortress which in German hands would make France as vulnerable to attack on the upper Rhine, as the loss of Metz has left her weak and vulnerable on the lower. Thiers, however, succeeded in retaining Belfort for France, purchasing the concession, as some assert, by consenting to the march of the German army through Paris. Again, whereas Count Bismark originally demanded six milliards (£240,000,000) as the war indemnity, Thiers with infinite exertion succeeded in reducing it to five milliards. On this second point the assistance of English diplomacy was specially invoked by the French Government. Lord Granville, at the urgent request of the Duc de Broglie, the new French Ambassador, wrote to Berlin (February 24) the mildest, faintest, weakest representation—remonstrance it was not—that could have been made, if any was made at all, on the subject of the excessive indemnity. Before, however, the duplicate of this despatch reached Mr. Odo Russell at Versailles, Count Bismark had already given way. The preliminaries of peace were signed on the 26th February. By them France agreed to cede Alsace and German-Lorraine, including Metz, to Germany, and to pay a war indemnity of five milliards.

It may be well believed that France had tried every expedient, and snatched at every straw, before consenting

to terms like these. The efforts of Jules Favre and Thiers, in September, to bring about an intervention on the part of all or some of the neutral Powers had not then succeeded; nevertheless, they were renewed, with reference to England at least, more urgently than ever during the last period of the struggle. Austria, it was well known, was friendly, but Russia compelled her to be neutral; Italy, if she was bound to France, was also under obligations to Prussia; Spain, in her revolutionary condition, could do nothing if she would. England alone, so reasoned French politicians, would have the power, if she had also the will, to interpose effectually with a view to preventing the imposition of exorbitant terms of peace. The pressing solicitations which the French Government addressed to the Foreign Office were supplemented by the calm reasonings of M. Chevalier and the touching appeals of the aged Guizot. It was urged that England should not abdicate her place in the European family of nations so far as to look calmly on, and suffer the nation, with which she is connected by innumerable ties of friendship and interest, to be despoiled and dismembered to an extent which it was impossible for her to acquiesce in. If England wishes that the standing order of things on the continent should be peace and not war, let her intervene vigorously and decisively to save Metz for France.

When Frenchmen entreated the English Government to intervene on their behalf with that of Germany, they were not, of course, thinking of an intervention which could not conceivably outstep the limits of advice and exhortation. It was not such an intervention as that which Lord Russell had employed in favour of Denmark, but such as that by which France had saved Austria, in 1866, from the extremest consequences of defeat, that was now in question. But it may be asked—Was there a possibility of England's intervening with effect at any time? Before Paris surrendered, there certainly was; for if Germany had refused moderate terms—for instance, to be satisfied with Alsace alone—when appealed to by this country, a moderate English force landed in the north of France and co-operating with Faidherbe might have caused the siege of Paris to be raised, since even by their own exertions the French were, at one time, not far from accomplishing this. After the fall of Paris it does not appear that we could, with our small army, have attempted an armed intervention with any prospect of success. Yet, though we could not declare war in this case, if Germany did not listen to reason, it does not follow that our intervention would have been useless. We might, as M. Guizot suggested, have declared to Germany that, in the interest of the European equilibrium, the preservation of which, considering the stake we have in Turkey, is of the greatest importance to us, this country would not recognise the forcible separation of (at least) German-Lorraine from France. The threat might have produced its effect, in which case the chances of a long peace in Europe would be much greater than they are now; if it had failed, things would be no worse than they are at present, and we should have earned the lasting gratitude of France.

In the preliminaries of peace a convention was inserted, authorising the occupation of a definite portion of Paris by a body of German troops not exceeding 30,000 men. Accordingly, on the morning of the 1st March, portions of the 11th, 2nd Bavarian, and 6th Army Corps, crossing the Seine by the bridge of Neuilly, defiled along the avenue of the same name, passed under the Arc de Triomphe, and marched through the Champs Elysées into the Rue Rivoli and other parts of the district assigned to them. But this occupation, deeply painful and humiliating as it must have been to the Parisians, was not of long duration. News came, on the 2nd March, that the preliminaries of peace had been ratified at Bordeaux, and then Paris, in accordance with an express stipulation to that effect, was immediately evacuated.

The preliminaries were submitted by M. Thiers to the National Assembly on the 28th February. The terms of peace were oppressive and exorbitant; they were terms which Germany, having found France ill prepared for war, had been enabled by her admirable preparation, her profound study of the art and thorough elaboration of the means of war, to impose on the vanquished; nor is it to be supposed for an instant that the Assembly assented to them except under compulsion, and from the conviction that their refusal would bring still more terrible misfortunes upon France. In the course of the discussion which ensued, the Assembly solemnly voted the deposition of Louis Napoleon and his dynasty, by a resolution which declared him responsible for the invasion, dismemberment, and ruin of France. On the 1st March the preliminaries of peace were accepted by a majority of 546 votes against 107. The Emperor of Germany (for to that dignity had the King of Prussia been raised in December, 1870, complying with the request made to him by letters and deputations sent to him at Versailles from the Princes and free towns of Germany) telegraphed his supreme satisfaction to the Empress-Queen, declaring that "the Lord of Hosts," who had visibly blessed their exertions, had "by His mercy permitted this honourable peace to be achieved."

CHAPTER XLI.

HISTORY OF ENGLISH ART SINCE 1851.

Revival of an Appreciation of Gothic Art.—Welby Pugin: His Merits and Defects: His Work and Failures.—Mr. Cockerell: His Theories on Architecture: His Design of the University Galleries at Oxford.—The Church Movement towards a Revival of Art—The Ecclesiological Society.—Foundation of Government Schools of Design.—Building of the Houses of Parliament—Choice of an Architect—Style of the Building, and Conditions under which it was Built—The Tone of Thought about Art then prevailing.—Mr. Ruskin: His Writings: His Influence on Modern Art: The Opposition of the Press: His Public Lectures.—The Arundel Society—Its Origin, Objects, and Effect on Public Taste.—The Exhibition of 1851—The Expectations and Hopes which it excited—The Origin and Development of the Idea—The Plan of the Building; its Character and Ornamentation—The Contents of the Exhibition—Bad Effects of a Competition unaffected by Cost—Inferiority of English Art—Sculpture—Goldsmiths' Work—The Mediæval Court—Glass-painting—State of the latter Art at the Time—Pugin's Revival of it—M. Henri Gérente—Mr. Morris' Improvements in Glass-painting and other Branches of Art—Mr. Skidmore: His Metal-work—Report of the Juries on the Exhibition.—The Defects

of Modern Ornament.—Formation of a Museum of Manufacture.—Failure of former Schools of Design, and the Causes.—Department of Practical Art formed—The South Kensington Museum Built—The System of Teaching.—Revival of Domestic Architecture: Difficulties surrounding it.—Defects of Modern Building: Reasons of Failure.—The Oxford Museum: Description of Building—Mr. Skidmore's Iron-work, and Principles of Colouring.—The Albert Memorial.—Ecclesiastical Architecture—Revival of Mural Painting—Materials for Building.—Mr. Butterfield and Brick Architecture—All Saints, Margaret Street.—Basilica Churches—St. Barnabas, Oxford.—Merits of the Basilica Exhibition of 1862—Improvement in Art Produce since 1851—Ladies' Embroidery Society—The Mediæval Court—Household Furniture—English Glass-cutting.—The Manchester Exhibition—Collection of Pictures there.—Death of Turner.—Appearance of the pre-Raphaelite Paintings in the Academy—Criticisms of the day on them—Mr. Ruskin's Championship—The Principles which guided their Work—Their eventual Success.—Mr. Millais: "The Return of the Dove:" "Peace Concluded:" "Autumn Leaves:" "A Dream of the Past:" "Sir Ysumbras."—Holman Hunt: "Rienzi:" "Claudio and Isabella:" "The Hireling Shepherd:" "Light of the World:" "The Awakening Conscience:" "Saviour in the Temple:" "Scape-Goat."—Mr. Watts: His Painting in Westminster and Lincoln's Inn, and other Works.—Mr. Armitage: His Wall-paintings, and other Pictures.—The St. John's Wood School—Messrs. S. Solomon, A. Moore, Burne Jones, Poynter, Frith, Landseer, and Lewis.—Landscape Art—William Turner, and Others.—The Functions of Art.—Two Classes of Art Patrons.

TURNING aside from the main current of history, we shall now proceed to consider the conditions and progress of Art during the last generation. In doing so, we must ask our readers to look back with us, briefly, a few years beyond the limits of these pages, and to the state of art previous to the time of its revival in England. As in the history of civilisation we find the first art developed and cultivated by man to have been architecture, and the rise or decline of the fine arts throughout the Middle Ages to have been heralded by some leading changes in the buildings of the period, so in the modern revival the first efforts after a truer ideal were made in the architecture of England some years previously to the reformation of painting and sculpture. And though these beginnings of a better state of things were at best but failures, and the leaders were themselves groping blindly after principles which had been overlaid by every conceivable form of falsehood; yet there was inherent life in the movement, because it was begun with integrity of purpose, and carried on through difficulties and failures with conscientious earnestness. The first name which claims our attention at the period to which we are referring is that of Welby Pugin, whose influence on modern art, overrated as it was by his friends and depreciated by his enemies, has been, at any rate, sufficiently real for his name to command some notice in the history of the revival. At the time when Pugin began his career, architecture had fallen to its lowest level. All the plain solidity of the Georgian style of building had disappeared, and its good stone and brick construction given place to rubble walls faced with cement in imitation of stone, plaster ornaments, and all those dishonest shams with which our streets had now become chiefly composed. Indifference to beauty, manifested in the unpretentious brick houses, square-built, gloomy, and ugly, of the last century, had been superseded by an age of more insolent ignorance. The monuments of past ages were being gradually destroyed by surer blows than those struck by the Puritan hands of former days—neglect and indifference; and wanton sacrilege, unexcused by fanaticism, completed the ravages of time. At Salisbury Cathedral, the Hungerfield and Beauchamp Chapels were totally destroyed, the screen of the Lady Chapel demolished, the chapels of the west transept and the Rood-loft pulled down, and its monuments removed. At Worcester, the west front had been "restored" with cement, the ornaments, crockets, &c., being carved with a trowel out of wet plaster; the choir pewed up, and the aisles walled in. These are merely specimens of the work of demolition. Such was the state of things when Pugin began his protest against the ignorance of modern restoration, the falseness of modern constructive principles, and the shams of modern ornament. It is but fair to say that he inaugurated the beginning of a new era, though unequal himself to the task of guiding aright its instincts, or of fulfilling its requirements. He first ridiculed the vulgarity of modern street architecture, where "linen-drapers' shops ape the palace of the Cæsars, and the cigar divan is a vile burlesque of Eastern decoration;" and condemned as unflinchingly the niggardliness which converted churches into rooms "barren and bare as barns, as hideous to look at as the shambles of the market-place." Unfortunately he did not himself understand the principles which he advocated, and his own examples of Gothic buildings were more or less unsatisfactory, while he himself attributed his failures to inadequate supplies of money. It was Pugin's misfortune that he was thought and talked of by his friends as a man of genius, when he was only a man of considerable and versatile talent, lacking mental and moral ballast. He was clever, but he stultified his cleverness by neglecting to increase his knowledge and expand his mind. He allowed tricks of draughtsmanship to take the place of good design, and pretty details to supersede good construction; and the result was the inevitable fate which pursues all those who trade on their own powers of invention, that he perpetually reproduced himself with increasing feebleness. His illustrations of the "Lives of the English Saints" are a proof of this. Beginning with some grace of design, they gradually deteriorated into mechanical repetition, varied only by the vestment of the figure or other trifling attribute. Had he listened to the advice of his critics instead of railing at them, and searched into the causes of his own failures instead of commenting so sharply on his opponents, he might have learned to better purpose the practical lessons which he was so anxious to impress on others. He was possessed by the mistaken notion that there was no room for art outside the Roman Church, nor any inspiration to be received outside her religion; and his sphere of usefulness was narrowed and his mind warped by this idea. He lived to see the English Church awake from her long sleep to appreciate and foster the true principles of art, while still the Roman Church in England was contented with the fallacies of the basest Renaissance; and to behold the first successes of that young school of painters who could paint Christian tradition, when they chose, as none had painted it since Raffaelle.

Mr. Cockerell was one of the last champions of the

old classical school; and his lectures in the Royal Academy showed the weaknesses of the system he advocated. He admitted that the architecture of the Middle Ages was unapproachably sublime, while he protested against a study of its principles. He asserted that ecclesiastical architecture was founded wholly on superstitious associations, at the same time that he professed himself sanguine of the results to art of the ascendency of the High Church party; reminding us of Mr. Curzon's tirade in his "Monasteries of the Levant." "Gothic is *not* Christian architecture; it is Roman Catholic architecture," wrote Mr. Curzon, with an air of decision which left no room for appeal in the writer's mind. Mr. Cockerell's own practical efforts were as futile as his arguments. One of his principal works, the University Galleries at Oxford, was in every way unfitted for its purpose. The picture rooms are so lighted that it is impossible to hang any picture so that it will not have cross lights resting on it; and they are neither ventilated nor water-tight. The ample space is wasted and cut up; and the exterior struck into hopeless insignificance by the diminutive size of the central part in proportion to the wings. One might have thought that the Renaissance front of St. John's College, with its central tower frowning on Mr. Cockerell's pile, might have taught him better things.

In 1838, the Ecclesiological movement began in the foundation of the Oxford and Cambridge Architectural Societies, the success of which surpassed the most sanguine expectations of their members. The Oxford Society procured a room in which they held periodical meetings for discussion, and gave lectures on various subjects within the range of ecclesiastical art, for the purpose of interesting the outer world in the movement. The Ecclesiological Society, more important than either, and comprehending indeed these and other smaller societies within itself, was founded about 1843. It would be difficult to overrate the good effects of this society on the art of the present day. The isolated efforts of Pugin towards a Gothic revival met with little support and left no visible results, because founded on mistaken principles which could never have laid the foundation of a school. But the society of which we are speaking was the expression of an organised effort, on the part of a large number of the most cultivated men of the time, to reform the ecclesiastical and secular art of England; and it numbered among its members some of the most distinguished architects and artists of the day. It proposed to itself to raise the tone of thought as regards art, by united and concentrated efforts, and, watching carefully for the outward expression of each new artistic demand, to foster its growth and place the supply of it in competent hands. Under its care the first revival of the study of old music was led by the Motett Society, which, by frequent meetings for the purpose of singing glees, madrigals, and such music, laid the foundation for a more correct taste than had prevailed for many generations. A small number of ladies formed, also under the auspices of this society, the first school of embroidery,—an art which, now so flourishing, was then almost forgotten. They worked from designs furnished for them, and gave with great generosity their work to poor churches. The revival of goldsmiths' art is due also to the exertions of this society. No goldsmith in London, at that time, could furnish any but the most vulgar and wearisome repetition of bad design; their "plain Grecian" and "rich Gothic" patterns being equally regardless of the considerations of utility and beauty. Attention was at length called by the Ecclesiological Society to the great beauty of various specimens of old church plate, and after several consultations it was resolved to have some of them copied experimentally. Many difficulties and disappointments befell the enterprise, arising from the low state to which the trade had sunk; such as the inexperience of workmen, lack of proper tools, &c. But they succeeded at last in producing some fair specimens of hand-wrought work, after which the superintendence of the manufacture was placed in the hands of Mr. Butterfield; and the trade gradually prospered, as increasing knowledge and skill were brought to bear on it.

The movement which had begun in the country was taken up to some extent by the Government, and the gradual spread of its principles had served the purpose of throwing some light on the state of individual art in our great manufacturing towns. In 1835, a select committee was appointed to enquire the best means of extending the knowledge of art, and of the principles of design, among manufacturers; and it was at length recommended that schools of design should be placed in all the great centres of manufacture. These schools were necessarily only tentative, and eventually proved to be failures. They became mere drawing schools, filled by boys and girls who had not had the slightest education in first principles; and who passed through them, often under very incompetent teachers, gaining no knowledge whatever of the connection of design with drawing, or of the application of either to manufacture. They were, however, an effort in a right direction, though, with the usual ponderousness of English public movement, they were allowed to remain for about sixteen years without amendment, and a dead weight of expense on the country. The first national effort in applying the principles of Gothic to modern requirements was made in the building of the Houses of Parliament. Until this time, the mode of selecting an architect for public buildings had been to place the choice in the hands of the Treasury of the Board of Trade, who decided at random, either from promising estimates, popular opinion, or private interest. Seeing the miserable effects of this system, Sir Edward Cust recommended the Government to advertise a free competition, the result of which was that Sir Charles Barry was appointed, amidst the vociferous abuse of the rejected seventy-nine candidates. Public competition not being so common a thing then as now, they might perhaps be excused for inundating the world with pamphlets to show the incapacity of the judges and the folly of the choice, though it seems to us, at this distance of time, somewhat undignified. We are apt, in criticising this, the first modern Gothic building of the country, to forget the difficult circumstances under which it was

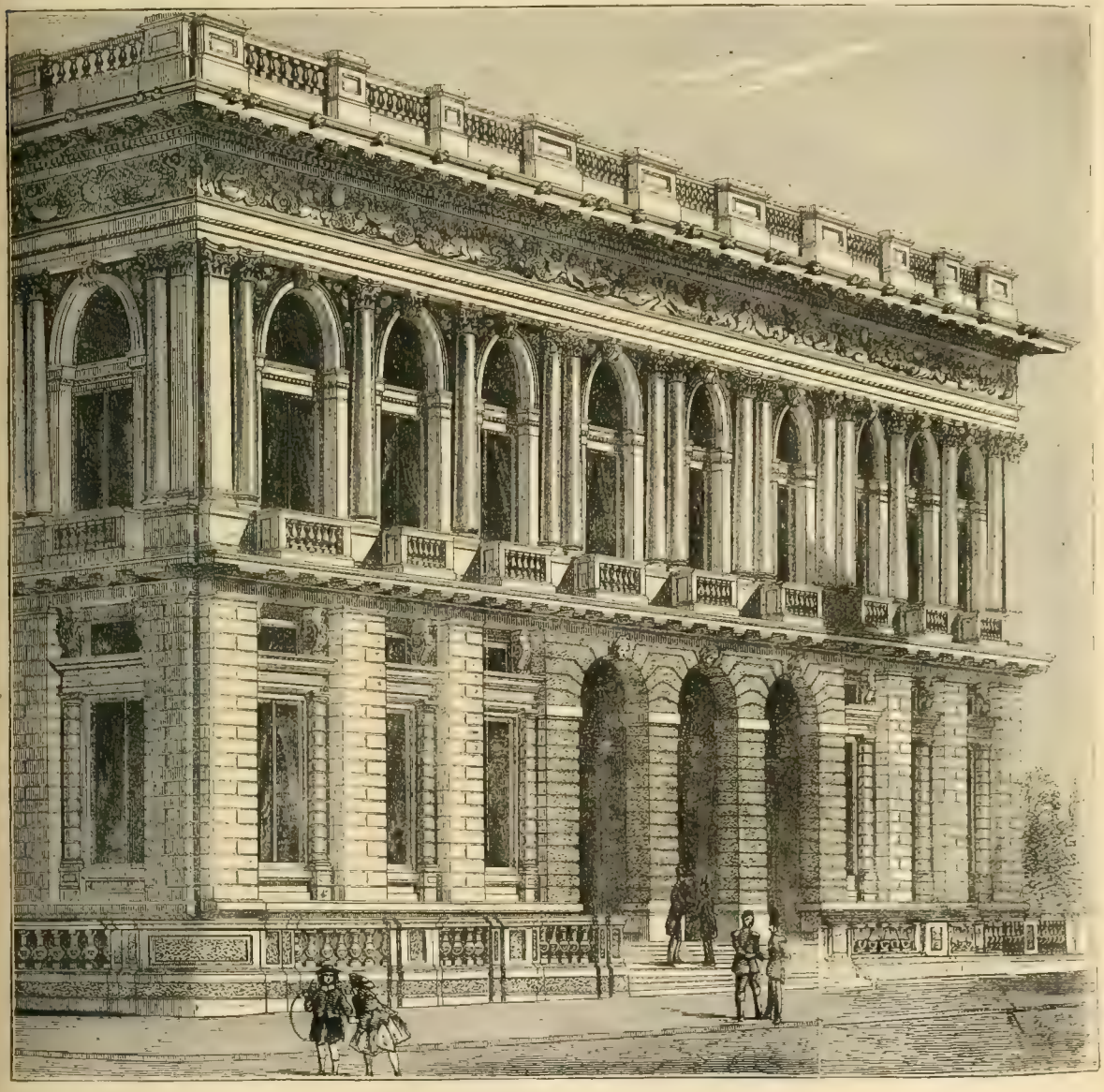
built. The architects of that day were but just emerging from the prejudices and habits of the last generation, with little knowledge of the real principles of Gothic, and with neither experience nor precedent to assist them. They were ordered by Government to prepare designs for a Tudor building (not Gothic as has been generally supposed) of great size and magnificence, and fitted in every way for the grandeur of its purpose. It may very likely be that Barry might have done no better had he been quite unfettered; but a Tudor building he had to design, and a Tudor building he erected, with all the faults and

MR. RUSKIN.

not many of the virtues of the genuine Tudor style. There is, however, in spite of all its faults, a grandeur in the impression produced by its long line skirting the river, and its pinnacles glittering in the sunlight, which no modern London building had ever yet achieved. The eye may be wearied by perpetual repetition of vertical lines and monotonous ornament, of lifeless carving, and shallow groinings; but cornice and architrave, and imitation Doric columns are gone for ever, though Gothic ornament was adapted to a pile which might as well have been Italian, and Pugin's criticism was fairly provoked, as passing down the river one day he exclaimed to his companion, "All Grecian, sir; Tudor details on a classic body!" But the general ignorance on the subject may be gathered from contemporary writing. An article in one of the leading *Reviews* of the day, about this time, deprecated the growing prevalence of the foolish opinion that Gothic architecture was a style peculiarly suited to northern climates, and opined that sculptors might as well take for their models the "wire-drawn figures" of the saints and martyrs of the mediæval cathedrals, as modern architects make practical study of mediæval buildings. The suggestion was unfortunate. It might have been well for the designers of monumental sculpture, had they studied the still grace and dignity of one of those shadowy grey forms, and the lines of some sweet unearthly face smiling down from its dark niche. For if there was small science in the carving of flesh and muscle, there was beauty in every line and fold, and the sculptor had bid the soul look forth from the earthly veil as he lingered with his chisel over the last few touches on the quiet mouth. The same writer expressed his opinion, that London had become so completely Italianised, that Gothic architecture must excite repugnance by its discrepancy; and seemed to think it a flagrant piece of impertinence for a modern Gothic church to intrude itself into the precincts, and break the lines of rows of Italianised houses, giving the leading character to a scene which it was the function, said the author, of an ecclesiastical building to follow. There was more excuse for the criticism that modern Gothic buildings were infelicitous results of the

arguments in favour of Gothic, and "as unlike the buildings they professed to imitate as the specimens in a *hortus siccus* are to the real flowers." They were so; but the dry branches might yet bud, and the leaves shake into life, under more genial influences than those of the *Quarterly Review*.

appearance of this book has formed an era in art. The laws which Mr. Ruskin laid down, and the principles which he advocated, regarding art, in the first three volumes of "Modern Painters," were the everlasting laws of beauty and harmony, and the unchanging principles of true art; and the world awoke to the knowledge that there was not



FRONT OF THE ARMY AND NAVY CLUB.

It is impossible to consider the influences which have affected and the powers which have regulated the art of the last twenty years, without referring to the name of Mr. Ruskin, and to the appearance of "Modern Painters." Writing, as he did, at a time when architecture and painting had sunk so low that no living man could build a convenient church or habitable house in the old national Gothic, and when the greatest landscape painter the world has seen passed from among his generation scarcely heeded, it would not be too much to say that the one of them which had not been disregarded or forgotten in England for many generations; and that most of the well-wishers of real art would have to go to school again to learn those primary principles without which no good results could be expected. His sympathies could have been shared by few at the time he wrote; for he had been, to a degree then very rare, familiarised from childhood with the matchless Gothic of Italy, and had grown into manhood with such forms before his eyes as Sta. Maria del Fiore, and its perfect bell tower, with the

exquisite carving of the Venetian palaces, and the glorious colouring of St. Mark's. His eye had been trained to know the beauties of those churches left in the Val d'Arno by the great Lombard race, compared to which our Norman piles are grim and cold indeed; at a time when it was scarcely realised in England that there was any wider range in architecture than that of our own insular Gothic, of which the best specimens were all either destroyed or mutilated. He met, so far as we can gather, with little else in the higher ranks of criticism but abuse and invective; but if his own generation refused to recognise his teachings, he became the chosen leader of all that was best and most hopeful in the art of its coming years. In one of his later books he observed, that though his statements had been met by every form of denial, not one of them had been controverted by fair argument; and it is curious, in glancing over the *Reviews* of the period, to see how emphatically true this remark was. One writer, in a periodical of high literary character, after exhausting all the vocabulary of personal and literary abuse, ended loftily with the remark, that as life is short he did not intend to waste it by doing battle with Mr. Ruskin's theories; and pronounced the ominous-sounding prophecy in conclusion, that the just penalty of evil-doers would overtake him—to wit, that his evil deeds would remain. We will put that sentiment in another form, and say, that we think his works have followed and will follow him to the end of his life, in the thousands whom he has educated to a truer knowledge of the principles of noble art, and a higher appreciation of the immortal works of other ages; we might add, in the many for whom his kindness and liberality have smoothed, and his ready sympathy softened, the hard path of art toil.

In 1849, the "Seven Lamps of Architecture" was published, and this work, intended though it was for general readers, and by no means claiming to be a handbook for architects, yet aroused a storm of indignation from the professional men of the day. One well-known architect was reported to have said, that Mr. Ruskin wished to make the profession work in chains; another, that he was mad; though whether considered in the light of a madman or only a wild enthusiast, most people prudently agreed to abstain from too much controversy with him. The fancifulness of the title and division of subject in this book, however, combined with less reticence of language on religious and other matters than had characterised his first work, laid it open to criticisms which tended to embarrass and hinder the noble teaching with which this Mr. Ruskin's first essay on architecture is full. That there is much to be regretted in the book there is no doubt; and Mr. Ruskin has indicated his own hesitation to endorse all the conclusions of his early work by a refusal to republish it. [illegible] book, as of a man who had no real hope of his words producing any effect, while yet trying to so take heart for the future as to do his share of the world's work. It is now more than twenty years since he wrote, and his prophecy, that the architectural movement then begun would progress but little farther, has been well-nigh fulfilled. Closely following this work, and in some sense connected with it, came the "Stones of Venice." More valuable still, in their effect on the popular mind, were public lectures given at different places on domestic architecture, such as those published under the name of "Lectures on Architecture and Painting," delivered at Edinburgh, in 1854. Written in a popular form, these lectures probably did more towards demonstrating the errors and follies of the street architecture of the day than his great work of the "Stones of Venice." The Army and Navy Club had that year been completed in London, at the cost of £40,000; and a large proportion of that sum had been expended in placing a quantity of most elaborate sculpture at the top of the building, under the cornice, and consequently in an invisible position,—a blunder which gave Mr. Ruskin an opportunity of explaining the fallacies of modern Greek architecture, and its chief characteristic of top-story decoration. "The whole system of Greek architecture," he concluded, "as practised in the present day, must be annihilated; but it *will* be annihilated, and that speedily. For truth and judgment are its declared opposites, and against these nothing has finally prevailed, or shall prevail."

The Arundel Society has been, during its existence of nearly five and twenty years, a powerful means of extending a knowledge and appreciation of the works of the early masters of painting. It was founded by a small number of gentlemen, most of whose names are well known as munificent patrons of English art. Lord Lindsay, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Mr. Ruskin were of the number; and it was named after Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel,—a name which should be well remembered in the annals of English art. Its avowed object was to raise the standard of public taste by the publication of the well-nigh forgotten works of the Pre-Raffaellite masters, engraved or otherwise reproduced. The wish of its founders was also to preserve the records of some of the most valuable monuments of mediæval art, which were fading from the walls of Italy as year after year of neglect passed over them, and darkened the walls whence the spirit of Giotto and Fra Angelico once looked forth. In 1857, they had been sufficiently successful to enlarge their original plan, and publish those coloured copies of Italian frescoes which are so well known to all lovers of early religious art. At the time of which we are speaking, however, the art of mediæval Italy was a dead letter in England, and the effect which these efforts of the Arundel Society have had over the educated classes of England is almost incalculable; and is an evidence of the amount of influence which may be exercised over the public mind by the [illegible] of a handful of men believing in [illegible] principles. Their rooms in Old Bond Street, [illegible] placed before the public a series of

drawings such as had never been seen before in England; and so great was the success of the society that, in 1863, they were able to establish a special fund for the purpose of copying the decaying works of the old Italian masters. The influence of the society on the general public was also immensely increased by the fact that it was independent of criticism and disapprobation to an extent which no private publisher could afford to be; and that it was able to command attention, and outlive unpopularity.

The Exhibition of 1851 may be considered in the light, either of a great international commercial enterprise, or as the embodiment of those æsthetic tendencies which had been gradually developed, more especially in England, during the past twenty years. It would be idle to deny that the wild and enthusiastic expectations which centred round this inauguration of the triumph of modern industrial art have been in a great measure disappointed, or that too much stress was laid on the value of the international competition which was thenceforth, it was thought, to give an impetus to all branches of art. It was thought to be the first step towards a veritable Utopia, perhaps towards the Millennium itself. It was compared with the Pyramids, the Rhodes Colossus; it was, in its way, to surpass all the "wonders" of the ancient world. A new era was predicted for Europe, in which universal peace was to reign, as the result of this first act of co-operation; and the benign influences of universal civilisation, education, and refinement were to pervade society, and to extend themselves over the coming half-century in ever-increasing triumphs over human evil. "Nobody," said Prince Albert, embodying the popular feeling in his opening speech, "who has paid any attention to the particular features of our present era, will doubt for a moment that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accomplish that great event—to which all history points—the realisation of the unity of mankind." Of the fallacy of this hope, so strongly impressed in our century, of regenerating mankind by the effects of civilisation, refinement, or philanthropy, we are now learning somewhat. An able writer at the time pointed out the dangers of this theory, with the warning that refinement is not all, not even chiefest, among the causes of a nation's welfare; and forcibly impressed the never-to-be-forgotten truth, that art, directed exclusively to the gratification of sense, causes religion and humanity to be forgotten.

The idea of the Exhibition of 1851 was first conceived by the council of the Society of Arts about 1845. Gradually the idea matured into a definite purpose, and, the royal patronage having been obtained, the chief difficulty which remained, that of a suitable erection for the purpose, was overcome by the talent and indefatigable energies of Mr. Paxton, resulting in his admirable plan of a temporary glass and iron building. The general outline is briefly described. A vast glass church, banded together by iron, with nave, transept, and aisles; the transept surmounted by an arched roof, as it was originally intended that the whole building should be. We cannot wonder at the admiration and delight with which this new and original idea was received, nor even at the prophecies that it would inaugurate a new era in architecture. It was indeed a "splendid phantasm," and, glittering as it did with colour and light, it was a novel and attracting spectacle for English eyes. The execution of the colouring, of course necessitated by the tendency of iron to rust, was given to Mr. Owen Jones, and modified by the commission. The colours used were more positive than had ever been tried on iron before; the relative proportions being about eight of blue, five of red, and three of yellow. This was, however, necessary to some extent, from the size of the building and the distance at which it was seen. The roof was chiefly of blue, so as to harmonise with the sky. Eventually Mr. Jones was allowed to have his own way, though meeting with great opposition in carrying out his designs, chiefly from the popular dislike to bright colour. "Our ideas on this subject," wrote some one during the controversy, "are very peculiar, and savour of coal smoke with a dash of puritanism. We, in this nineteenth century, and in this small island, are so attached to grey, slate colour, and drab, that could we get at the gaudy blue sky or the glowing sunset, we should paint them out, of a soothing bronze tone." The Crystal Palace was not architecture, nor could it ever materially affect or influence the region of architecture. It was, as was said by the eminent German ecclesiologist, Herr Reichensperger, "a tent, not a building; a work of contriving reason, not of creative genius:" it was a great undertaking, conceived and carried out with the most praiseworthy energy and adaptation to circumstances. It was also a new discovery that glass and iron could assist and supplement the efforts of architecture. An immense space had to be covered in a very short time. Arrangements had to be made for the various kinds of exhibitions, and ample light provided. All these problems, with the many and great difficulties involved in so unprecedented a work, were satisfactorily worked out by the great engineering triumph of the Exhibition building. And it was a great point in its favour that the construction was evident and real, and that shams and concealments were not resorted to for effects of beauty.

With the contents of this great museum of the world's products we have nothing to do beyond the English manufactures. Utilitarian art formed the staple of our exhibitions. All that is necessary for the comfort and luxury of a civilised nation was there to be seen in the most useful forms; the supply regulated, as ever, accurately to the demand. Thus, all forms of useful pottery were there, both in a better and cheaper form than any other country could have produced them; but, with all the resources of an immense trade, little that was praiseworthy of an ornamental kind.

One great evil attended the art products of the Great Exhibition, arising from the very nature of a competitive scheme which was not affected by the question of cost. An enormous amount of valuable labour and exquisite skill were thrown away by efforts on the part of exhibitors to produce some one article which might attract the

admiration or curiosity of the visitors, at the same time being quite unsaleable. The wholesome tendencies of ornamental trade were rather checked than forwarded by this kind of display; for it was easy to load a work of art with splendour of material and delicacy of workmanship which were only to serve the purpose of an advertisement, like the crystal jelly in a pastry-cook's shop. As a specimen of this, we may mention that a bouquet of jewels was exhibited in which the flowers were modelled from nature; each sprig was made separate, and fitted afterwards by mechanical contrivance; and the number of diamonds used was 6,000.

The price of a work of art, or the sum for which a piece of furniture can be ornamented, must always be a primary question in trade; and in a competition unregulated by price there was much to hinder the real interests of industrial art. The same cause led to the production of monstrosities and unnatural developments of skill, such as carving in pith, writing in a microscopic hand, and other innumerable unhealthy efforts to effect impossibilities, in defiance of, instead of in obedience to, material.

The English exhibitions suggested to a thoughtful writer at the time the idea, that "all our inventive power was gone into machinery." This last branch of trade would seem to have developed enormously, and the power of the nation seemed concentrated in it; America being her only great rival. But there was something radically wrong in all our art produce. An enormous supply of cheap ornament, vulgar in design and bad in execution, imitative of every school which the world has ever seen, yet learning nothing from that which it basely copied, filled the market. Wonderful ingenuity was required, and labour used, in producing the mere materials for modern English ornament; and whereas all other ages have taken such material as the country and period produced, and simply worked on it, subordinating their work to its properties, modern English skill has been wasted in the multiplication of processes, such as cements and compositions, for the purpose of imitating the productions of the genuine art of different nations. Processes were made the end, instead of the means, of art production—thus reversing the true rule of the fitness of things; and mechanical skill had petrified the intelligent artisans of the country into living machines, uneducated to perceive, and undisciplined to obey, the eternal laws of beauty.

[illegible] and much more to the same purpose, the Exhibition of 1851 taught us; rebuking our insular pride by forcing us to feel and acknowledge our inferiority to other nations in various branches of industrial art. To know one's own failures is always the first step towards recovering from them. Where shall our industrial classes look for guidance and education? became the question of the leaders of public opinion; acknowledging that the great lesson which the Exhibition had conveyed to us was our utter ignorance of the principles of design and colour.

It would be wearisome to go through the different courts of the Exhibition containing specimens of English art workmanship, feeling as we do how unsatisfactory they were, and how little we could say in their praise. Sculpture was perhaps the most universally acknowledged to be a failure, though it is doubtful whether English art in this respect was any worse than continental. Without any exception we can call to mind, it set at defiance all the laws of noble art: devoted chiefly to representations of undisciplined passion, or trivial incident, it descended into vulgarity the moment it ceased to be exciting. A statue of Dr. Jenner, seated in a gigantic easy chair, earned the criticism, that the chief thing which it suggested was the "great law of nature, that a body at rest will continue at rest." It was indeed said that the committee, with an instinctive presentiment of what was coming, had purposely placed the sculpture-room out of the way, behind the mediæval court. Goldsmiths' art had sunk equally low. It was deplorable to see that this, so deservedly ranking among the noblest branches of art throughout the Middle Ages, and training, as it did, some of the greatest artists of Italy,* should have sunk to a mere manufacture, in a great measure machine-made, and in all respects employing only mechanical labour. It was a relief to turn from these exhibitions to the mediæval court, where, if there was the crudeness and pedantry which often accompany a reactionary revival of true principles, there was yet genuine effort after a higher standard of taste, and a better knowledge of the laws of construction and ornament. This was referred to in warm terms by the Jury appointed to report on the Exhibition. It was chiefly the result of the ecclesiological movement before noticed; and Mr. Pugin, with Mr. Hardman, of Birmingham, had the superintendence of it, and were the principal exhibitors.

The revival of glass-painting has been accompanied with many and great difficulties, arising chiefly from the ignorance or misapprehension of the limits and capacities of the material, and from the tendency to rank it too much as a separate art. Stained glass windows pre-suppose surroundings of glowing colour, of which the windows are an accidental continuation, and to which they must be toned and harmonised. These conditions being, in the character of modern architecture, wholly changed, stained windows have become simply patches of colour on dead walls; and thus the principle of harmony which called forth the art and regulated its limits can no longer be appealed to. The inevitable result of the losing sight of this leading principle was, that windows, being the only portion of a building available for internal decoration, came to be regarded as occasions for pictorial effort, so that even so great a man as Sir Joshua Reynolds could be surprised and disappointed at the failure of painting in light and shade on glass, as exemplified in his celebrated window at New College, Oxford; and in our own century the most miserable imitations of oil-paintings were attempted, in defiance of all artistic possibilities.† Such was the condition of the art of glass-painting when Mr. Pugin, allying himself

* Pisano, Ghiberti, Verocchio, and Ghirlandajo were all goldsmiths.

† At St. Luke's, Old Street, where there is a wretched copy of the "Raising of Lazarus," by Sebastian del Piombo.

with Mr. Hardman, first essayed to reform it; and that the indefatigable efforts of the two combined effected much, especially in regard to design, there is no doubt. We must pay a short tribute here to the memory of the man to whom, more than to any other, is owing the revival of glass-painting, and who left an influence behind him which was felt in many other branches of art—M. Henri Gérente. English on his mother's side, he always preserved his sympathies with our country; and, as a member of the Ecclesiological Society, did some very successful work for Ely and Canterbury Cathedrals. His learning and talents placed him far above any other artist of the day in his profession, and his passionate devotion to, and thorough comprehension of, his subject carried him successfully through his many difficulties. His life, so full of singular promise, was suddenly cut short in its prime, and, in 1849, he died at the age of thirty-five. It was perhaps partly owing to his influence that the French stained glass of the Exhibition was so much superior to the English; and although none of his glass was exhibited, his brother, who carried on the works, sent specimens, which more or less represented his work, and which were unquestionably the best in the Exhibition. We should, however, except Hardman's glass in asserting the general inferiority of the English specimens. Before quitting this branch of art—which, it is satisfactory to record, has been gradually but steadily improving since the time which we have been noticing—we must not pass over without mention the works of Mr. Morris. His admirable efforts towards attaining that richness of tone and tint which characterised mediæval glass, and his enforcement of the principle that colour, not design, is the primary consideration in arranging transparent glass, deserve the highest commendation. We may add, that it is not only in glass-painting that Mr. Morris and his coadjutors are endeavouring to educate English taste. There are few branches of industrial art for domestic purposes to which they have not turned their attention; and although the faults incidental on a single-handed effort, such as sameness and stiffness of design, may be visible, yet the spirited effort is bearing fruit in the improving taste of the furniture of our houses; and the successes which have already been achieved in woollen stuffs, embroidery, and tile-painting, point to fresh hopes for the future domestic art of England.

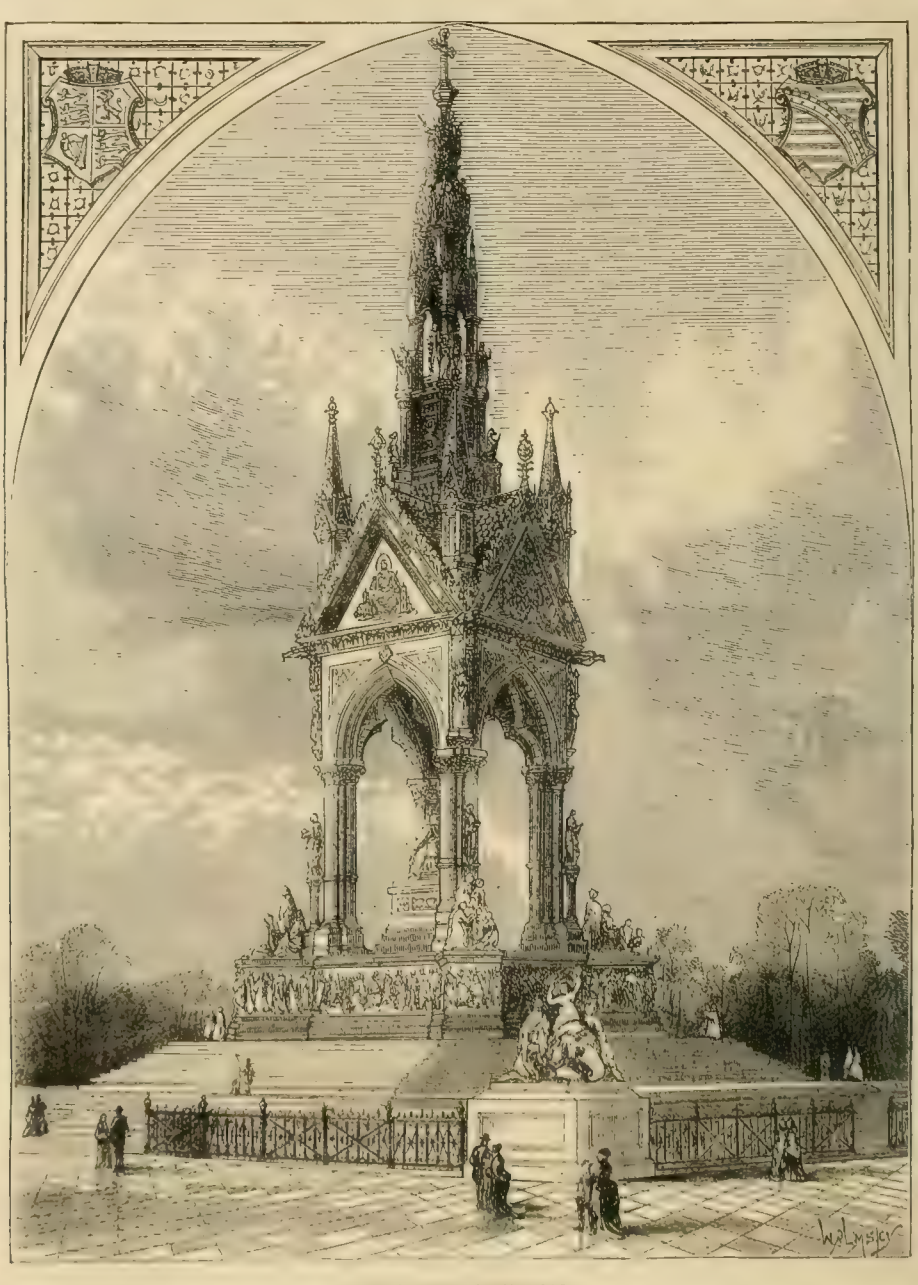
One more name demands our attention among the exhibitors of 1851—Mr. Skidmore, of Coventry, of whom it is not too much to say, that he has been the reformer of modern metal-work, both secular and ecclesiastical. His specimens of church-plate in the Exhibition were so exceptionally good and original, that we think they deserved more than the passing commendation bestowed by the Jury. For years past we believe he had carefully studied the processes of mediæval metal-work, though his name was but little known in the year to which we are referring. His work stood out in striking contrast to that of any other worker in precious metal among the exhibitors, except, perhaps, that of Mr. Keith, who had worked under Mr. Butterfield's directions for some years, in the revival begun by the Ecclesiological Society. Mr. Skidmore's work was the production of an original mind, though educated too thoroughly in the traditions of mediævalism to command at that time the attention he deserved, and has since gained. He first introduced the beautiful niello-work, the process of which had been, we believe, entirely lost in modern Europe, and his work in the Exhibition was characterised by this, and his enamelling. Ten years later his talents were more appreciated, and he gained the prize at the Exhibition of 1861 for his beautiful screen, now in Hereford Cathedral.

The report of the Juries on the art produce of the Exhibition, and the tendencies which it showed, probably gave a strong impulse to the growing desire for a higher standard of design in England. They deprecated the lack of disciplined thought, and that total disregard of all the laws of ornament which characterised the English manufactures, and of which instances abounded in every branch. Carpets, in which the very suggestion of unevenness is discomfort, had water-lilies floating all over them; fruits of monstrous size, in high relief, scattered about; lions and leopards on the hearths. Glass was tortured into useless, and almost impossible, shapes; furniture loaded with mindless and ill-modelled carving. The "manufacture of ornament," they emphatically said, was the vice of the age; the functions of material were ignored; the principles and meaning of ornament forgotten in putty, papier-maché, and gutta-percha.

The fatal evil of modern ornament is the continual, restless search after novelty. The object of the producer is to have, or invent, the fashion of the season; of the consumer to possess the newest and most unique thing. Where are the possibilities of noble, thoughtful work amidst such ignoble conditions? What hope is there for content among the working classes, so long as the yearning of every human soul to leave the immortal impress of its life upon the earth in its brief passage is unsatisfied among our thousands of intelligent workmen, save by such mockery of fame as a "season's run"? We see this element of changeableness more clearly perhaps, because most universally and most increasingly, in the dress of the upper classes. The detrimental effect on trade, of the "run" on one material or manufacture, to the exclusion of others equally depending on support, for a short given time, must be incalculable. We have seen some of its effects in such sad stories as that of the Coventry weavers, whose destitution was said to have been chiefly caused by the fashion of wearing velvet for trimmings having superseded that of ribbons. In like manner, the fashion which prevailed a few years later for a particular kind of lace is said to have forced numbers of skilled lace-makers to forsake their own employment, in order to learn an entirely new method, which, after they have with difficulty mastered, will probably be useless to them in the course of a year or two.

The result of the movement towards improving the state of national art was, that the surplus funds of the Exhibition were devoted to form the nucleus of a Museum of Manufacture for the use of art-students, composed of

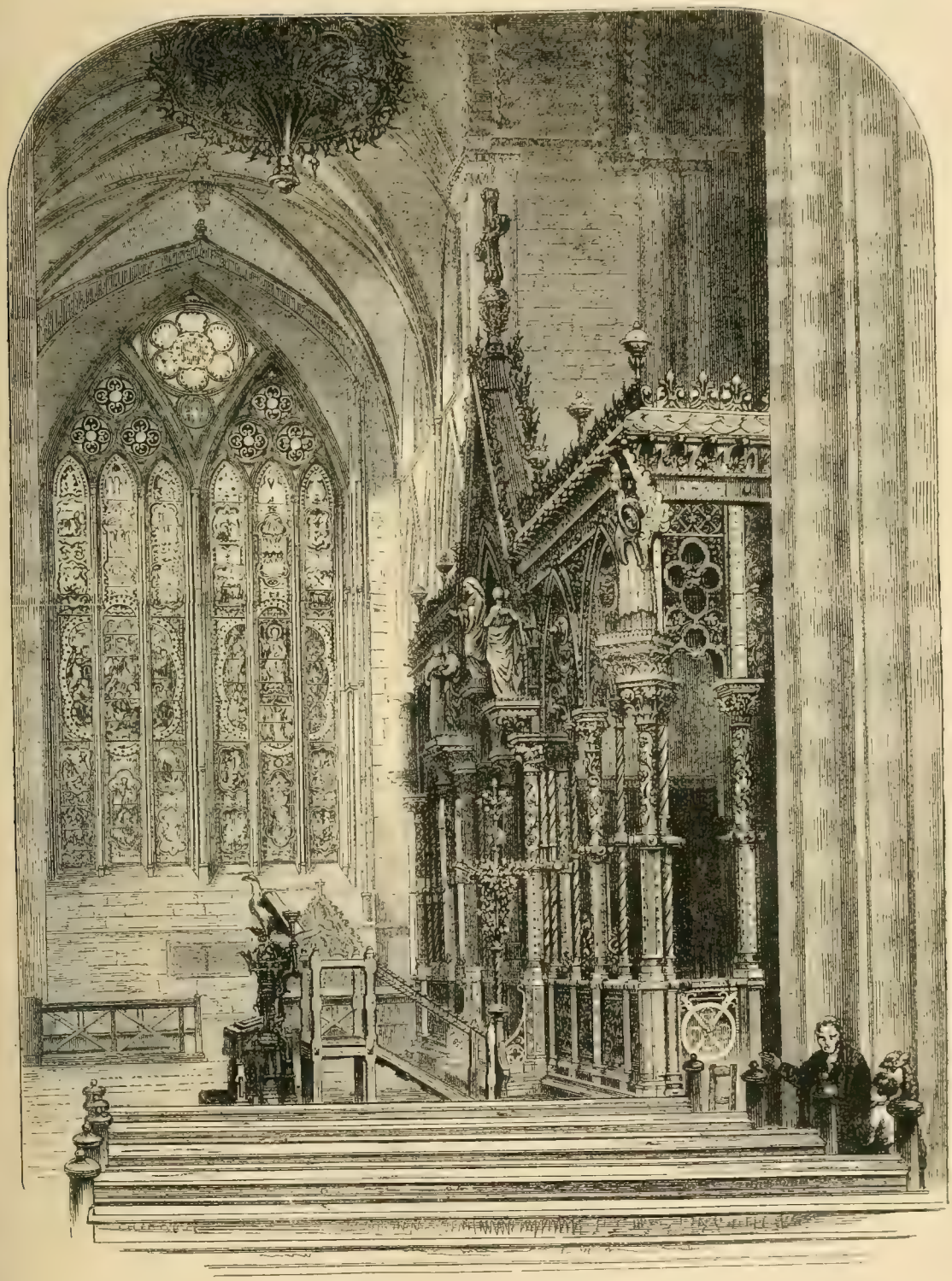
articles selected by the Juries from the productions of India and other countries, as specimens of good designs. Mr. Owen Jones dwelt at some length in his report on the value of Indian design, as the work of a people true



THE ALBERT MEMORIAL.

to primary principles, without confusing, if also without developing them and while warning students of the fatal results which would ensue from a mere reproduction of Indian design, he explained the reasons which had induced the committee to purchase so large a portion of the art produce of India.

The evidence placed before the House of Commons at this time proved that the schools of design founded by Government in 1835 had failed in their object in producing a good effect on design. The system, in fact, had been wrong. Such schools as had been founded presupposed an elementary knowledge of drawing which did not exist among the students, and they had thus degenerated into mere drawing schools, in which the students were taught nothing of the connection between design and manufacture, and to which the manufacturers were, as a class, opposed, in consequence of their unpractical results. One witness, a silk manufacturer, said that the only reason for which they failed to compete with France was the inferiority of design; and that the



HEREFORD CATHEDRAL: NORTH TRANSEPT AND SCREEN.

value of an article in the market depended far more on its beauty of design than on its material. Another said that he went to Paris three or four times a year for no other purpose than to buy French designs for copies. A paper manufacturer said that he reduced or copied nearly all his designs from France, and Mr. Minton admitted that he bought French designs for his pottery. Mr. Cole said that the evidence of all the eminent houses of industrial art combined to prove that the schools had exercised no influence on design; and that he himself, after examining 56,000 designs of the students, could not point to one of any original merit.

The committee then drew up a scheme of art education, which was accepted by Government, and embodied in a department of the Board of Trade, to be called the Department of Practical Art. The Gore House Estate at Kensington was bought, and the Museum built, and furnished with illustrations and models, both ancient and modern, of the best art of various nations. Lectures were given, and a central school formed in connection with it, ensuring thorough instruction both to the pupils and to junior masters, who could be sent certificated from thence to local schools. A large series of elementary examples of outline, colours, and light and shade* were prepared and issued, at the lowest possible price, for instruction, and prizes given to all who reached a given standard in any of the different grades. The fees were made as low as possible, apprentices and pupil-teachers received at half-price, and benefits given to those masters whose schools showed satisfactory progress; by which inducements it was hoped to make the schools self-supporting. Thus were founded the Schools of Science and Art in connection with South Kensington. In the course of fifteen months, twenty schools were established on self-supporting principles, which the ten years' trial of a previous system had failed in doing. It would be easy to criticise the system of art-education as conducted in the Government schools, but it scarcely comes within our scope to do so, and the task would be a thankless one. The effort was tentative, and being so, it involved, almost inevitably, grave mistakes, which, with the ponderous machinery of our Government departments, it was less easy to remedy than to detect. The system of unlimited competition which prevails has probably been productive of great evils, and hindered the progress of pupils in the primary object of the schools —design; but this question is a wider one. That the Government schools have diffused a wider knowledge of the principles of art and a warmer interest in its progress, among all classes, there can be no question, and therefore they ought to be universally supported. There ought not to be a town in England without one such school, to which children and young people of all classes might be sent to learn the rudimentary principles of art, instead of wasting their time in the worse than useless methods of the ordinary school drawing-master or mistress.

It is impossible to consider the revival of architecture during the last generation without feeling that domestic architecture has progressed far less satisfactorily than ecclesiastical.

There are several reasons for this. The revival of architecture was owing, in the first instance, to the religious movement which was taking place in the country thirty years ago, and proceeded from a desire to beautify the Houses of God in a style and degree of excellence more in accordance with the spirit of our forefathers. Architects made themselves acquainted with the true principles of their art, and began to admire, to imitate, and finally to adapt, with more or less originality, the many beautiful specimens of the church architecture of the country in all periods. A praiseworthy spirit of emulation began to inspire many of the donors of new or restored churches; and in spite of innumerable failures, blunders, and half-successes, our architectural revival has shown in its achievements what is possible to a set of men, surrounded by difficulties, but actuated in the main by one definite idea of what they wanted to do. Domestic architecture laboured under greater disadvantages. People did *not* know what they wanted, and what they did want they wished to have as cheap as possible. There were no models of mediæval houses suited to modern requirements which could be guides to architects; modern refinement had wholly altered the conditions of life; and that fact, and the value of space in our crowded towns, made the adaptation of Gothic to dwelling-houses a difficult thing. Architects who were constantly employed in building churches, in which the comfort of the interior arrangements was often only compatible with a rugged outline and many-gabled exterior, and whose arrangements for ventilation did not depend on windows, became possessed with the idea that the one thing to do in building a Gothic house was to have as many gables as possible to it; the rooms being lighted with debased Gothic windows fitted with casements, which in this climate never were and never will be satisfactory. The old solid square red brick dwelling-houses of the Georgian period combined all the requirements of the day with a good deal of consideration for taste in internal arrangements; whereas our modern Gothic has very often failed to answer any requirements, besides having the singular disadvantage, in a dark, dull climate, of being exceeding gloomy and cheerless inside. No wonder, therefore, that the idea of Gothic houses is somewhat uninviting to the practical English mind, and that it has failed to take root.

There are doubtless other reasons, lying deep within the character and conditions of the age, which have impressed our domestic architecture with littleness and inadequacy. The diminution of space by railway, and consequently enormous increase of travelling; the unlimited competition in all ranks of business; the continual effort to "get on," and insatiable desire among all classes to rise a grade higher; have all contributed to make our houses, as Mr. Ruskin says, "temporary

* It is a matter for great regret that these admirable examples, in many respects, could have failed in the important point of [illegible] of the lines and curves by choosing examples from [illegible]. Mr. Ruskin has given the title to his [illegible] of elementary drawing-

lodgings." And to build on leasehold land which passes from our descendants in less than a century is scarcely more satisfactory than to live in a hired dwelling built by contract. Both are evils, if partially inevitable, yet fatal to a true system of architecture. And thus when it becomes a necessity to build a town-hall, or an ornamental city or collegiate building, we are at a loss to know how to set to work; and in most of our modern architecture there is the same wearisome repetition of square windows and shallow mechanical ornament, which might be seen in the first work of the revival thirty years ago.

Mr. Woodward claims special notice as having adapted, with remarkable success, the style of the Italian Gothic to English necessities. The Oxford Museum of Physical Science, in which he was associated with Sir Thomas Deane, must be considered his *chef d'œuvre*, and being a central point in the period of the architectural revival, we propose to describe it here. A large two-storied block, lighted by Italian windows, with high-capped centre tower, and high-pitched roof with dormer windows, forms the character of the exterior. The great failure in the external aspect of the building is the lack of a central porch, without which so long a façade could hardly be satisfactory; this, we believe, was a matter of economy—mistimed, we must think. The interior is a large quadrangle roofed with glass, and supported by iron pillars with foliated capitals; a cloister running round it with two stories of galleries, from which open the rooms belonging to the various departments of the Museum. On the admirable efforts made to educate and interest the staff of workmen in their sphere of intelligent labour; the care bestowed on their physical and moral welfare in the library, dining-room, and other temporary provisions made for their comfort, we cannot here dwell. Two great principles were carried out in the work of the Museum, in a degree hitherto unknown; both as nearly affecting the life of the workmen as the character of Gothic architecture. First, all the sculpture employed conveyed statements of natural facts, those facts being placed in such systematised order as to contain a good deal of instruction. Secondly, all the ornament was designed by the men who executed it. On the vital importance of this last principle, it is not our place to dwell here. Those who watched the gradual progress of the Oxford Museum will not soon forget the bright intelligence of the men who stood carving their capitals of lily or fern, the flower or the leaf standing beside them as they worked; or the interest they took in their work, and in the general progress of the building. It is a matter for deep regret that so noble an example, made now fifteen years ago, should have produced such small results, and met with so little imitation.

We have no space to describe the internal arrangements or the character of the sculpture; but we must briefly refer to the successful effort of Mr. Skidmore in solving the new and difficult problem of utilising iron in the construction of buildings. The beautiful wrought work of the capitals and spandrils represents the natural foliage of British and other trees. It cannot be too much regretted that Mr. Skidmore was not allowed to superintend the colouring of his own work, the beauty of which, in its present coat of yellow, is entirely lost. His system of colouring iron with its own oxides has been one of the great discoveries or re-discoveries of the day, and no one can look at one of the many beautiful works executed by him in England, without feeling that it is not only the best, but the only right system.

One more modern building requires a short notice here. The Albert Memorial was, after ten years' preparation, opened in 1872. It is built, as our readers know, near the place on which Prince Albert's chief efforts for the art-progress of the nation were centred in the latter years of his life. It is, in fact, a gorgeous shrine, made to contain a statue of the Prince. The upper part is rich with gold and enamel and polished stones, terminating in a spire and cross, 180 feet in height: the basement story, built on a pyramid of granite, is covered with sculpture illustrating art and science. Four emblematic groups at the corners represent Agriculture, Commerce, Manufacture, and Engineering. The basement sculpture is of white marble, brought there in the rough, and carved on the four sides of the building with portrait figures of all the great artists in painting, architecture, poetry, and music.

Before glancing over the pictorial art of the last few years, we must not omit to record the important influence which the Manchester Exhibition of 1857 exercised, in educating public taste in pictures, and giving an impetus to modern painting. It was the first effort made in England at a complete illustration of art history, by a collection of the works of the great masters of all the European schools of painting. A certain Duke who was requested to lend some pictures for the Exhibition, answered, contemptuously, "What has Manchester to do with art?" One is glad to reflect that selfish narrowness could scarcely find expression in such a sentiment now; but it is a significant fact, that of late years it is not from the aristocracy, but from the wealthy middle class, that English artists meet with the truest appreciation and the most generous patronage. There was indeed little left to desire in this singularly perfect series of pictures. There were representatives of the early Byzantine Italian schools; there were the succeeding masters of the early and gradually perfecting schools of Italy; the then almost unknown painters of mediæval Germany, and the later ones of the seventeenth century; and, finally, a series of portraits from the fifteenth century downwards. Prince Albert expressed a strong wish that no modern art should be admitted, looking at the collection from an educational point of view. The committee did not accede to this proposition; as we think, very wisely; and so the works of Lawrence, Wilkie, Turner, and the other great artists of our age and country, were placed before the public as they never had been before.

The year 1851 was marked in England by another event than that of the Kensington Exhibition—the death of Turner. One of England's greatest sons, one of the world's great painters, passed away that year beyond the reach of the ignorant criticism, and vulgar insult, and

cold neglect, which had darkened his life and paralysed his heart; passed "where beyond their voices there is peace." "We miss those works of inspiration," wrote the *Times* in its notice of the Royal Academy that May; girding itself the while for another crusade against all that was truest and noblest and most earnest in the coming art of England, in the work of the young Pre-Raphaelites. In 1849, the works of three unknown young men had appeared before the public on the walls of the Royal Academy. Millais' "Isabella," Hunt's "Rienzi," Rossetti's "Girlhood of the Blessed Virgin Mary," were the first accepted works of the trio who were destined to effect a revolution in English painting. In the next year a periodical called the "Gem" appeared; a short-lived literary production, edited by a small band of young men known thereafter by the name of their own choice, of "Pre-Raphaelite brethren," of whom the leaders were the three above-mentioned painters. They had other work to do, however, than that of writing the æsthetic papers of a literary coterie; and their challenge to the artistic world was thrown down that same year in Millais' "House of Nazareth" and Hunt's "Missionaries sheltered by British Converts," and followed in the next year by that exquisite gem of the early promise of Millais' genius, "The Return of the Dove," and other now well-known pictures. The reception which these pictures gained from the public may be gathered from the *Times*' article on the Exhibition for May, 1851. "We cannot censure at present," it said, "as amply or as strongly as we desire to do, that strange disorder of the mind or the eyes, which continues to rage with unabated absurdity, among a class of juvenile artists who style themselves P. R. B., which, being interpreted, means Pre-Raphaelite brethren. Their faith seems to consist in an absolute contempt for perspective and the known laws of light and shade, an aversion to beauty in every shape, and a singular devotion to the minute accidents of these subjects, including, or rather seeking, probably, excess of sharpness and deformity. . . . The council of the Academy, acting in a spirit of toleration and indulgence to young artists, have now allowed these extravagances to disgrace their walls for the last three years; and though we cannot prevent men who are capable of better things from wasting their talents on ugliness and conceit, the public may fairly require that such offensive jests should not continue to be exposed as specimens of the waywardness of those artists who have relapsed into the infancy of their profession." Such were the auspices under which the Pre-Raphaelites began their career. But in the same year Mr. Ruskin came forward as their champion in his pamphlet on "Pre-Raphaelitism," which the *Times*, three years afterwards, in a less ruffled frame of mind, acknowledged to have been both fair and calm in its defence, and gravely impartial in its criticism, and to have been fully justified by the results of the movement. The attacks on their works became less violent with each succeeding year; and they were allowed gradually to fight their way through neglect and scorn and biting criticism, to be at last acknowledged, by virtue of their own inherent genius and the truth of the principles they advocated, as the leaders of English painting. They chose the period of Raphael for their starting-point, as that which clearly divides mediæval from modern art; the name of Raphael being inseparably connected with that division, through his own renunciation of the principles which had hitherto guided art. The one idea which possessed the new school was that of representing nature and natural facts as literally and as truthfully as it was possible to do; every figure, and face, and landscape, and detail being as accurately copied as possible under the circumstances.

Pre-Raphaelitism was a strong reaction against the inane prettinesses, the slovenly drawing, and the false statements of modern art; and, being reactionary, it was characterised by an aggressiveness, and an insistance on truth with or without beauty, which impeded its progress. But it has effected a revolution which has gathered up into itself all the artistic genius and power of the age, and formed a new era, as it has inspired a new life into art. The movement was also a part of the great intellectual crisis which was at that time extending its transforming influence over all branches of thought. Their early efforts were aspirations after higher motives than had hitherto actuated art; and the realisation of sacred or secular history, the portraying of the great deeds of other ages, or the instilling of high moral truth, became among their chief aims. It is obvious to any one who has studied the movement, that their genius and their intellectual stand-point alike called them to found a school of historical painting which should appeal to the higher instincts of their generation; and had their lot fallen in an age which knew its great men, genius such as has rarely so lavishly been bestowed on any generation might not have been frittered on *genre* subjects and ignoble motives.

The next few years of the Academy Exhibitions proved that the future of painting was no longer in the hands of those well-known Academicians who had reigned supreme there for so long, but with the young Associates who were winning their way in spite of all obstacles into fame and success.

It rarely happens that the greatest painter of the age is also the most popular one; yet this is the case with Millais, and it has been, perhaps, both the result and the cause of his deterioration from his early perfection. He began, like most of the Pre-Raphaelites, with high moral and religious efforts in painting, but soon struck out his own path, evidently finding the mystical and symbolic tendency of this early phase of the school uncongenial to him. The "Return of the Dove" was one of his last efforts at moralising. His marvellous gift of imitation seems first to have led him astray. That which he could do with unequalled perfection and ease, he began to do carelessly, and without regard to truth; and finding that his exquisite painting of detail and texture won him unbounded applause, he forsook the higher branches of art for drawing-room paraphernalia and dressed up children. Perhaps his two most perfect paintings were those exhibited in 1856, "Peace Concluded" and "Autumn Leaves." All the straining after finish in former pictures seemed to have found its perfection in the wonderful

execution of these two pictures; the latter being chiefly remarkable for its exquisite painting of twilight glow behind the hills. In 1857 a fatal change had passed over his pictures of a "Dream of the Past" and "Sir Ysumbras;" the latter yet so beautiful in conception as to fascinate in spite of its wilful departure from the laws of truth. An old knight, riding home on his war-horse in the summer twilight, the dust of work and strife on his golden armour, has taken the woodman's boy and girl and is carrying them with him across the ford, the girl looking up trustingly in his face. The purple hills marked clear against the cold sky of the solemn summer twilight; the autumn trees shedding their crimson leaves on the green river-bank; the thought of the picture carrying one on in its dim suggestiveness beyond the beautiful incident into the land of more beautiful symbolism: all these things throw around the picture an inexpressible charm in spite of its bad drawing and careless painting.

Of all the modern school of English painters, Holman Hunt is the only one who has been in any sense a religious painter, or who might have laid the foundations of a school of religious art, expressing the devotional feelings and convictions of the age. He it was, perhaps, who, beyond the other young Pre-Raphaelite leaders, gave strength and depth to the movement, and insisted most strongly on the principle that their paintings should always mean something—express some idea. Pursuing through all obstacles in early life his aim to be a painter, at the age of sixteen he began his self-education, and appeared first before the public in 1849, in his "Rienzi" and "Claudio and Isabella." His "Hireling Shepherd," exhibited in 1852, was perhaps the first which attracted much attention, or was thought to show signs of great power. Then came the "Light of the World"—that picture which above all modern religious pictures has so taken possession of the hearts of English people in this generation—stigmatised at the time by a shallow *Review*, which claimed to represent popular opinion, as the "principal symbol of the Pre-Raphaelites," serving chiefly "to show the rapid decline of a heresy." "The Awakening Conscience," with its deep pathos and noble moral teaching, exhibited in the same year, needed Mr. Ruskin's championship in the *Times*, to explain its meaning, and silence the ignorant criticism which was showered on it. A girl has been singing with her seducer in the beautifully furnished rooms to which he has enticed her. Some words of the song she sings—"Oft in the stilly night"—have gone home to her with a sudden agonised remembrance of the days of her innocence, and her eyes are filling with tears and her sweet face quivering with remorse, while her lover, unconscious and careless, strikes the chords on his instrument. On the gilded tapestry behind, the birds feed on the budding corn; over the fireplace hangs the picture of the woman taken in adultery; beyond in the garden the bright flowers contrast their fairness with human sin and sorrow. Was ever a tale more perfectly told to an unheeding generation? By the time the "Finding of the Saviour in the Temple" was exhibited, Holman Hunt had won his way to the sympathies of his age. It has been criticised on religious grounds, because the figure of the Saviour was, in its conception, a departure from mediæval tradition, and because it only formed one of a large group, all painted with equal care, and attracting equal attention. We have no sympathy with either of these objections; for to the last it may be said that it was an historical and not a symbolic representation, and therefore called for care and accuracy in all the accompanying personages and accessories; and we must think that few, first looking at the picture, could fail to be at once and principally fascinated by the noble and beautiful face of the Divine Child, with the far-off look in His deep blue eyes as He first reminded His mother of His "Father's business." As regards the type of face, we are not aware that there is any authentic tradition as to our Lord's features—each school of painting having had, we believe, its own type; the only verbal tradition on the subject which has come down being precisely the one which, before Mr. Hunt revived it, had been well-nigh unknown—viz., that our Lord's hair was golden-auburn, and His eyes blue. It was in doubt, and difficulty, and poverty, that he painted this noble picture, unknowing whether in this, their last opportunity, the English nation would acknowledge his genius in the work of the five best years of his manhood, or whether he should be driven to seek his livelihood in a far-off country.

The "Scape-Goat" had all the defects of a well-nigh impossible subject; yet it was a wonderful picture, and no other man could have painted it. A goat, wearing the scarlet fillet, on the shores of the doomed land sinks down weary and despairing. Attracted perhaps by the false glitter of the Dead Sea waters, he has come, parched and thirsty, to sink in its salt crust and die as the sun goes down behind the purple mountains of Abarim. Painted with unequal skill, ridiculed and misunderstood, and wondered at as only the picture of a dying goat, that picture lit up the Academy walls of 1856 with its colour, and made them solemn with its intensity of thought. We can hardly measure, we cannot value enough, the strength of soul of the man—perhaps no other country but England could have produced him—who could thus spend his weary days amidst the discomforts and dangers of an Eastern wilderness, alone in the awful solitude of Sodom and Gomorrah, to produce this solemn picture; who could also brave the bitter cold of an English winter night to produce the "Light of the World," and the burning heat of a meridian sun to paint the "Hireling Shepherd."

Mr. Hunt's "Shadow of Death," which he was four years in painting, was exhibited in 1874. It represents Christ in His earthly home—"the carpenter's shop"—at Nazareth, just coming from His day's toil; and the arms, outstretched in weariness, cast the shadow of a cross upon the opposite wall. It is painted with Mr. Hunt's well-known power and mastery of even the minutest detail.

Few artists have identified themselves so exclusively with sacred subjects as M. Gustave Doré, who, though a foreigner by birth, has exhibited so many pictures in this

country that he calls for some mention in this chapter. One of his chief works, "Christ leaving the Prætorium," would alone entitle him to rank among the greatest modern painters; and his "Dream of Pilate's Wife" is painted as he only can paint such subjects. His versatility of genius and rapidity of execution are wonderful, and have enabled him to devote considerable attention to the illustration of books, as well as to painting.

wall of Lincoln's Inn Hall. The idea of the arrangement is borrowed from Raphael's "School of Athens." Religion, Mercy, and Justice stand in the midst; around them, assembled on steps, all the great law-givers of the world, each in the costume of his race and age. It is sad to think that in a few years more this fine picture will also decay from the wall. The use of fresco was a new thing in England then; the effects of climate and other numerous

MR. W. P. FRITH, R.A.

Mr. Watts is a man who was born to paint great subjects on a grand scale, and it is his misfortune to have been compelled, by the conditions of his age and country, to paint easel pictures, instead of leaving his memorial behind him on frescoed walls. But whether on wall or canvas, in finished painting or dreamy sketch, all he does is marked by the same depth and beauty of thought, and bears the impress of his great genius. One of his first well-known works was the "Red Cross Knight and the Dragon," in the Palace of Westminster, now faded, we fear, beyond hope of recovery. One of his finest works is the "School of Legislation," occupying an end of the

conditions on which fresco depends were unknown or matters of experiment; and the result is, that nearly all the works on a large scale, done by the artists of this generation, are doomed to destruction. At St. James-the-Less, Westminster, he has painted a "Christ in Glory;" and various private houses contain specimens of his wall-painting. He has also done some powerful pieces of sculpture, of which the "Dying Clytie," exhibited in the Academy in 1868, and now in the Kensington Museum, is one of the best known. We have indeed, as a nation, much to thank him for; much also to learn from him ere he passes away.

He and Mr. Armitage might have been the two great fresco painters of the age had circumstances been favourable. Perhaps they dreamed of it when as young and unknown men they won their prizes for the Westminster painting. The latter has executed many wall paintings —"The Thames," and the "Death of Marmion," in the Upper Waiting Hall at Westminster; "St. Francis before Innocent III.," and other figures, in St. John's Roman Catholic Church at Islington; a memorial painting to Crabb Robinson, in University Hall—one of his most successful works, and in which he used a different medium, composed of wax and turpentine, so that it may be hoped that this fine picture may be saved from the general ruin of London wall paintings. He is best, however, with his oil-paintings; and the "Battle of Inkerman," the "Heavy Cavalry Charge at Balaklava," and many historical and religious pictures exhibited in the Academy for the last twenty years have been among its greatest ornaments. We must add, however, that we think he entirely fails in religious representations, from the fact that he simply paints the historical scene without attempting to convey any spiritual meaning whatever.

SIR EDWIN LANDSEER, R.A.

Space does not permit us to go through the long list of well-known names in the English schools of art; or even to notice the different groups and coteries into which the artists of our age have been divided, from want of fixed and acknowledged principles. Calderon, Leslie, Yeames, Marks, and others, have formed a school of their own, popularly termed the "St. John's Wood School," from their place of residence. They are men of no very high aspirations, but are painters, for the most part, of sweet home sentiment, and fresh bright humour

and healthy wit. They have also done much for domestic art, and their painted furniture has been both successful and beautiful. A cabinet designed by Mr. Marks, with grotesque decorations, was exhibited in the Exhibition of 1862, and afterwards bought by the Department of Science and Art. Simeon Solomon and Albert Moore are painters of a more delicate and refined kind of beauty. The latter has exhibited, year after year, many lovely "symphonies of colour" in his "Apricots," "Peaches," "Lilies," "Azaleas," and others. Delicate sculpturesque figures in semi-transparent garments move among soft, blossoming trees. His pictures are expressive of beauty, pure and simple, of a certain kind, and are like soothing cadences and flowing rhythms.

Mr. Solomon might, perhaps, have aspired to something more definite than pretty sentiment and the charm which surrounds graceful figures and pleasant combinations of form and colour. He began by painting scenes from the history of his own race; and might, by his national sympathies combined with his real power of expression, have occupied a more definite place in art than he attained by falling back upon Pagan allegorical compositions of vague purpose. His "Roman Gladiatorial Show" was the first and only important work which he exhibited at the Academy. His water-colour pictures exhibited in the Dudley Gallery have been his more interesting works, illustrating as they did the ritual and religion of his own and Christian Churches of the East, and bringing out his power of combining beautiful colours and painting splendid effects. Mr. Burne Jones is, perhaps, less appreciated by the general public than any of our remarkable painters; partly, perhaps, from the reason that he only exhibits at the water-colour exhibition. One of the few among our artists whose fortune it has been to have had a liberal education, he began his career as an artist just at the close of the first conflict of Pre-Raphaelitism; his first pictures being touched by that love of Christian tradition which inspired the early efforts of most of the rising school, chiefly, perhaps, because of its association with the mediæval life of Italy and of all her early painters. Then he passed into the phase of Christian chivalry; then into mythical and allegorical representations, mingling classical fable and middle-age romance; "Cupid and Psyche," "Spring and Autumn," "Circe," the "Chant d'Amour;" transforming everything he touched into pure and noble poetry.

Mr. Poynter has all the popularity of a man who paints historical subjects carefully and thoroughly, making his pictures delightful and instructive by the knowledge he brings to bear upon his subject. His first brilliant success in the Academy, "Israel in Egypt," and its successor, the "Catapult," are well known to most of our readers.

Mr. Frith needs little notice here. The cause of his popularity is in the subjects he chooses, and in his skill in portraying scenes of English life from all ranks. He will not find much sympathy with those who believe that the follies and sins of English life are unfit subjects to immortalise; but his pictures are truly painted and often pleasant to look at.

Landseer, throughout his long career, appealed to and won the sympathies of English people as a painter of animals; and his subjects were treated invariably with consummate skill. As regards accuracy of drawing, and breadth of colour, there is nothing to be desired in his paintings; while in several of them—such as the "Shepherd's Chief Mourner," now at South Kensington, and "Rescued"—he rose to true pathos and feeling; and in others showed great power of humour, as in "Jack in Office," "Alexander and Diogenes," and "Uncle Tom and his Wife for Sale."

Mr. Lewis, another water-colour exhibitor, is unrivalled in his own peculiar line of representing Eastern life. His pictures are gems of exquisite colour and marvellous delicacy, and of such rare and perfect finish as is seldom combined with power of invention and expression such as Lewis possesses.

Landscape art is a subject in itself, and we have no space to do more than mention it here as having begun a career at Turner's death under conditions which never could have been possible but for him. William Turner, of Oxford, will be long and gratefully remembered by lovers of landscape art for the faithful painting of quiet English scenery; of blue sky and green fields, and golden autumn tints, at a time when grey and dust-colour were still prevailing harmonies. Of later landscape painters, there is a large school, consisting of artists of more or less power and feeling, who may help to inaugurate a new era in the future for English landscape art.

Our survey of British art since 1851 would be incomplete without a word of reference to the drawings of John Leech, George Cruikshank, "Phiz" (H. K. Browne), and others of this school. Leech's drawings will probably be regarded as the freest from any marked mannerism, and they are certainly not the caricatures which many other drawings of this description are. His sense of humour was keen, and always innocent; and many of his drawings in *Punch* were of high purpose and aim. The drawings which "Phiz" prepared for several of Dickens' novels are, of course, well known. Their power is beyond all question, but their exaggerations are a marked defect. George Cruikshank has also done good work in the illustrations of some of the novels of Dickens and other writers.

In conclusion, we would remind our readers that the function of art is twofold—to express man's delight in all created beauty; and to be, in the words of an ancient art-guild, "a teacher to ignorant men." Into one of these two divisions all true and genuine art resolves itself. But the demand creates the supply, and what we will have the art of our age to be, that in the main it will become. If we will insist that the genius of the age shall be spent, not in recording the heroic deeds of our own and other generations, nor in showing forth God's revelation, nor in recording thoughts of purity and beauty; but in drawing-room frivolities and soulless prettinesses, these we shall have at our bidding, and minds like Millais and Landseer will be lost; at best incoherent voices, leaving no echo behind them.

The mere fact of having a taste for art will not necessarily help in any way the art-progress of our generation;

on the contrary, if misdirected, it may hinder its growth. There are among cultivated people two classes who make art their pleasure and leisure-study. One class, by far the larger of the two, value works of art as they do gold, not because they are beautiful, but because they are scarce or valuable—that is, saleable; or with that instinct for possession which belongs to human selfishness. They will cover their walls with pictures of a dead artist whose drawings are rare or of increasing value, when they might buy for half the sum, perhaps, works more akin to their sympathies, and help some young struggling artist. Or they will furnish their rooms after some "period," for which they have to scour all the curiosity shops in London; when for the same money they might encourage good industrial art, and extend the demand for it. They will give, more pitiable still, fabulous sums for bits of old china and glass, to shut up in cases, and triumphantly show to their friends as unique specimens. The only use of art, say they, folding themselves round complacently in their elegancies, is to extract a little more pleasure, a little more luxury out of life.

And there are others who use their knowledge, opportunities, and money, as so many talents for which they are accountable to God and their fellow-men. Their chief joy in possession is to give; in supremacy over others, to help them; in knowing more than others, to teach them. These work for all time, and are among the world's true philanthropists; the others, for their own little day of life, and for themselves, burying their talent in the mouldering earth of swift-passing time. It is for us to choose between the two.

CHAPTER XLII.

English Opinion on the Subject of Army Reform—Mr. Trevelyan's Agitation—Speech of Sir W. Mansfield—Meeting of Parliament—Mr. Cardwell's Bill—The History of Purchase—Tactics of the Opposition—The Bill in the Lords—Mr. Gladstone's *coup d'état*—The Lords pass a Vote of Censure—Attitude of the Liberals in the Commons.—The Budget—The proposed Match-Tax.—Changes at the Admiralty.—The Epping Forest Bill—Motion for the Disestablishment of the Church of England.—Abolition of Tests Bill.

At the opening of the year 1871 the German armies were still surrounding Paris, and the raw levies and beaten veterans of France were attempting a hopeless resistance in the departments of the North, the East, and the West. In England every one saw that the end of the struggle was approaching; and the public mind began uneasily to ask the question, what next? It has often been said that the feeling of England with regard to her own condition alternates between irrational self-confidence and irrational fear. It was now the turn of the latter feeling. The deadly certainty of the German successes, the exhaustion of France, drove the minds of Englishmen to consider what would be our state of preparation in the face of Moltke's tactics, supposing we had to face them on English soil. By some, indeed, the supposition of war with Germany was not held to be altogether unlikely; for, during the later months of 1870, there had been growing in some quarters a feeling of sympathy with France so intense as to give rise to a cry for war in her behalf. But this feeling, although those who entertained it were people who could make themselves heard, never spread widely enough to make the question of an armed alliance a serious one. Still, it was natural and inevitable that a demand for army reform should be loudly made on all sides, and it became apparent that army reform was to be the question of the session. Moreover, the direction which the reform would take was unmistakable. The speeches which were made throughout the country before the meeting of Parliament and in the early months of the year—notably the speeches of Mr. George Otto Trevelyan, a young Cambridge man who had lately entered public life as member for the Border Boroughs—all struck one note; the note of the abolition of purchase. Up till the year 1871, as is well known, the British Army was officered by men who, with few exceptions, paid for their commissions. The effect of this was that the officers were mostly sons of rich men—for the pay of an officer was never remunerative enough to make poor men pay the price of the commission *as an investment*—and that the style of living was artificially raised so as to make it eminently undesirable for a poor man to enter the army as an officer, even if he were able to raise money enough to buy his commission. A second effect of the purchase system was that men were admitted to be officers without any special evidence of fitness for the service; if they could pay the price and pass an almost nominal examination, they were admitted without further question. This, then, was the state of things which many Liberals, such as Mr. Trevelyan, wished to alter. They wished to throw open all commissions in the army to competition; let the best-trained man, they said, be made an officer, without any consideration of the length of his purse. As will be seen, this demand prevailed in the end, but not without great difficulty. It was not the only point on which the army reformers touched; for it was not only the officering of the English Army, but its organisation, that began to be severely criticised. Many speakers and writers thought that in the face of the enormous armies of the Continent, the principle of voluntary enlistment must be at length given up in favour of that of compulsory service. Many—less thorough-going than these—began to cry out for a more capable militia, and for more Government encouragement to the volunteers. And all agreed that the want of union between the different branches of the service was a fatal hindrance to the efficiency of any of them.

A speech addressed early in the year to some volunteers by Sir William Mansfield, perhaps the most eminent living soldier of those whom India has trained, gave a fair account of some of the weak points of the English Army, and of one of the ways in which it was proposed to strengthen them. "Some years ago," he said, "I saw, and called the attention of others to the fact, that there were in this country numerous bodies of a military character, but that they all seemed pulling different ways, instead of co-operating in one grand harmonious whole for the good of the nation. The militia had one set of interests, and the volunteers another set of interests, while what is called the line, or the regular army, had interests also of its own, differing in degree, or in kind,

from those of the regular army. . . . What is it that causes this conflict of interests? It arises from the fact that every one of these bodies relies for its existence merely upon the *voluntary principle*." With regard to the volunteers and the line, Sir William Mansfield did not think that any one would propose in England to change that principle; for the volunteers were *ipso facto* "persons who were willing to give up to the state such time as they could spare from the vocations pressing upon them," and "the regular army is called on to serve in all parts of the world, and frequently in tropical climates. I consider it, therefore," he said, "to be absolutely necessary that the line should continue to be raised on the voluntary principle. But there is a third body, as to which the circumstances are different, and this is the body that competes with the line for recruits as matters at present stand. The conflicting interests of the militia and the line can only, in my opinion, be reconciled by causing the militia to be raised on the *ancient principle of obligation*, which always belonged to the constitution of this country, which has always been recognised as the first duty of every member of the population, but which recently, for a certain number of years, has been in suspension. I believe it to be absolutely necessary that we should revert to that principle of obligation—that is to say, that every man, without respect to his rank or his position in the world, shall be liable to serve, in his own person, in the ranks of the militia."

Although Parliament and the country did not in the end consent to any such sweeping change as this, every one was prepared to see military reorganisation take precedence of all the other legislation of the year. The Queen's Speech gave a long paragraph to it, as follows:—

"The time appears appropriate for turning such lessons (as those of the present war) to account by efforts more decisive than heretofore at practical improvement. In attempting this, you will not fail to bear in mind the special features in the position of this country, so favourable to the freedom and security of the people; and if the changes from a less to a more effective and elastic system of defensive military preparations shall be found to involve, at least for a time, an increase of various charges, your prudence and patriotism will not grudge the cost, as long as you are satisfied that the end is important, and the means judicious. No time will be lost in laying before you a bill for the better regulation of the army and the auxiliary land forces of the Crown, and I hardly need commend it to your anxious and impartial consideration."

The promised bill was introduced by Mr. Cardwell, the Secretary for War, very early in the session; and it was seen that the increased outlay to which the Queen's Speech had referred was to be a reality. The total amount asked for in the estimates was £15,851,700, an increase of £2,886,700 over the vote of 1870; although Mr. Cardwell explained that a million of this would not be wanted in ordinary times. The gross addition to the numerical strength of the regular army was to be 19,980 men, of whom 5,000 were artillery, with a proportionate increase in the number of guns. Mr. Disraeli had on the opening night of the session made mockery of the "attenuated armaments" to which, he said, the Liberal Government had reduced the forces of the country. But Mr. Cardwell pointed to his proposed figures, which showed a total of 497,000 men under arms: 135,000 regular troops, 139,000 Militia, 14,000 Yeomanry, 9,000 First Army Reserve, 30,000 Second Army Reserve, and 170,000 Volunteers; and guns appropriate to a force of 150,000 men. These forces, Mr. Cardwell said, it was his object to combine into one whole; and the question was, how to achieve that object. As far as men went, were they to be raised by compulsion or voluntarily? As far as officers went, were they to remain under a system of purchase or not? As far as the reserve forces went, were they to be still under the control of the Lords Lieutenant of counties or not? To the first question, Mr. Cardwell answered that he was not prepared, as yet, to resort to "anything so distasteful as compulsory service." To the second and third he said that the Government had made up its mind that purchase must be abolished, and that the control of the militia and other auxiliary forces must be taken away from the Lords Lieutenant and given to the Queen. In fact, the abolition of purchase and the increase of the efficiency of the reserve—together with certain provisions for giving a "local connection" to every regiment—were at once seen to be the principal views of the bill. It is to the way in which these subjects were dealt with by Parliament and the Prime Minister that we may now turn.

The history of purchase in the army is the history of a practice of various degrees of illegality, and of innumerable Royal Commissions designed to solve the contradiction between practice and law. The beginning of it dates from the reign of James II., who in 1683 issued a warrant, "ordering the payment of one shilling in the pound on the surrender of a commission to the person surrendering, and by him to whom the surrender is made." William III. made strenuous efforts to stop any traffic in commissions, and his successor forbade it, except with the royal approbation. But as early as 1702 the law courts had begun to declare the lawfulness of purchase, and the Court of Chancery enforced the payment of £600 from a lieutenant to his predecessor in a company. Twenty years later we find the distinction, so familiar in the present century, between "regulation prices" and "over-regulation prices" clearly marked; and in the middle of the eighteenth century we come to a commission definitely fixing the rate of payment to which officers should be subject—deciding that an ensigncy should cost £400, and a colonelcy £3,500. Royal Commissions continued to be issued at intervals, right up to 1856, and one and all seem to have reported in favour of purchase: partly and ostensibly on the ground that the system helped to quicken promotion and retirement; and partly, of course, that it secured that officers of the army should be persons of "social position." It is hardly too much to say that from the time of the Peace to the time of his death, the purchase system in the English Army was kept up by the influence of the Duke of Wellington, and notably by his celebrated memorandum of the year 1833. In 1856, at the end of the Russian War, when the

Duke had been four years dead, and the overpowering weight of his name had a little decreased, the first note of a new policy was heard in the report of that year's commission, which had examined as a witness Sir Charles Trevelyan, the father of the "young army reformer" of the present year. This report advised that no commissions should be sold above the rank of lieutenant-colonel. About six more Royal Commissions were issued between 1856 and 1871 on army subjects; until finally the war in France brought matters to a point, and taught our statesmen that the reform of the army was no longer to be trifled with.

When a Government once seriously took up the purchase system and pronounced for its abolition, it was felt that purchase must go. Yet no Government measure within the memory of man has received such treatment as this did from the hands of a varied and irritated opposition. Every argument that self-interest could suggest or class-feeling prompt was urged with incredible pertinacity by the military members of the House of Commons. It was insisted in vain that these military members did not fairly represent the army, but that by the very fact of their being in the House they showed themselves to be rich men, able to afford to resign active service and to contest elections; "the colonels" still carried on their opposition to every point of the bill during four weary months. So temperate a Liberal as Sir Roundell Palmer said of the conduct of the military members, that "a course had been taken the like of which he never remembered. Other great measures affecting great interests had been opposed without the minority attempting to baffle the majority by mere consumption of time. The minority who resisted the Irish Church Bill and the Irish Land Bill had recognised the duty of respecting the principle of parliamentary government, that the decision of the majority shall be binding. Conduct like that was neither in the interest of the country, of the army, nor of Conservative principle." Yet the colonels did their work. They drove Mr. Cardwell to cut down the bill to the two divisions of the abolition of purchase and the transfer of the powers of Lords Lieutenant over the militia and volunteer forces to the Crown. In this form the bill passed the third reading, and went up to the Lords.

In the Lords it met with opposition at once more dignified and more effective. Nearly every eminent Conservative peer who had ever had anything to do with the army said something in favour of purchase: one supported it because it provided a cheap way of retirement, one because the officers liked it, one because abolition would cost so much by way of compensation, one because the old system had prevented the British officer from becoming a "professional man with professional politics." Lord Salisbury, whose tongue on this occasion was as rasping as usual, suggested a new name for the new method: "If purchase had been described as a system of seniority tempered by selection, the more correct formula for the new system was stagnation tempered by jobbery." Lord Derby, alone of the Tory peers, joined with the advocates of the Government in supporting the bill. As to expense, he said, "the expense of abolishing purchase would be as oppressive years hence as now, and might be even increased. As to delay, is it dignified to delay an inevitable reform—inevitable because no institution is tenable in England unless it admits of defence by arguments intelligible to the partially-educated constituencies?" In the end, the Duke of Richmond's motion, "that the House of Lords declined to read the bill a second time, until it had before it a comprehensive plan," was carried by 150 to 125—a result not quite the same as the rejection of the bill, but still a grave blow to the Ministry. The way in which Mr. Gladstone met it was original, and caused a throb of excitement unusual in the calm realm of English politics. With that suddenness for which his proceedings have at times been fatally famous, he abolished purchase by a *coup d'état*. It was known beforehand that purchase was only legal so far as the Queen's Regulations allowed it; and clearly, therefore, all that was technically required for its abolition was that the regulations should be altered so as to forbid it. But no one supposed that, after months of debate and after a hostile vote in the House of Lords, any minister would have ventured to advise such a stretch of prerogative. Mr. Gladstone, however, was equal to the situation. Two days after the division in the Lords, he announced to the astonished House of Commons that purchase was already abolished; Her Majesty having been advised to cancel the old warrant which allowed it, and to issue a new warrant which forbade it. "Therefore," he said, "after the first of next November, purchase will cease to exist." His defence of this step was that it was necessary to put an end to a state of uncertainty which endangered the discipline of the army; and that, having secured the expression of the opinion of the Commons against purchase, he held himself justified in advising the Queen to exert her statutory right.*

* The following is the Royal Warrant—a document of such importance that it may be printed entire:—

"Victoria R.—Whereas by the Act passed in the session holden in the 5th and 6th years of the reign of King Edward VI., chapter 16, intituled 'Against buying and selling of offices,' and the Act passed in the 49th year of the reign of George III., chapter 126, intituled 'An Act for the prevention of the sale and brokerage of offices,' all officers in our forces are prohibited from selling or bargaining for the sale of any commission in our forces, and from taking or receiving any money for the exchange of any such commission, under the penalty of forfeiture of their commissions and of being cashiered, and of divers other penalties, but the last-mentioned Act exempts from the penalties of the said Acts, purchases or sales, or exchanges of any commissions in our forces, for such prices as may be regulated and fixed by any regulation made or to be made by us in that behalf.

"And whereas we think it expedient to put an end to all such regulations, and to all sales and purchases, and all exchanges for money of commissions in our forces, and all dealings relating to such sales, purchases, or exchanges.

"Now, our will and pleasure is that on and after the First day of November, in this present year, all regulations made by us or any of our Royal predecessors, or any officers acting under our authority, regulating or fixing the prices at which any commissions in our forces may be purchased, sold, or exchanged, or in any way authorising the purchase, or sale, or exchange for money of any such commission, shall be cancelled and determined.

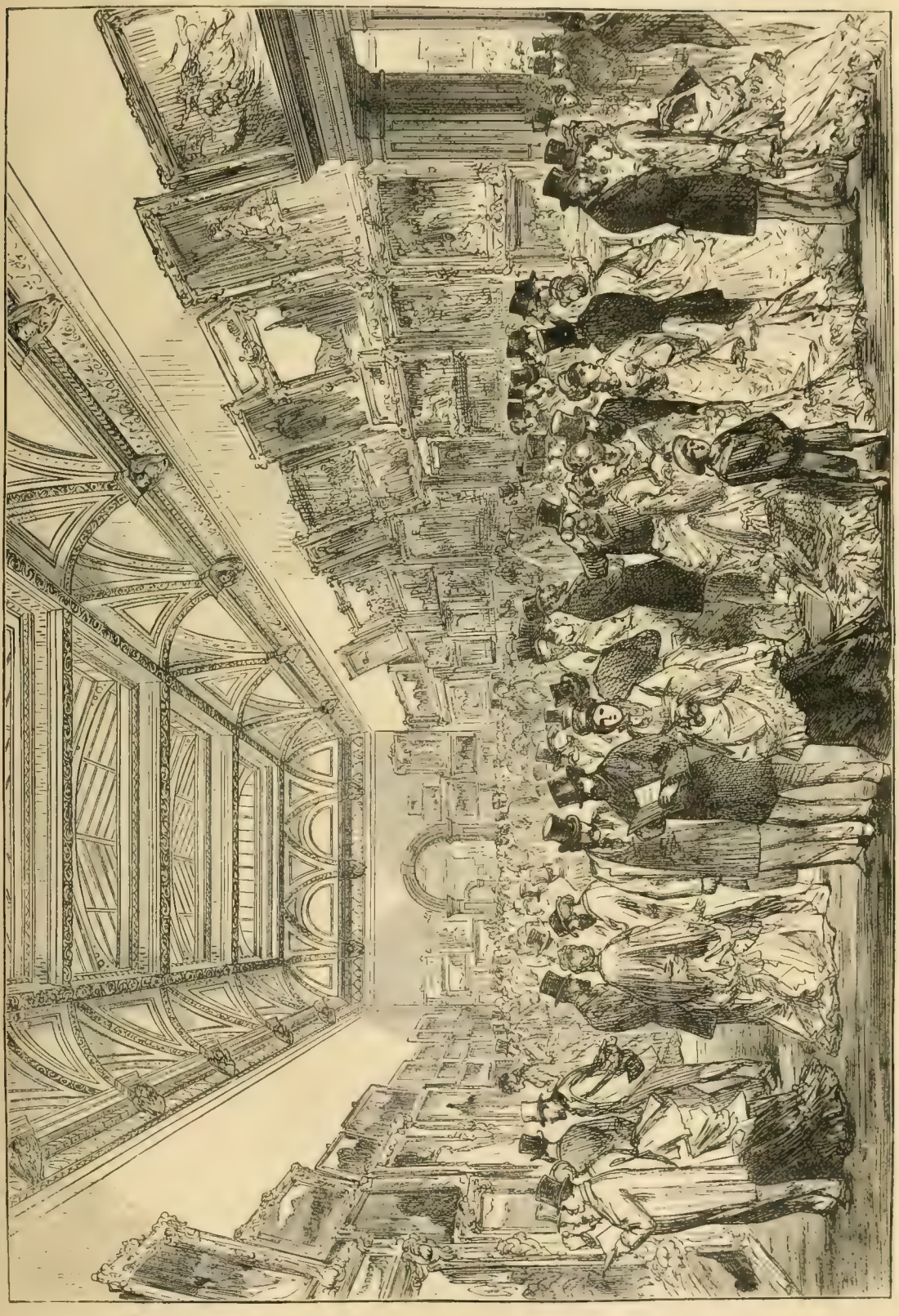
"Given at our Court at Osborne, this 20th day of July, in the 35th year of our reign. By Her Majesty's Command,

"Edward Cardwell."

The anger of the Opposition at such a high-handed measure as this may be easily conceived. Mr. Disraeli talked of "a shameful conspiracy against the privileges of the other House;" the Duke of Richmond moved and carried a vote of censure in the House of Lords; for, as assented to the Duke of Richmond's proposition, "that the interposition of the executive . . . is calculated to depreciate and neutralise the independent action of the Legislature." And in the House of Commons, though no vote of censure was attempted, many Liberals of mark,

INTERIOR VIEW OF THE MANCHESTER EXHIBITION.

Lord Salisbury said, if the Government bill was a proper bill, the abolition of purchase was a question for Parliament to decide and Parliament only: and if the act of the Queen's ministers was constitutional, then their bringing forward the bill at all was disrespectful to the House. Therefore Mr. Gladstone was in the dilemma of having either acted unconstitutionally or disrespectfully to the House of Lords. Lord Cairns charged the Government with having "strained and discredited the constitution of the country." And a majority of eighty such as Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens and Mr. Fawcett, sided with Mr. Disraeli in protesting against this resort to prerogative; an act which, said Mr. Fawcett, "if it had been done by a Tory Ministry, would have been denounced by Mr. Gladstone with the applause of the whole Liberal party." There can, in fact, be no doubt that the step, or the necessity which caused it, was most unfortunate, and especially unfortunate to Mr. Gladstone himself. It was highly expedient that purchase should be abolished; but it was most desirable that this should be done in a regular



THE ROYAL ACADEMY GALLERIES.

manner. Whether the blame of the irregular act is to be laid to the door of the House of Lords or to that of Mr. Gladstone, it was he that got all the unpopularity. Such stretches of exceptional prerogative as the issue of the Royal Warrant, or as the Collier promotion, did very much to lessen that personal loyalty to the Liberal leader which had been one of the great causes of his success in 1868. People took up Lord Salisbury's phrase, and talked of "the dictator," rather than of the leader; and the ordinary Englishman makes it a point of honour that he will not be dictated to. And so, although the object of the Government was attained, and the army "reconveyed from the officers to the nation," the Government and its leader were a good deal discredited; especially as the cost of the reform was very considerable indeed. The Government proposed to compensate the officers fully and liberally, paying them not only the legal "regulation prices" for their commissions, but the "over-regulation prices," which custom had legalised in the teeth of law. This compensation it was estimated would amount to, at the very least, six millions sterling—some said ten millions,—to be spread, of course, over a number of years: a large sum to take from the shoulders of the benefited class, and lay upon those of the general taxpayer.

The increased estimates for the year which the reform of the army made necessary were a sore perplexity to Mr. Lowe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is true he did not lament the high expenditure of the fighting departments; for, he said, he regarded an efficient army and navy as the best commercial investment in the world; but he had to face a large estimated deficit—no less than £2,713,000. This he proposed to cover, first, by charging the duties on wills and successions so as to make them three times as productive as before; a slightly increased income tax; and, above all, by a tax on matches. It was this last tax which attracted the most attention; and its ultimate fate is a good illustration of the danger of over-cleverness in matters of finance. Mr. Lowe had been afflicted by the thought of the waste going on in the use of matches, and of the perils attending such waste; and he thought that he might by one brilliant stroke lead people to economical habits and add a million to the revenue. For the number of matches annually made is almost inconceivably great; he announced that it was five hundred and sixty millions of boxes, without counting the forty or fifty millions of boxes of wax matches and fusees. He proposed, therefore, to put a halfpenny tax on every box of matches—a tax which, even if it had the effect of bringing down the manufacture by a third, would contribute nearly a million to the receipts of the year. But Mr. Lowe was either too much preoccupied to remember or too cynical to care that the match-making trade is in the hands of the very poorest of the London poor, and that to tamper with it would be to turn many thousands of human beings, most of them children, either into paupers or into criminals. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had invented a motto for the labels that he proposed to affix to every match-box; and to withdraw the tax would be to nullify a good joke—an unanswerable argument against withdrawal. "Ex luce lucellum"—"Out of light a tiny gain"—such was the inscription that every box was to bear; a motto which was a keen delight to the *quondam* Oxford tutor who proposed the tax, but which was a sore puzzle to the respectable House of Commons who listened to him, and which would have probably been neither illuminating nor profitable to the housemaids that were to use the matches. As it was, neither tax nor motto ever came to anything. When the amusement at Mr. Lowe's pun had died away, people began to see the serious nature of the proposal and the strong objections to it. A procession of match-makers, squalid and miserable, and some thousands strong, marched from Bethnal Green to Westminster to protest against the tax, and it was withdrawn. The same fate befell Mr. Lowe's proposal to increase the succession duties,—a proposal which struck a blow at one of the most cherished interests of the propertied class: nor was there any better destiny awaiting the plan of altering the mode of calculating the income tax by a percentage, instead of so much in the pound. On the whole, the Budget of the year may be said to have been a conspicuous failure, and to have done serious harm to the Government that proposed it.

Nor were many of the other events of the session such as to raise the spirits of the Ministry. Mr. Childers, who, after a distinguished career in Australia, had come home and been returned for Pontefract, and been made First Lord of the Admiralty by Mr. Gladstone, was forced by ill-health to resign. About his work, which at all events had been very thorough-going in its way, the most different and extreme opinions prevailed; his friends maintaining that his reforms had been the making of the navy, his enemies that they had almost been its destruction. Mr. Goschen succeeded him; an appointment which was severely criticised by those who thought it—the Admiralty—the wrong place for a member for the City of London, but amply justified by the speed with which the new First Lord mastered the details of his new office, by the vigour of his administration, and by the breadth of his views of public duty. Nothing could have been more telling than the speech which he made soon after his appointment, nominally to an after-dinner audience at the Mansion House, but really to the English public, on the foreign policy which England had observed during the war, and which we ought to continue to observe. "A policy of isolation," he said, "need not be a policy of selfishness; and many a country in Europe would prefer the disinterested neutrality of England to the sinister policy of some continental states. Among foreign peoples, who are accustomed to a more complicated diplomacy, England is never credited with simple honesty in her foreign relations. Some Machiavelian design is always attributed to her. Europe would have it that we abolished the slave trade because we were jealous of the competition of the French and Spanish colonies, and that we sided with Denmark because we feared what would happen supposing Kiel and its harbour fell into German hands. But, really, we are more single-minded in our

foreign policy than any other nation; and the policy of the future ought to be based on single-mindedness and self-reliance. Recent events in Europe should teach us to rely, not on treaties and alliances, which often fail when the pinch comes; not on the word of statesmen—for secret treaties shake confidence in that—but upon ourselves. We ought to take the measure of ourselves, and, if necessary, to hold every man to his duty of maintaining the honour and glory of England at the same height at which it has been held through so many generations."

Only a very few of the remaining measures of this session of Parliament require notice. The Ballot Bill did not become law until the next year; for Purchase kept it back until towards the end of June: the Opposition carried on a furious warfare against it for five or six weeks; and when at last it was sent up to the Lords, it was rejected by them, by ninety-seven to forty-eight. The history of the bill may therefore be deferred until we come to chronicle its success. The conduct of the Opposition was vexatious, and could not fail to be damaging to the Government; for no man's endurance can face the loss of so many precious weeks without blaming his own side a little, as well as his opponents. As the bill was sent to the House of Lords, it was a very different bill from that which Mr. Forster had introduced; and some considerable alteration was due to the Liberal side. Mr. Henry James, for instance, helped by Mr. William Vernon Harcourt—two gentlemen who afterwards were, strangely enough, colleagues in Mr. Gladstone's Government as Attorney and Solicitor General—threw out that most unpopular, but most admirable, provision, that election expenses should be charged on the rates. This provision, without which purity of election will never be attained in England, was rejected; and the Government were content to leave it out in the bill of 1872.

A second, but a fortunate, ministerial failure was the Epping Forest Bill, in which the Government proposed to appoint a commission for settling the respective rights of the Crown, the commoners, and the lords of the manor in Epping Forest. Londoners do not require to be told that "the Forest," with its fine trees and stretches of wooded slopes, is the favourite holiday-ground of the dwellers in the eastern half of London. For many years a stealthy process of encroachment has been carried on by a few persons who possess manorial rights over the great common land. Such is the state of the English law, that this kind of appropriation is quite possible and very frequent. The lord of the manor, regarding a common as so much waste land, and grieved that so much land should be allowed to go to waste, sets to work to "improve" it; and to improve it, he has to enclose it, until, by the help of a few posts and rails, and a few years of undisturbed possession, he establishes a prescriptive right to the land, and converts his shadowy manorial rights into absolute ownership. And as what is everybody's business is nobody's, the body of the commoners look on and grumble a little, but take no action until it is too late. This is exactly what was happening in Epping Forest, where the beauty of the positions and their nearness to London promised immense rents to enterprising lords of the manor who should venture to cut the land up into building lots. Fortunately, however, the Crown has rights over the "Royal Forest of Waltham," as Epping Forest is properly called; and the encroaching lords of the manor had to deal with another body as well as the commoners—namely, the Commissioners of Works. These commissioners, however, had begun the bad practice of selling the rights of the Crown to the lords of the manor. It was against this unpatriotic tampering with encroachment that Mr. Fawcett protested; and, in the end, both the *personnel* of the Government commission was strengthened by the addition of Mr. Locke, and, on the motion of Mr. Cowper-Temple (a former First Commissioner of Works, before the days of Mr. Ayrton), the House decided that the Forest ought to be preserved untouched as a recreation ground for the people. The land recovered from the river by means of the Thames Embankment was also preserved for the Londoners against the will of the Government.

The bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister made no progress this year; carried by the House of Commons, it was thrown out as usual in the Lords. The bill for extending the franchise to single women rated to the relief of the poor, though rejected, was rejected by a narrower majority than before; 151 voted for it, and 220 against it—among the latter being that same Mr. Henry James whom Mr. Gladstone afterwards rewarded by the post of Attorney-General for his frequent and bitter attacks upon himself. The motion of Mr. Miall for disestablishing the Church of England was thought important enough to call out a strong debate. The Irish Church Act had made the motion not only a possible one, but even a motion to be expected; and no fitter man could be found to bring it forward than the editor of the *Nonconformist* newspaper. But the Dissenters were not strong enough in the House to make their success at all probable; not even though, as Mr. Disraeli charged them with being, they were "allied for the moment with revolutionary philosophers." The debate was interesting, as bringing not only a declaration of strong confidence in the Establishment from the leader of the Conservative party, but also as calling out a similar declaration from Mr. Gladstone, whose churchmanship had been thought by friends and foes to be rapidly shifting from the point of view of state-churchmanship which he had held so vigorously in his youth. That opinion had been rather encouraged this year by the success of the Government bill for the abolition of religious tests in the universities. This subject had been agitated for many years, and it had become a recognised aim of the Liberal party to carry the bill. The universities—that is, the resident teachers in Oxford and Cambridge—were singularly unanimous in favour of it; and many a meeting had declared how unwilling they were any longer to restrain the freedom of competition and study by retaining any tests whatever. Before the abolition, although any one might be admitted to a Bachelor's degree in Arts without subscribing to any declaration of belief, he could

not hold a fellowship, nor qualify himself, by taking a Master's degree, for becoming a member of the governing body of the university, unless he subscribed his assent to the Thirty-nine Articles. It followed that a Dissenter could neither gain the great pecuniary prizes of a student's career, nor could he vote in the parliamentary elections for the university, nor take any part in the government of the place. At last, mainly perhaps through the means of the Solicitor-General, Sir John Duke Coleridge (afterwards Lord Coleridge), the bill became law; although some restrictions were still kept up. The test at the M.A. degree was abolished entirely, and no test was allowed to be applied in elections to fellowships. But the distinction between lay and clerical fellowships was still retained, in spite of Mr. Fawcett's proposal to merge them. Heads of houses, except in one or two cases, were still to be clergymen of the Establishment; and the test was to be kept up in Divinity degrees. With these exceptions, the demands of those who regard the universities as the property of the nation, and not of a single religious body like the Established Church, prevailed; just as the view of those who regard the army as the property of the nation, and not of the officers, prevailed also during the same session. The other bill of importance which became law this session was a trades' union bill, designed as a compromise between the extreme views of masters and men. It may also be mentioned that this year saw also the final repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Various Occurrences in 1871—Marriage of the Princess Louise—Sir Charles Dilke's Lecture—Illness of the Prince of Wales—The Electors of Greenwich—Public Meetings—Working of the Education Bill: The Twenty-fifth Clause: Justification of it—Napoleon lands at Dover—Resignation of the Speaker—Prince Arthur's Visit to Ireland—Riot in the Phœnix Park—Disaffection still rife in Ireland—Rise of the Home Rule Movement—Mr. Gladstone's Speech on it—Assassination of Judge Norman—Resolutions on Inter-Colonial Trade adopted by the Australian Colonies—Conference on the Black Sea Treaty—A new Treaty drawn up and agreed to: The Representative of France joins the Conference: Judicious Behaviour of the British Government.

THE marriage of Her Majesty's fourth daughter, the Princess Louise, to the Marquis of Lorne, the eldest son of the Duke of Argyll, was celebrated with great state at Windsor Castle on the 21st March, 1871. For the first time since the passing of the Royal Marriage Act in 1772, a descendant of George II. married a commoner with the full consent and approval of the reigning sovereign. The Queen stood by her daughter's side during the ceremony, which was performed by the Bishop of London, assisted by the Bishop of Winchester, and gave the Princess away.

A lecture given at Newcastle in August by Sir Charles Dilke, one of the members for Chelsea, on the subject of "Representation and Royalty," excited much comment. The father of Sir Charles obtained his baronetcy, not for services in the field or services afloat, not as a great artist or a captain of industry, but for making himself generally useful to Prince Albert, when the latter was engaged in superintending the arrangements for the Industrial Exhibition in 1851. It was certainly a curious circumstance that a member of a family which had been exceptionally favoured and advanced in the world through the institution of royalty should attempt to kick down the ladder by which it had mounted to distinction; yet so it was. Desiring to recommend to his hearers republican simplicity and cheapness, and forgetting that there are institutions, as there are public characters, which are dear at any price, Sir Charles Dilke enlarged on the terrible expensiveness of royalty to the nation. The positive and direct cost of the institution he estimated at about a million a year; he complained of the large sums spent on royal yachts, and of the scandalous exemption by which, as he said, Her Majesty's income was not subject to the payment of income tax. On all these points full and satisfactory answers were made to the allegations of the honourable baronet. The bulk of the expenditure incurred in the support of British royalty —namely, the Civil List—is really not one bit more an expense *to the country* than the rental of Woburn Abbey or Trentham Park, or the dividends received by Sir Charles Dilke himself on any India or railway stock that he may have inherited from his father. The Queen receives nearly £400,000 a year in respect of the Civil List from the general revenue; but she gives up to the general revenue rents which amount pretty nearly to the same annual total. These are the rents of the Crown lands, which belong to Her Majesty by exactly the same title that Trentham belongs to the Duke of Sutherland; but which, by a fair and equitable bargain, she abandons to the nation in exchange for the Civil List. With regard to the royal yachts, the chief of them—the *Royal Victoria and Albert*—is, as is well known, a vessel of war; and if a severe naval war broke out, would doubtless be used as such: it is idle, therefore, to lay her cost solely to the account of royalty. With regard to the exemption from income tax, it appeared on inquiry that there was nothing scandalous in the matter, except the assertion of Sir Charles Dilke, which turned out to be absolutely unfounded, the Queen having paid income tax from the day of its first imposition. Strange to say, the lecture excited in the lower classes rather a disgust of Republicanism than the opposite feeling, as the riotous conduct of the mob at several subsequent gatherings of Sir Charles Dilke's disciples and adherents plainly evinced.

Before the close of the year testimony of the most direct and unimpeachable character was furnished to the republican lecturer, supposing him to be open to conviction, that the currents of feeling which sway the popular heart tend not in the slightest degree towards that bourn of prosaic and democratic economy which is the Utopia of dull and dry men. Early in November, the Prince of Wales paid a visit for a few days to Lord Londesborough's seat near Scarborough. It was supposed that there was some defect in the drainage of the house, which stands close to the sea, and that the seeds of typhoid fever were thus implanted in the Prince's frame.

After his return to Sandringham he was taken ill, the fever being of a low and lingering type, and continued in much the same condition for several weeks, during which Her Majesty, accompanied by Prince Leopold and Princess Beatrice, visited Sandringham. On the 1st December, the Prince appearing to be no worse, the Queen returned to Windsor. That some dangerous miasma lurked in the precincts of Londesborough Lodge seemed to be proved by the death, on this same day, of the Earl of Chesterfield, who had been one of the party invited to the house to meet the Prince, and was attacked by a fever of the same kind in so severe a form that he sank from collapse. A groom who had been in attendance on the Prince during the same visit was also attacked.

During November, and till the end of the first week of the following month, no serious symptoms appeared, and the attack was supposed to be passing away; but, on the 8th December, a decided relapse declared itself, and for several days the life of the Prince of Wales was in the most imminent danger. Then was seen in a very remarkable manner how great a benefit is conferred upon a nation divided into so many political parties, and so many, more or less hostile, religious camps, as is our England at the present day, by the possession of an ancient historical throne which we all alike regard with loyal affection.

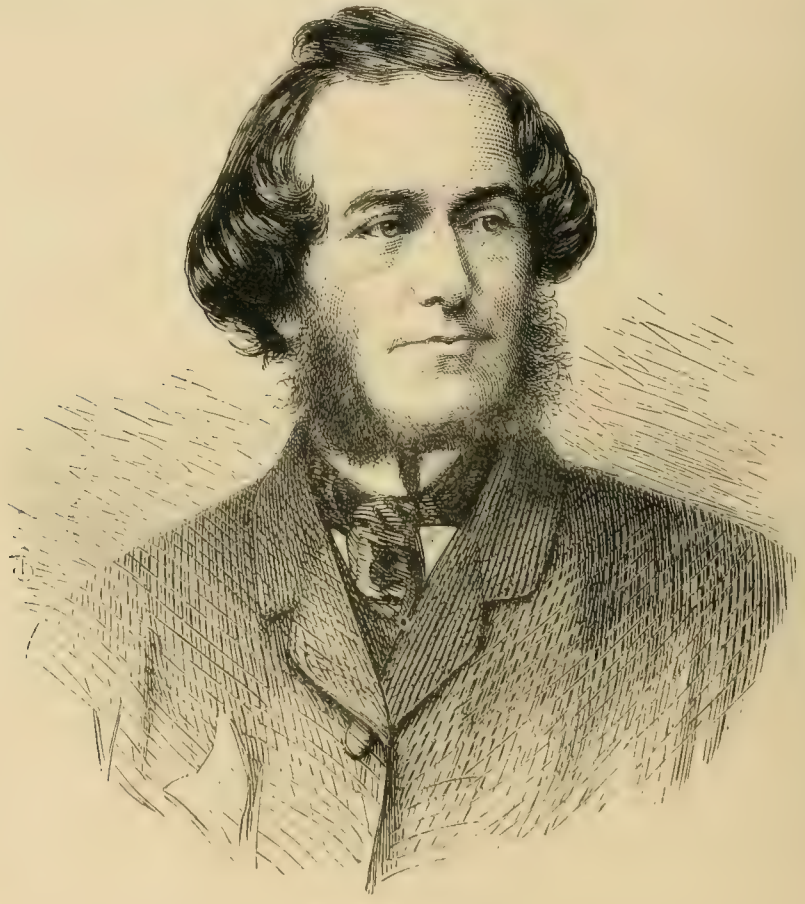
When the life of our Prince, the heir to that throne, was in danger, the democratic logic ran off our minds like water, and nature and feeling resumed their rights. The Queen, accompanied by some and followed by others of her children, hurried again to Sandringham. The feeling all over the country, in every English household, was as if a member of the family circle had been smitten with dangerous illness by the inscrutable decree of an all-wise Providence. The aspect of London on those days is well described in the following contemporary narrative. "The excitement in London on the publication of the early editions of the evening papers yesterday afternoon was intense. Crowds of eager inquirers gathered round the various newspaper offices, as well as round the shops and stalls of the newsvendors, and earnest conversations were carried on. At Marlborough House the telegrams were watched for by large numbers of persons, who remained standing on the pavement, and out in the street, regardless of the piercing cold, and anxious only to learn the latest intelligence as speedily as possible. As might be expected, the excitement here became very great on the arrival of a telegram; and in a few minutes after the messenger had brought in the intelligence the door was opened, the people were admitted, and copies were distributed to the fortunate individuals who were enabled to get near the office. Some one or other of the recipients would then read the document aloud to those who were waiting outside. Immediately on the receipt of one of these messages a copy was dispatched to the head office of the Metropolitan Police in Scotland Yard, and the intelligence was instantly telegraphed to every police-station within the metropolitan district. At all these stations there were numbers of persons waiting during the day, many of whom came from considerable distances, especially in the rural districts. From the provincial towns we learn that equal anxiety was shown all over the country."

The Archbishop of Canterbury, by the desire of the Queen, composed appropriate forms of prayer, which were used on and after the 10th December, for several days, in every church and chapel of the Church of England throughout the realm. Archbishop Manning ordered prayers with the like intention to be offered up in all Roman Catholic places of worship; nor was the strain of supplication less fervent in the chapels of the Dissenters, or the synagogues of the Jews. With wonderful "petitionary vehemence" was the safety of that life implored from heaven; and that life was spared. On the night of Wednesday the 14th December, a slight turn for the better took place in the worst symptoms, and the invalid enjoyed the long-desired boon of refreshing sleep. From that time he gradually, though slowly, rose to convalescence, and ultimately to perfect health. The groom who had been attacked by the fever, after progressing favourably for some time, had a relapse, and died on the 18th December. We have reason to believe that when the Prince came to know the extent of his danger, and the strength of the people's affection, a deep and salutary impression was left upon his mind; and that the new lease of life and health so mercifully granted to him witnessed the formation of a sober and devout resolution to be fully worthy of England's love.

After the health of the Prince was completely re-established, on the 27th February in the following year, a solemn service of Thanksgiving, attended both by the Queen and by the Prince himself, was held in St. Paul's Cathedral. The weather was all that could be desired; and although the line of the procession from Buckingham Palace to the Cathedral was thronged by immense multitudes of people, no accident and no mistake occurred. Her Majesty was received by the Lord Mayor at Temple Bar, and by the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter at the western gate of the Cathedral. The arrangements for the service were made with great precision of etiquette and pomp of ceremonial. A "Te Deum," composed for the occasion by Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Goss, was first sung by a choir of 250 voices, selected from the best cathedral and chapel choirs in England. Then the special form of Thanksgiving was read, and after a sermon from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the congregation was dismissed, care having been taken to reduce the whole service within such reasonable limits that the Prince's strength might be equal to it. In the evening, St. Paul's and the principal streets were magnificently illuminated.

All through the year a growing dissatisfaction was felt with the conduct of the Government, and exhibited itself in various ways. A portion of the electors of Greenwich, irritated, it would seem, at the continued slackness of the shipbuilding trade at Deptford (though it is difficult to see how the Premier could fairly be made answerable for that), sent a requisition to Mr. Gladstone, their member, couched in most uncomplimentary terms, demanding of

him the resignation of his seat. Several public meetings were held and largely attended, while the fate of Paris still hung in the balance, to protest against the apathy and inaction of the Government, which had the effect of effacing this country from European politics. In March and April, several demonstrations of "Red Republicans" in London aimed at awakening sympathy for their friends who were fighting for the Commune in Paris. But neither their numbers nor the quality of their speakers were in the least formidable. On the other hand, the impartial lover of his country could not but acknowledge that much was due to a Government which had framed and carried a measure which now, for the first time since England was a nation, carried the healthful influences of primary instruction into every corner of the land. During the last half of 1870 and the first months of 1871, the Education Department was actively employed in gaining, through its inspectors and agents, the necessary statistical information required for the effectual working of the Act. Great progress had been made in this respect by the summer of 1871, and nearly three hundred school boards, elected under the provisions of the Education Act, were established in the course of the year. Unfortunately, a little rift of dissidence, interrupting that perfect accord with which the measure had been at first received by all the friends of education, made its appearance about this time, and has since, as we all know, widened into a yawning breach. This divergence of opinion related to the 25th Clause. By this clause it was provided that in districts where there was a school board, if there were any children whose parents pleaded poverty as an excuse for not sending them to school, and the board admitted the plea as a good one, such children should be placed at any Government school within the school-board district which the parent or guardian might prefer, their fees at such schools being paid by the board. On the face of it, there seems nothing unequal or unfair in such a provision, since it applies equally to all sects and denominations. But the Dissenters considered that in practice the clause would act to the exclusive benefit of the Church of England, to which, as the Church of the majority, all destitute parents who have no special connection with any other religious body naturally gravitate. The children of educational paupers, or nine out of ten of them, would thus be indubitably sent, they thought, to Church schools, where they would be taught the Church Catechism and whatever else is distinctive of Anglicanism at the expense of the rates, which would thus be indirectly drawn upon on behalf of a Church which is too rich and too independent of the



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laity already. As a matter of fact, the number of these educational paupers, the whole land over, has as yet been very small. Circumstances, however, might easily be imagined under which their numbers would greatly increase, and then the grievance resented by the Dissenters would immediately arise. Nor can it be denied that, if we were to look at the Church of England from their point of view, we must own it to be a real grievance. The upholders of the scheme argued, on the other hand, thus. If the Church of England (they said) were a sect like the Quakers or the Independents, in which the principle of association depended on the subjective views of its

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founders and establishers, a clause which worked mainly for its benefit, and poured public money into its lap, would unquestionably be a grievance. But the Church of England is a part of the constitution of the English nation; it really belongs just as much to the Dissenter who repudiates as to the Churchman who embraces it; it is, indeed, tied to the profession of certain opinions, but it is much more than this; it is the nation considered in its Christian aspect; and, therefore, it is a simple and natural arrangement that those who, through their fault or misfortune, have fallen outside of all religious and almost all social organisation should, on their restoration in the person of their children, be first aggregated to that system which most nearly represents the mind and will of the nation at large.

About the time that the new-made Emperor of Germany was making his triumphal entry into Berlin, another Emperor, exchanging his palace-prison for the land where he was to live as an exile, set foot, not for the first time, on the hospitable shores of England. The war being at an end, and the treaty of peace signed, the Emperor Napoleon was free to leave Wilhelmshöhe. He arrived at Dover by steamer from Ostend on the afternoon of the 20th March. The day was fine, and the Empress and her son, the Prince Imperial, had come down from Chislehurst to welcome the liberated captive. What thoughts, what recollections, must have streamed through the mind of the Empress, as she threw herself, all dissolved in tears, on the breast of the man from whom she had last parted amid the fanfare of trumpets, the adulation of a glittering suite, and all the imperial splendours of the Tuileries! All staked since then! and all lost! The Prince, following the kindly continental custom, kissed his father on both cheeks. The crowd, though animated by the best and most generous feelings, was a trifle boisterous in its overflowing cordiality; the imperial party were sometimes nearly carried off their feet, so great was the pressure in the street, as they walked up to the Lord Warden Hotel, and the services of the police were called into active exercise. Napoleon was said to be much altered in appearance, his hair and moustache having become quite grey, but to look in good health. The ex-Emperor fixed his permanent residence with the Empress at Chislehurst.

Towards the end of the year, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Evelyn Denison, feeling the advance of age and the pressure of the arduous and trying duties inseparable from his office, resigned the Speakership, and was soon after elevated to the peerage, taking the title of Lord Ossington. He was succeeded by Mr. Brand, the member for Cambridgeshire, long known as one of the most efficient of Liberal "Whips."

A visit paid this year by Prince Arthur to Ireland, though it elicited much friendly and loyal feeling, was not unattended by painful incidents. The Prince was accompanied by his sister, the Princess Louise, and the Marquis of Lorne. The royal party were received in all public places with the same respect and loyalty as usual, and the visit was nearly coming quietly to an end; but, on the day before the Prince departed, a riot of a serious character took place in the Phœnix Park. The "Irreconcilable" party in Ireland, in whose eyes respect to a British prince is equivalent to conversion into a "West Briton," a being for whom your genuine Irishman cannot find words to express his scorn and loathing, announced their intention of holding a public meeting in the Phœnix Park on the 6th August, in order to adopt a petition for the liberation of the Irish military prisoners confined for Fenianism. The authorities forbade the meeting to be held; the promoters persisted in holding it; and when the police, in pursuance of their orders, endeavoured to disperse the crowd, and prohibit anything like concerted action or public speaking, a serious affray was the consequence. The police appear to have acted with great and hardly excusable violence; and when it is considered that at this very time the Government did not interfere with the meetings of Red Republicans in Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square, that is, in the heart of London, while the Phœnix Park, a piece of open ground of immense extent, lies at a great distance from the busy part of Dublin, the indignation expressed by the Nationalists at the forcible suppression of the meeting cannot be wondered at. The chief promoter of the meeting, Mr. P. J. Smyth, afterwards member for the County Westmeath, and an ardent Nationalist, issued the following address: "Fellow-countrymen,—While yet the Princes of England are guests of the Viceroy the green sward of the Phœnix Park, close by their residence, has been reddened with the blood of the people. . . . Yesterday evening a lawful and constitutional assembly of the people in the public park was violently interrupted by an armed body of police, who savagely set upon the unarmed and unresisting crowd of men, women, and children, and soon left many of them weltering in their blood." After saying that the authorities had freely allowed the people to assemble by tens of thousands in the park a few days before, when the object was to make "a holiday for royalty," but set their faces against an assemblage which aimed at the nobler task of the liberation of captives, Mr. Smyth proceeded: "Fellow-citizens, this occurred at a moment when the Republicans of London are allowed to assemble in the public parks of that city, to express sympathy with the Commune of Paris, and to assail the Crown and constitution and the law. Once, when the Government of the day ventured to prohibit a public meeting for a political purpose in a London park, the populace tore down the railings of the enclosure, and the right to hold political meetings has never since been questioned. At present the socialist and the infidel may freely address assemblages in the London parks. It is by the same Government that permits all this in London that the people of Dublin have been assailed in the public park of the Irish metropolis. Fellow-citizens, this savage and high-handed proceeding will not be allowed to pass without fitting action. The necessary legal steps will forthwith be taken to bring to account the persons responsible for this invasion of law and public right. We appeal to you to sustain us in contesting an issue so vitally important by bringing condign punishment on the perpetrators of this disgraceful and sanguinary outrage." In due time, accordingly, the case of the Queen *v.* the Marquis of Hartington (then the Chief Secretary for Ireland) came on in the Four Courts.

Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party in general having entered upon the policy of conciliation to Ireland, both in regard to the Irish Church and to the tenure of the land, from a conviction that those important measures were demanded by justice, never can repent of what they did; yet it must be confessed that the sanguine anticipations of seeing peace, union, contentment, and gratitude diffused over the sister island in consequence of this legislation have been wofully disappointed. The marked warmth and heartiness with which a French deputation, headed by Count Flavigny, that came over to Ireland in the summer of 1871 to make a public acknowledgment of the services rendered during the war by the Irish ambulance, was received by the masses of the Irish population was understood to cover and indicate at least as much dislike of England as affection for France. Nor was this feeling now confined to the Celtic portion of the population. A section of Protestants, among whom the most prominent figure was a distinguished Fellow of Trinity College, resented so keenly the conduct of England in having sacrificed their Church to, as they deemed, a miserable political expediency, and the clap-trap plea of numbers, that they eagerly joined that large disaffected mass of the native and Roman Catholic population which, about this time (direct agitation for a repeal of the Union being discouraged by the experience of 1844), began to seek the same end under the newly-invented name of "Home Rule." The leader of this movement, Mr. Isaac Butt, the member for Limerick, was one, and not the least gifted, of the brilliant band of counsel who rallied round O'Connell on the occasion of his trial for exciting to sedition in January, 1844. Since that time Mr. Butt's public career had not been, on the whole, successful. The movement for Home Rule which he now took up had this advantage, that while the very name implied a certain degree of separation from England, and therefore ensured for it popularity, its vagueness made it more difficult for opponents to grapple with it. All that those who gave in their adhesion to the agitation need necessarily contemplate was the transfer to some legislative body established in Ireland of the management of the purely local concerns

of the kingdom. But in the minds of the majority of its adherents Home Rule probably meant, and means, much more than this. It means the practical self-government of Ireland, and the extrusion of English influence from the conduct of its affairs, with the exception of a few specified departments, such as the Army and Navy, foreign relations, and the Post Office. It has been argued, on the one hand, having due regard to the fact of the success of the Austro-Hungarian experiment, that a considerable section of the community would contemplate the prospect of Home Rule in Ireland without alarm, were it not for this one circumstance. The difference of religion between England and Ireland will always cause the people of the two countries to take up divergent lines on many of the most important questions of foreign policy; their sympathies and antipathies are and will be different. The one people, for instance, rejoices—the other grieves—at any mishap which befalls the Pope. Now there is no such difference between the Austrians and the Hungarians; the chances are, therefore, that both their interests and their feelings will be generally in unison on important questions of foreign policy. But, it has been replied, on the other hand, in our case,—if we suppose an Irish Parliament to have successfully managed Irish affairs during a course of years, and to have thereby acquired dignity and self-reliance,—should some European complication suddenly occur in which the sympathies of Englishmen and Irishmen were ranged on different sides, and we were precipitated into war, the danger, notwithstanding the reservation of "common affairs" to the Imperial Parliament, of a collision between the two Legislatures would be fearfully great.

Mr. Gladstone delivered an important speech on this question at Aberdeen towards the close of the year, in which he based his opposition to Home Rule, not on any such prospective and hypothetical dangers as those we have referred to, but on the allegation that the Irish, if they will combine together, and become as keenly alive to their own interests as the Scotch or the Welsh are, can obtain whatever they can reasonably demand. "You would expect," he said, "when it is said that the Imperial Parliament is to be broken up, that at the very least a case should be made out showing there were great objects of policy, and great demands necessary for the welfare of Ireland, which representatives of Ireland had united to ask, and which the representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales had united to refuse. There is no such grievance. There is nothing which Ireland has asked, and which this country and this Parliament have refused." He proceeded to admit that Ireland had something like a grievance in regard to university education, but urged that a united demand from Ireland would lead immediately to its rectification; and continued: "What are the inequalities of England and Ireland? I declare that I know none, except that there are certain taxes still remaining which are levied over Englishmen and are not levied over Irishmen, and likewise that there are certain purposes for which public money is freely and largely given in Ireland, and for which it is not given in England or Scotland. . . . But if the doctrines of Home Rule are to be established in Ireland, I protest on your behalf that you will be just as well entitled to it in Scotland; and, moreover, I protest on behalf of Wales, in which I have lived a good deal, and where there are 800,000 people who this day, such is their sentiment of nationality, speak hardly anything but their own Celtic tongue—a larger number than speak the Celtic tongue, I apprehend, in Scotland, and a larger number than speak it, I apprehend, in Ireland. I protest on behalf of Wales that they are entitled to Home Rule there. Can any sensible man, can any rational man, suppose that at this time of day, in this condition of the world, we are going to disintegrate the great capital institutions of this country for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind, and crippling any power we possess for bestowing benefits through legislation on the country to which we belong?"

A tragic event, the prelude, as it proved, to one still more tragic, was announced in the autumn from Calcutta. Mr. Justice Norman, acting Lord Chief Justice, was assassinated by a fanatical Mussulman while ascending the steps leading to his own court. He had reached the summit of the flight of steps, when a man, who had been concealed in a doorway, sprang out and stabbed him in the back. Mr. Norman turned quickly round, and was stabbed again in front; either wound, being inflicted by one who was an adept in the art of murder, would have been fatal. The assassin was immediately seized. The evidence given on the trial left it doubtful whether pure fanatical hate towards a judge who had lately been enforcing the law against some Mohammedan conspirators at Patna was the cause of the murder, or whether some private grudge supplied a subsidiary motive. However this might be, the deed might well suggest disquieting reflections in the minds of the dominant race, considering the immense and increasing strength of the Mohammedan element in the population of British India, and the uncompromising detestation with which the Wahabees, the Puritans of Islam, regard the English Raj.

What may prove to have been an important step towards the co-ordination in one confederacy of the Australian colonies was taken in the autumn of this year. A new treaty between Great Britain and the Zollverein was being negotiated; and it would appear that Lord Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, in a circular despatch to the Australian Governments, used certain expressions in relation thereto which seemed to the colonists to imply the recognition of a right on the part of the mother country to concede, and on the part of a foreign country to claim, certain tariff arrangements as between the different colonies which would be favourable to the interests of the treaty-making Power. Delegates from the Governments of New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia, and Victoria met at Melbourne, in September, 1871, to consider the question; and having carefully examined Lord Kimberley's despatch, agreed unanimously to the following resolutions.

1. "That the Australian colonies claim to enter into arrangements with each other, through their respective

Legislatures, so as to provide for the reciprocal admission of their respective products and manufactures, either duty free or on such terms as may be mutually agreed upon.

2. "That no treaty entered into by the Imperial Government with any foreign Power should in any way limit or impede the exercise of such right.

3. "That Imperial interference with inter-colonial fiscal legislation should finally and absolutely cease.

4. "That so much of an Act or Acts of the Imperial Parliament as may be considered to prohibit the full exercise of such right should be repealed.

5. "That these resolutions, together with a memorandum from each Government, or a joint memorandum from such Governments as prefer to adopt that method, shall be transmitted to the Secretary of State through the Governors of our colonies respectively."

The Conference proposed by Prussia for the settlement of the Black Sea Treaty question met in London on the 17th January. The presence of a French plenipotentiary at the Conference had been earnestly desired, and M. Jules Favre had been requested to attend it by the Paris Government. But difficulties arose in connection with his obtaining permission to pass out of Paris through the Prussian lines; and when, after a lengthy correspondence, the permission was obtained—or, rather, through the termination of the siege, the difficulty no longer existed—M. Favre had his hands so full of the work of negotiating the armistice with Bismark that it was impossible for him to leave Paris. The plenipotentiaries of the other Powers—England, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, and Turkey—proceeded, though with reluctance, to the deliberation of the question. At the first sitting, the Conference adopted, unanimously, on the invitation of Lord Granville, the principle that no one of the two or more Powers that may be parties to a treaty can nullify the same, or any part of it, without the consent of the co-signatory Powers. In the words of the protocol of the day's proceedings, the plenipotentiaries there assembled "recognise that it is an essential principle of the law of nations, that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting Powers, by means of an amicable arrangement." At subsequent meetings, the reasons alleged by Russia for her desire to be liberated from the prohibitory stipulation respecting war-ships contained in the Black Sea Treaty were listened to and considered, as well as the reply of the Turkish Ambassador, who, while repudiating on behalf of Turkey all intention of separating her action from that approved by the majority of the friendly Powers, regretted that the question had ever been raised, and declared that the restrictive clause which Russia now felt to be unendurable still appeared to the Sublime Porte in the light of a prudent and desirable precaution. Upon minute inquiry, it was found that ten cases of infraction of the Convention of 1856, forbidding the navigation of the Black Sea by ships-of-war, had occurred in the intervening period. Most of these were unimportant; but there was one on which Russia laid much stress, having, indeed, protested against it at the time when it occurred. This was the admission into the Black Sea of H.M.S. *Gannet*, in which Sir Henry Bulwer was conveyed (1864) on a mission to Kustendji. General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, told the British representative there, about the year 1870, that Russia considered the clauses neutralising the Black Sea to have been annulled in practice from the time when H.M.S. *Gannet* passed through the Bosphorus into the prohibited waters six years before. The sense of the Conference was, on the whole, in favour of remitting the restriction which Russia complained of; and a new treaty was drawn up, and signed by all the Powers, by virtue of which the articles of the Treaty of 1856 limiting the number and size of the ships-of-war which Russia and Turkey might keep up in the Black Sea were abrogated, and a new provision was introduced, authorising the Sultan to open the straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus in time of peace to the fleets of the friendly and allied Powers, in the event that the execution of the stipulations of the Treaty of 1856 should require it. The meaning of this stipulation, of course, was, that if Russia took advantage of the liberty which she now had of preparing a large fleet to attack Turkey, the latter would be entitled, without the breach of any treaty stipulation, to summon the Mediterranean fleet of France or England to her aid.

After the draft of the treaty had been settled, at the sitting of the 13th March, Earl Granville introduced the Duc de Broglie to the Conference as the representative of France. In a few dignified sentences, the Duke, after touching lightly but feelingly on the unhappy condition of France, which had prevented her from being represented at the earlier sittings, stated that, with regard to the principal object of the Conference, the French Government, sharing the feelings expressed by the Turkish plenipotentiary, would have preferred that the original convention for neutralising the Black Sea should be maintained; but that at the stage at which the affair had now arrived, the new arrangement having been assented to by the Porte, France willingly entered into the feeling of conciliation which had dictated it, and gave its assent to all the decisions of the Conference.

In the mode in which the whole of this delicate negotiation was conducted by the Government, and in the final settlement, it is generally admitted that there is nothing at all to reprehend and much to praise. By the adoption of a firm attitude, without menace or bluster, Russia was brought over from an unjustifiable resolve to treat the convention as so much waste paper, and induced to meet the co-signatory Powers on common grounds of reason and international right; and if the decision of the Conference was favourable to her, it was because the restrictions of 1856 had really become obsolete, and it was unreasonable to attempt to perpetuate them. If Turkey falls to pieces, it will not be through the growth of the naval power of Russia in the Black Sea, for the western allies of the Sultan will always be able to keep that in check, but through general causes of disintegration with which the Black Sea question has nothing to do.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Deaths of eminent Persons in 1871—Sir John Burgoyne—Lord Ellenborough—Dean Mansel—Bishop Patteson: His Death at the hands of the Polynesian Natives—Mr. Babbage—Sir John Herschel—George Grote: Sketch of his Life and Character: A Champion of Philosophic Radicalism: His "History of Greece"—Sir William Denison: His Rule in Tasmania: at Sydney and Bombay.

THE obituary of the year contains the names of many persons of eminence. Although the death of no statesman of the first rank has to be recorded, the army lost its patriarch, Sir John Burgoyne; the Church of England lost Dean Alford of Canterbury, Dean Mansel of St. Paul's, the once famous preacher, Canon Melvill, and the much-loved missionary bishop, John Coleridge Patteson; science lost Sir John Herschel, Sir Roderick Murchison, Mr. Charles Babbage, and Mr. De Morgan; literature and politics lost the veteran George Grote; and about the same time as the "Philosophical Radical," there died the famous old Devonshire Tory, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland. Lord Ellenborough, once the much-admired and much-criticised Governor-General of India, Sir W. Denison, once Governor of Madras, Mr. Charles Buxton, an influential Member of Parliament and philanthropist, died in the same year. The death of George Hudson, the "Railway King," gave people an opportunity for moralising on the vicissitudes of life. Beyond the boundaries of England died Auber, the popular French musician; and two of the great enemies of Russia, Schamyl, the heroic Circassian, and Omar Pasha, the adventurous Turkish officer—both of whom had, at one time or another, come across the course of English history—died in the same month. Of some of these a more detailed notice may be given.

Field-Marshal Sir John Fox Burgoyne was all but ninety years of age when he died in October. He was a veteran of the school and almost of the age of Wellington, with whose campaigns his name is associated. He served as a young subaltern with Abercrombie in the Mediterranean in 1800; he was with Sir John Moore in the famous Corunna retreat; and as an engineer officer of various ranks he took part in most of the numerous sieges of the Peninsular War. After the fall of Napoleon he continued to act as one of the most notable subordinates of the Duke of Wellington, and in 1845 he took the important post of Inspector-General of Fortifications. It was soon after that time that he wrote his celebrated letter to the Duke on the state of the national defence, which, coming in the midst of such profound peace, struck a note of alarm that was by no means unnecessary. He was at the head of the Engineers in the Crimean War until March, 1855, when he was recalled; and after the war was over he was rapidly advanced till he became Field-Marshal and Constable of the Tower. It was his son, Captain Hugh Burgoyne, that went down in the *Captain*, in September, 1870—a blow which the old father naturally never got over. He was in every sense a distinguished veteran, not so much by the memory of actual achievements in war, as by the reputation for wisdom to which he had attained among military men of all nations.

Only eight years younger than Sir John Burgoyne was the Earl of Ellenborough, once Governor-General of India, who died in December of this year. He was the son of the Lord Ellenborough who had been Lord Chief Justice early in the century. A staunch Tory, he took office under the Duke of Wellington in 1828, and became President of the Board of Control under Sir Robert Peel in 1834. In 1842, he went to India as Governor-General; and it was under his rule that Pollock and Nott marched into Afghanistan and took Ghuznee and Cabul, and Sir Charles Napier conquered Scinde. But, strangely enough—this the lately-published correspondence of Lord Ellenborough clearly shows—the great successes of General Pollock were won in spite of the Governor-General's orders; and Lord Ellenborough congratulated himself upon the success of the army, and ever afterwards hated the general to whom the success was owing. In 1844, after only two eventful years, the East India Company recalled their talented but perplexing Governor-General. After his return he came again into office for short periods under Sir Robert Peel and Lord Derby; and in and out of office he spoke brilliantly and eloquently in the House of Lords. His character is thus summed up by the distinguished historian of our Indian statesmen, Mr. John William Kaye:—"He might have been one of the greatest men of our time, if he had not been the vainest. But his genius was rather French than English, and he would probably have accomplished a greater career in military than in civil life. He was nicknamed 'the Brummagem Napoleon;' but the man whom he most resembled was Murat. Of all epithets that could be applied to him the most characteristic would be 'dashing.' Unstable as water, he could not succeed as a statesman. He could not help contradicting himself. He went out to India declaredly to cultivate the arts of peace, and he had no sooner withdrawn from one war than he launched into a second, then a third, and had his blood up to spring into a fourth, when the East India Company recalled him. . . . Yet, for all this, history cannot deny that he was a man of wonderful ability, or rather of uncommon genius. But it was genius of an erratic kind. He wrote with scholarly lucidity, and I have seldom heard, in any assembly of English gentlemen, any eloquence surpassing Lord Ellenborough's. But his whole career was a failure, and he went to pieces simply for want of bottom."

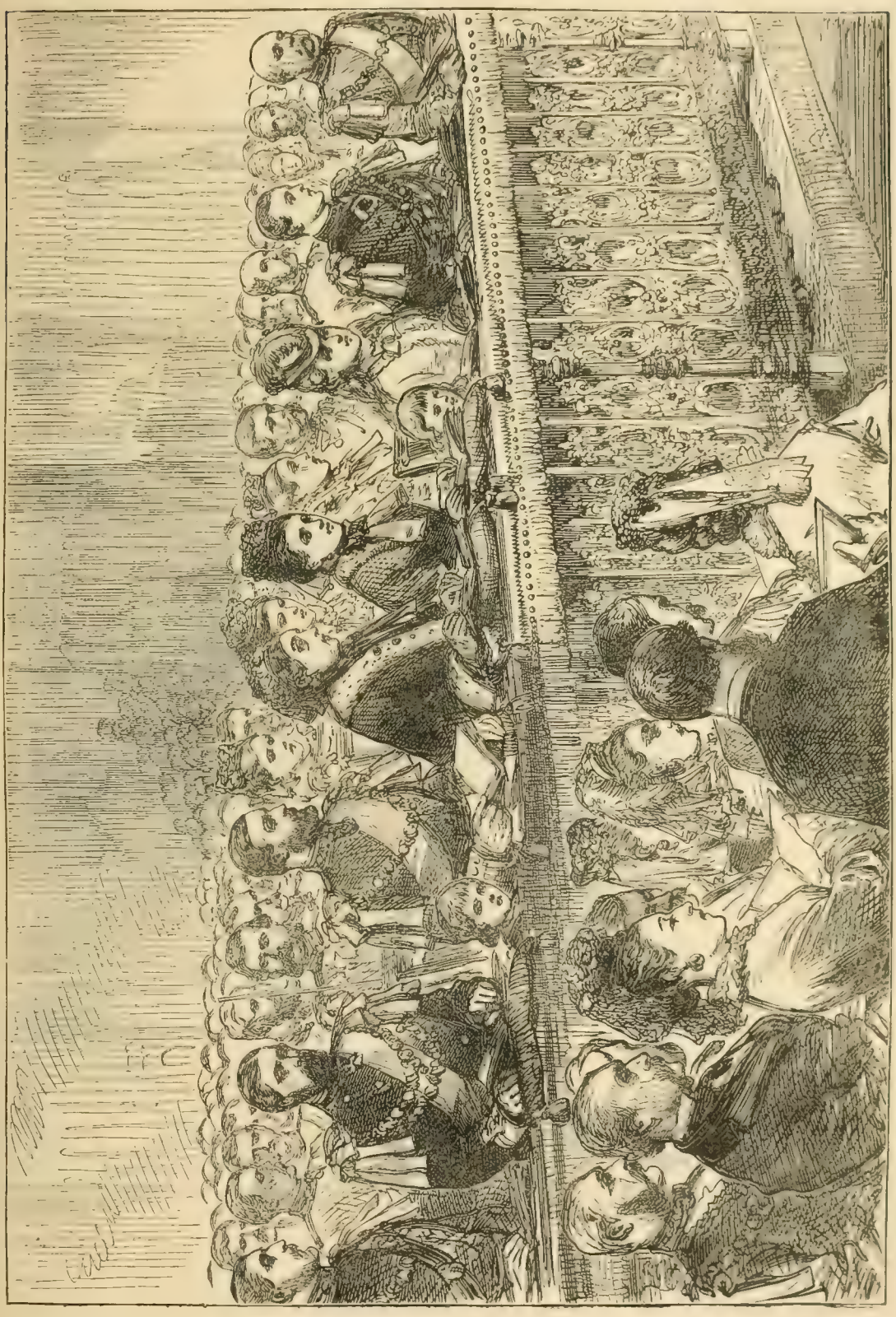
Dean Mansel, who died on July 31, was one of those men rarely found in this age, who devote philosophical gifts of the very highest order to the controversial support of existing religious systems. He was the best representative of the school of Sir William Hamilton; and in matters of philosophy and politics, he was the uncompromising opponent of Mr. Mill. His Bampton Lectures, preached in 1858 before the University of Oxford, were held by those who could understand them to be a powerful defence of orthodoxy; but Dr. Mansel was never a popular writer, and his sermons were mostly intended for the intellects of the heads of houses. Dean Alford, who died a few months before, was widely known as a writer of essays and verses, and as the editor of a Greek

Testament. Canon Melvill was once the most famous preacher in London, but in that respect he had outlived his reputation. The death of all these men was much felt in the circles which had been influenced by them, but the loss which came most tragically and suddenly upon the Church was that of Bishop Patteson, who was killed by the natives of Santa Cruz, an island in the South Seas. He was the son of Mr. Justice Patteson, and was nephew and namesake to Sir John Taylor Coleridge.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

After leaving Oxford, where he had obtained a fellowship at Merton, he met Bishop Selwyn, who had come home from his New Zealand diocese to beat up recruits for his missionary work. Selwyn's influence prevailed, and Patteson quietly made up his mind to sail with him and to found the Melanesian mission. From that time, 1855, till his death, he remained in the Southern Seas. In 1861, he was consecrated Bishop of Melanesia, and his last ten years of life were divided between sailing about among the islands, and teaching native boys in his school, first in New Zealand and then in Norfolk Island. His great social work was to protest and struggle against the iniquitous Coolie traffic—a thinly-disguised form of the slave trade—which was carried on among the Melanesian islands, and it was owing to the Coolie traders, or kidnappers, that he met his death. He had been widely popular among the inhabitants. To all he was "the good bishop;" but whether or not they came in the end to fancy that he was in league with the kidnappers, it is difficult to say; all that we know is, that the natives of Santa Cruz met him as he was rowing up to their boat on the river with a fatal flight of arrows. The arrows killed him, and mortally wounded Mr. Atkin, his chaplain, who was with him. Mr. Atkin lingered some time in great agony, but the bishop died at once, and the natives turned him adrift in a canoe, with a palm branch marked with five knots by his side, as though to signify that he had been killed in revenge for the death of five natives. Such a death made, as was natural, a profound impression both in the islands and at home. It gave a fresh, sharp impulse to missionary feeling in the more religiously minded, and it called public attention in a vivid way to the dreadful wrongs of the "labour traffic" in the South Seas.

Mr. Charles Babbage, who died in October, was a



THE QUEEN AND THE ROYAL FAMILY AT THE THANKSGIVING SERVICE IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

mathematician of genius, the friend and fellow-worker of Herschel, and the inventor of the calculating machine. He was nearly eighty when he died, and for every year of his life he had published a volume of mathematical studies. To the London public, however, he was known by less reverend associations. *Punch* had made a byword of him for the incessant warfare which his irritable temper, strained by a long course of delicate experiments, led him to wage against street musicians. Mr. Babbage's face was as well known in the London police courts as in the rooms of the Royal Society. Sir Roderick Murchison, born in the same year, died in the same month. He was one of the first of English geologists, though, strange to say, he had begun life as an officer in Lord Wellington's Peninsula army. He prophesied the discovery of gold in Australia, from a comparison of some Australian rock with the rock of the Ural Mountains, some years before the actual discovery. In 1853, he was appointed Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain; and besides his official posts, he held a principal place in the Geographical Society, and was a notable herald of geographical discovery. Sir John F. W. Herschel, the greatest perhaps of recent English astronomers, also died in this year, and just at the same age as Murchison and Babbage. His works and discoveries are hardly of a kind to be recorded at length in a popular History; it is enough to say that his long life was spent in ceaseless observations of the heavens, and his keen intellect perpetually employed in methodising and inferring from what he had observed. His father was the famous Sir William Herschel, who discovered Uranus (now called "Herschel"), the most distant of the known planets. The son, going up to Cambridge prepared by private tuition, came out Senior Wrangler, and at once began to tread in his father's footsteps. He discovered about 500 new nebulæ; and he was the first Englishman to make a systematic study of the southern heavens, taking up for four years a station at the Cape of Good Hope. His presence in the young colony, it may be added, was of immense benefit to education; for it is to him that the development of the school system, now enjoyed by the people of the Cape, is chiefly owing. He also may be regarded as the first person who, if we may use the phrase, applied the "comparative method" very widely to meteorology. His "Instructions for Making and Registering Meteorological Observations at Various Stations in Southern Africa," which were published by official authority, marked an era in the history of the science. Before this book appeared, however, he had been long recognised as, in his own line, the most distinguished Englishman living. Honours came thickly upon him. He was made a baronet at the time of the Coronation; and most of the academies in Europe opened their doors to him. His clear and charming style, too, widened the circle of his readers, and gave an insight into the *method* of science to hundreds of those who could not cope with the details. His "Outlines of Astronomy," and his "Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy," were books essentially popular, in the best sense of the term.

Of those whose names are contained in the obituary of the year, there is one so thoroughly representative of his age that we may dwell upon his life at rather greater length. This was George Grote, who, while diligently following the business of a London banker, made himself at one time of his life the chief public spokesman of the "Philosophic Radical" party, and by his writings on the history and philosophy of Greece gave a new reality to those subjects, and raised immensely the reputation of English scholarship. He came of a race of bankers. His grandfather, a native of Bremen, came over in the middle of the last century, and in 1766 founded the banking-house of Grote, Prescott, and Co. The second son of this George Grote, also called George, was the father of the historian, who was born at Clay Hill, near Beckenham, in 1794. His father was true to the traditions of mercantile life, and though he sent his son to the Charterhouse School till he was sixteen, never dreamed of allowing him to carry on the studies of which he had become so fond, by entering the University. "He felt no inclination," says Mrs. Grote in her memoirs of her husband, "to promote the young George's intellectual turn of mind, at the expense of giving him a college training; whilst, on the other hand, he required his son's services for his own convenience." And so the boy, whose very handwriting to the day of his death showed the methodical, prosaic nature of his early training, went into his father's bank at sixteen years of age, and worked there for thirty-two years. In his leisure time, however, he kept up his study of classical authors; he began to learn music too, and German, and used to play Handel with his mother in the long evenings at home. But he made no secret of his aversion to the dulness of the ordinary family routine. He could not stand his father's City friends, nor his mother's extreme Calvinism. He took refuge from both with friends of his own age—with George Norman and Charles Cameron, and other young men of an inquiring and eager turn of mind—and in 1816 we find him talking of having made a sort of abridgement of part of Sismondi's "History of the Italian Republics." A little later on, a new era in his life began with his first meetings with James Mill, the utilitarian philosopher and historian. At first he did not fall wholly under the spell of that powerful propagandist; he disliked that "readiness to dwell on the faults and defects of others" which marked the elder Mill so strongly, and which gained him so many enemies. But very soon, as Mill made a point of winning Grote to his principles, he won him, even to share his strong antipathies. "Mr. Mill," says Grote's biographer, "had the strongest convictions as to the superior advantages of democratic government over the monarchical or the aristocratic; and with these he mingled a scorn and hatred of the ruling classes, which amounted to positive fanaticism. Coupled with this aversion to aristocratic influence (to which influence he invariably ascribed most of the defects and abuses prevalent in the administration of public affairs), Mr. Mill entertained a profound prejudice against the Established Church, and, of course,

a corresponding dislike to its ministers." These antipathies Grote came to share, as well as the positive belief of his master. In fact, he enrolled himself as one of the band of young men who, in the twelve or fifteen years before the Reform Bill, made it their business to preach the views of Mill and Bentham, and to oppose the Whigs as much as they opposed the Tories. With the rest of these disciples of Mill, Grote studied Political Economy hard, studying and digesting the writings of Say and Ricardo. In 1820, after a vexatious period of delay, on which his father had insisted, he married Miss Harriet Lewin, and settled in a house in Threadneedle Street, close to the Bank buildings; and there, in the house that was so dingy and confined that residence in it nearly cost Mrs. Grote her life, a choice circle of friends used to meet and discuss all kinds of questions, political, metaphysical, economical, and what not. David Ricardo, John Romilly, John Austin, Charles Buller, the two Mills, and many more, all of them agreeing to a certain point in principles, formed the society of Threadneedle Street. It was under the stimulus of this society that, prompted by his wife's strong wish, he first began to conceive the "History of Greece." In the winter of 1825 he embodied the results of his studies in a crushing article on Mitford's History, in the newly-established *Westminster Review*; an article which attracted the attention of many scholars, and among them of the great Niebuhr. About this time, too, the London University was started, under the auspices of the Liberals and the Dissenters, and Grote, with Brougham, James Mill, and many more, formed part of the original council.

In 1830, Grote's father died, and the son was left free to act as he chose in political as well as commercial matters. It was the time of the Revolution of July in Paris, and of the beginning of the Reform agitation in England. Grote was well known in the City as a sound man of business, as well as an ardent politician, and his new increase of wealth caused him to be looked upon as a likely man for the representation of the City. But both his wife and himself desired to wait till the "History of Greece," which was to make his reputation, should have at least begun to appear. Still, he became chairman for the Liberal Committee for the City of London, and kept himself in communication with the popular leaders all over the country. The year 1831 brought him much work and much anxiety, as was natural to so influential a reformer at so trying a time. "The year 1831," writes Mrs. Grote, "has been eventful, and to us excessively laborious. The state of politics continues lowering, though all parties expect to carry 'the bill.' Commerce is especially diseased; profits low, and confidence restricted." Next year, however, in spite of unheard-of difficulties, the Reform Bill was carried; and after the dissolution, Mr. Grote came forward as a candidate for the City. His election address is a vigorous example of the creed of the "Radical" of 1832—at least of the Radical at the head of a great banking-house. He congratulated the constituency on the passing of the Reform Bill. The next thing, he thought, was to secure triennial elections and vote by ballot. The corrupt influence of the "oligarchical interest" was to be rectified at once; the Church of England was to be examined and reformed; the Taxes on Knowledge and the Corn Laws were to be removed; the East India Company was to be looked to; the Bank of England was to have the sole privilege of issuing notes in London; slavery was at once to be abolished in the colonies; law was to be simplified, education extended, the labouring classes improved and instructed, and the trade of the City of London to be specially attended to. This was the programme of the typical Radical of the year 1832. Not a very alarming one, certainly, as viewed in the light of history. Every important point on which Grote's address dwelt, except that of triennial Parliaments, has been handled by Parliament since 1832, and the decision of Parliament has in every point been as radical as he wished it to be, or more so; and many a measure that has been carried since then would have been regarded by the Radical of 1832 as chimerical and an impossibility.

The result of the election for the City, which was held in December, just after the dissolution, was to place George Grote at the head of the poll by a majority of 924 votes, his total being 8,788. Parliament met in February, and the interval was spent by the new member in carefully preparing a speech on the Ballot, the introduction of which he was to move for in March. The speech met with a success unequalled in the history of maiden speeches, and took rank in the minds of some experienced members, even in that of Mr. Speaker Abercrombie, as one of the two or three best speeches delivered in the House of Commons in that generation. His reputation was made, and within a year we hear of his being offered the important post of Chairman of the Committee on Sinecures, whose sittings resulted in 1,300 useless "places" being swept away. But, as is well known, the course of events during the life of the first Reformed Parliament was not satisfactory to the Ministerialists. It was the time of the Irish Coercion Bill, and of O'Connell's ascendency in the House of Commons. The time was lost in recrimination and fruitless concessions, and the English Radical party gradually fell away from a Ministry which preferred long Irish debates to the proper development of "reformed" principles at home. The result was a dissolution at the end of 1834, and Grote was returned again for the City. He, with the other Radicals, helped to carry the Amendment to the Address which turned out the Whig Ministry. It need not be said that previously he had been with them in their great measures, such as the Poor Law Amendment Act; and in the new Parliament he steadily supported those measures which either contributed, or were thought to contribute, to the interests of the newly enfranchised commercial and working classes. His chief effort was another Ballot speech, as long and remarkable as the first; but he could not help seeing that little by little the party was slipping away, and Whiggism reasserting itself against Radicalism. "I see what we are coming to, Grote," said Charles Buller in 1836; "in no very long time from this you and I shall be left to 'tell'

Molesworth!" And, indeed, at the general election which followed the accession of Queen Victoria, Grote's original majority of nine hundred had dwindled down to *twenty-three*; and the *Times*, which in 1832 had been at the head of the reforming press, ticketed him as "the representative and peculiar organ of whatever is most chimerical in theory, most reckless in experiment, most fatal and revolting in hostility to our national institutions."

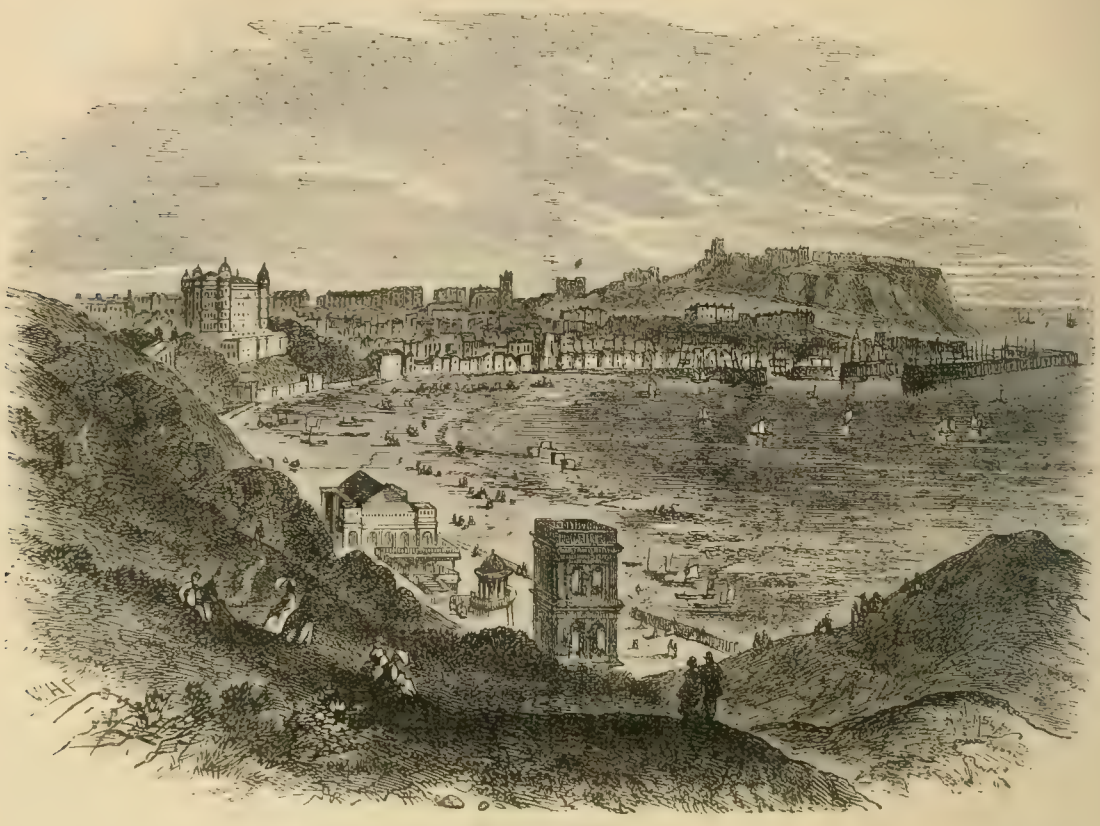
Certainly the current of affairs was not such as to please Grote, or to induce him to keep up his old interest in practical politics. A petition was talked of, and he protested that he would not spend time or money in defending his seat. "Our contemporary politics," he writes in October, 1838, "are in a state of profound slumber, from which, I fear, they are not likely to awake, except to cause us disgust and discouragement. There is nothing in them fit to occupy the attention of a commonplace but sincere patriot, much less of a philosopher." And in accordance with this loss of interest in politics came a renewed interest in books and abstract thought; letters to Mr. Cornewall Lewis, stuffed with Greek and logic; and intellectual converse with *savants*, French and English. In 1841, at the dissolution caused by Sir Robert Peel's victory over the Whig Ministry, Grote withdrew from Parliament altogether. He could not bear any longer to continue "an unavailing and almost solitary struggle in Parliament," and to sit among a party which, as he thought, was Liberal only in name. Lord John Russell came forward for the City in his place, and just succeeded; but a Conservative reaction had set in, and Peel returned to power. What immediately followed reads like a forecast of 1874. "The decrepitude of the Whigs having long been perceived," wrote Mrs. Grote in a letter to Mr. Senior, "their dissolution was beheld as all in the natural order of things; while the stepping in of the Tories resembled the quiet succession of the heir, on the death of a parent, to his estates and privileges. . . . Sydney Smith concurs with me in giving the Tories a run of six years before there is any fresh 'upset.' Now that the Whigs are down, everybody finds out how fitting it was that they should resign."

From this time onwards Grote was the man of letters, pure and simple. It is true he kept to his colours, politically; he posted, for instance, all the way from Cornwall to London to vote for Mr. Pattison, in an election for the City. But the "History of Greece" became practically what it had long been secretly, the object of his life. The first two volumes were brought out in March, 1846, and at once made a great stir in the world of scholars. "I have been familiar with the literary world," said Mr. Hallam, "for a very long period, and I can safely affirm that I never knew a book take so *rapid* a flight to the highest summits of fame as George's new 'History of Greece.'" He had letters from all quarters congratulating him, one of the most interesting being from Bishop Thirlwall, who frankly owned himself outdone by the new historian. He continued to work very steadily, seldom giving less than eight hours daily to the book, for by this time he had resigned all connection with the bank, and was free to study or write as he chose. The work went on so rapidly that in 1850 we hear of the ninth and tenth volumes being almost ready for the press, although the preparations of new editions of the early volumes kept pressing upon his time. From this date there is little in his life that need be recorded in a general History. His time of action was over; his opinions, philosophical as well as political, had been long formed; and his time was now incessantly spent in writing. The History grew apace. In April, 1853, the eleventh volume appeared, and on the 23rd December, 1855, the last proofs of the twelfth and last volume—that on which Grote had spent most time and trouble—were returned to the printer. "To me," said the Bishop of St. David's, in a letter to Grote, "that will be the most precious volume in my library." He was made a trustee of the British Museum, and in 1864 the much-coveted position of "Foreign Associate" of the French Institute was conferred upon him, in succession to Lord Macaulay. The post, however, in which he came most before the public eye was that of Vice-Chancellor of the University of London. Ever since the foundation of that body he had taken the most vivid interest in it, and in its history; he had been one of its earliest promoters, and one of its original senate. He had been possessed, in common with many of the Liberal party of his time, with an earnest desire to establish some university in England where the highest education should be given, wholly independently of religious denominations; as in 1827, when the plan first took actual shape, it was wholly out of the question to attack the monopoly of the Church of England in the older universities. The Gower Street institution was planned and carried out, and Grote, for the rest of his life, was with it heart and soul. In 1862, he was made Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, which by this time had become distinct from University College, and throughout his tenure of that office he strenuously endeavoured to carry out the original design of the university. In 1865 he finished his elaborate work on "Plato, and the other Companions of Sokrates," which, with the "Aristotle," was to form the supplement to the "History of Greece." Four years later his name was brought once more before the political world. Mr. Gladstone offered him a peerage, but, partly from the associations of his "radical" youth, and still more from the crowd of occupations with which his hands were full, he declined the offered honour. He had his work at the London University and the British Museum to attend to; "and," said he, "I am engaged in a work on Aristotle, forming a sequel to my work on Plato; and as I am thoroughly resolved to complete this, if health and energy be preserved to me, I feel that (being now nearly seventy-five) I have no surplus force for other purposes." The "Aristotle" came out, but not during the author's lifetime. In the spring of 1871 he began to decline rapidly. "Early in June a marked change supervened, and at the end of three weeks his honourable, virtuous, and laborious course was closed, by a tranquil and painless death, on the morning of the 18th of June, 1871." He was buried in Westminster Abbey, on the

"learned side" of Poet's Corner. "Camden and Casaubon look down upon the grave, and Macaulay lies a few feet distant."

As was said above, Grote was a man eminently representative of his age. For the first twenty years of his public life he was known as the "Philosophic Radical;" for the last twenty years he was known simply as the "Historian of Greece." But he was the same man throughout, and both his radicalism and his historical work were based on the same foundation, namely, the resolve to admit nothing, whether political institution or historical statement, without testing it by a positive standard. In politics, he was merciless in his application of the Benthamite standard of utility; in history, he was as merciless in his refutations of such writers as Mitford, by appealing to contemporary evidence. In politics, although he thought himself a failure, it is plain that to a great extent, and in the long run, he succeeded. The course of English politics during the last fifty years has in most essential points followed the line which Bentham laid down, and which Grote and his other pupils practically worked for. But Grote's success in history has been far more thorough than this. His enormous industry, his clear intellect, his sober sense, worked together to produce a book which among histories written by Englishmen can only be compared with that of Gibbon. No future historian of Greece, as has often been said, can help basing his work upon Grote's volumes; and no extension of our knowledge can have any other result than to show us how wisely and exhaustively Grote used the materials that were open to him. It is true that in the "History," as in the works on the Greek philosophers, the last touch is wanting; the glow of imagination is absent, or only visible now and then. One misses the magic play of genius which is above all things necessary to a historian of Greece. To write the history of the most poetical people the world has ever seen, a man must be himself a poet; and to criticise Plato adequately, one should start with some other design than that of proving that Plato was a Benthamite without knowing it. Few people who have read the "History of Greece" attentively can have helped regretting that the author's mind had not rather been turned to the study of the history of Rome. There, among the Scipios and the Catos, the Gracchi and the Cæsars, he would have found characters more really congenial than among the impressionable, many-sided Athenians, "ever delicately moving through most translucent air." And yet, perhaps, it is ungrateful to say even this in judging the historian to whom every student owes so much. When all has been said that can be said against the "History," it remains a magnificent memorial of English work and modern knowledge; of work done and knowledge acquired in no favoured academic atmosphere, but amid the bustle of public life or in the solitude of the country, with no aim save the single aim of doing something for humanity.

Sir William Denison, a younger brother of the well-known and greatly respected Speaker of the House of Commons, succumbed to an attack of bronchitis in the autumn of this year. In a warlike generation Sir William, whether as a ruler or as a general, would have probably attained to high distinction; but his stern and imperious nature did not well adapt him to the democratic habitudes and general license of an age of peace; and though he tried hard to enter upon the paths of popularity, like other colonial governors, he was not pliable enough to succeed. But for this very reason, those who knew him well, and most of all those who served under him, treasure his memory with a reverence which, for them, no time can weaken. Denison was a man incapable of an equivocation, incapable of an act of meanness; high courage, justice, self-command, and indomitable perseverance, were stamped on every lineament of that severe and speaking countenance, and seemed to animate that compact and massive frame. His chief defect as a ruler was a proneness to be sarcastic and contemptuous, which he did not take pains enough to conceal; for though his contempt was seldom if ever directed against an object undeserving of it, yet the great *severity* of his natural character sometimes incapacitated him from seeing mitigating circumstances or features in the conduct or the person that he scorned. He was not known outside his own corps, the Royal Engineers, when, in 1846, Mr. Gladstone, then Colonial Secretary, having requested the commanding officer of the corps to recommend to him an engineer officer to succeed Sir Eardley Wilmot in the governorship of Tasmania, Sir John Burgoyne named Captain Denison. Appointed governor, he took out as his private secretary a brother officer, Charles Stanley, the youngest son of the Bishop of Norwich, a man whose genial qualities, sincerity, and genuine kindness were too soon lost to his friends by an untimely death. Since the year 1841, Tasmania had been made the sole receptacle of the convicts transported from Great Britain and Ireland. Each year between 4,000 and 5,000 criminals were landed on the shores of the colony; and although they were subjected to a strict and well-considered discipline, and life and property were—as the writer can attest from personal knowledge—on the whole wonderfully secure in every part of the island, yet there can be no question that to the labouring classes, and to children in every class, close contact with so many persons whose past lives were full of sinister and miserable experiences could not but tend to moral deterioration. This was keenly felt by a large and ever-increasing party among the colonists, and they commenced, in concert with the other Australian colonies (which at this time, with the exception of Western Australia, were all opposed to the admission of convicts), an agitation which aimed at inducing the mother country to abandon transportation to Australia altogether. Sir William Denison, on the other hand, regarding himself as an imperial officer, and the transportation of convicts to Tasmania as a part of the imperial policy towards the colony which he was sent to administer, had no sympathy with the views of the abolitionists; nor did he hesitate freely, and, perhaps, with something of contempt, to express his dissent from them. This attitude of their Governor provoked the colonists; and the consequence was that all through his term of office Denison, though himself one of the most



SCARBOROUGH.

high-minded and conscientious of men, was distrusted and disliked by the worthiest of the Tasmanian settlers. Yet he accomplished, in the eight years of his rule, much for the material and moral welfare of the colony. He extended roads, founded a new dock at Hobart Town, promoted strenuously the education of the poor, and laboured perseveringly and successfully to place the Orphan School (a noble institution near Hobart Town, for the training and support of the orphaned and destitute children of convicts) on a sound footing of efficiency. In 1854, Sir William Denison was removed to Sydney, New South Wales, with the title of Governor-General of the Australian Colonies. The system of responsible government having been introduced in all our principal colonies about this time, the office of governor was shorn of much of its importance. Little more than routine executive duties are now left to the governor of a British colony. He "reigns, but does not govern;" and the uneventful period during which Sir William "reigned" at Sydney presented, we believe, little for his biographer to record. In 1860, he was appointed Governor of Madras. From the date of his return to England, in 1866, he did not emerge from a private station; but the clearness of his mind and the vigour of his character were well known to the Government; and he was appointed shortly before his death one of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Pollution of English Rivers, a post well suited to his active and energetic temperament.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE HISTORY OF THE ALABAMA CLAIMS.

The Alabama Claims: Grounds of Complaint alleged by the United States against Great Britain: 1. The Recognition of the Belligerent Rights of the South by this Country: This no just cause of Complaint. 2. Proceedings in Violation of Neutrality—The Case of the *Alabama*—That of the *Florida*: History of this Cruiser: She is Built and Armed within British Jurisdiction: Captain Hickley's Report: Judicial Inquiry at Nassau: The *Florida* is Released: Is allowed to take in an excessive Supply of Coal: British Regulations of January, 1862: She is allowed to Coal again at Barbadoes: Termination of her Career—Case of the *Shenandoah*: Built in British and Armed in Portuguese Waters: Arrives at Melbourne: Account of her Proceedings there: Honest Endeavours of the Colonial Government to observe Neutrality: Her Commander succeeds in Enlisting a number of British Subjects at Melbourne: The Melbourne Government not in fault: Letter of Sir Charles Darling to the other Australian Governments: Supply of Coals to the *Shenandoah*: Her Cruise in the Arctic Seas: Returns to Liverpool and Surrenders to the British Government—Cases of the *Sumter*, *Georgia*, *Nashville*, *Chickamauga*, *Tallahassee*, and *Retribution*: Friendly Acts: Seizure of the *Alexandra*, and Detention of the Ironclads.—3. Charge of General Unfriendliness: Refuted. II. Negotiations previous to 1871: Lord Russell, Lord Stanley and Reverdy Johnson: Convention Rejected: Mr. Sumner: Negotiations between Mr. Fish and Lord Clarendon.

THE year 1871 witnessed the re-discussion and reference to international arbitration of those claims, generically known as the "Alabama claims," which, since the close of the American civil war, had troubled and embarrassed the relations between Great Britain and the United States. This result was obtained by the Treaty of

Washington, concluded on May 8, 1871. Brief allusion has been made more than once in these pages to the state of feeling which prevailed in the United States, after the suppression of the South, with reference to the mode in which Great Britain had maintained her neutrality during the struggle, as also to previous endeavours to settle the matters in debate by negotiation. We have, however, thought it desirable to reserve for the present occasion a full and connected account (1) of those proceedings on the part of the British Government, British officials, and British subjects, which originally gave umbrage to the

THE "ALABAMA" SINKING AFTER THE FIGHT WITH THE "KEARSARGE."

Government and people of the United States; (2) of the representations and negotiations with reference to these proceedings which bear date earlier than 1871; (3) of the negotiation of 1871, and the treaty resulting from it; (4) of the final decision given by the tribunal of arbitration, constituted at Geneva in pursuance of that treaty.

I. The proceedings on the part of Great Britain which were complained of by the United States were of a threefold character. The original offence, and, perhaps, the greatest of all in American estimation, was the concession of belligerent rights by this country to the Confederate States, by the Queen's proclamation of the 14th May, 1861. The second class of grievances consisted of alleged breaches of neutrality, whereby Great Britain was said to have allowed her agents and private citizens to neglect the duties, and transgress the limits, which are prescribed by international law as binding upon neutrals, and distinctly set forth in most cases by British statute law or governmental regulation. The third class of grievances comprised an alleged general spirit of unfriendliness, frequently exhibiting itself in particular acts of harshness or discourtesy, a hostile animus—a disposition to deal strictly with Federal, and leniently with Confederate officers—by which the exhausting and almost superhuman efforts of the United States to preserve their national integrity were said to have been met by the agents and citizens of Great Britain. These complaints we shall consider *seriatim*, in the order in which we have named them.

1. With regard to the recognition of Southern belligerency, we must refer the reader to what we said on the subject in a previous chapter.* It is natural that the Northern Americans—looking at the strife between them and the Southern States solely from their own point of view; persuaded that all right was with them, and all wrong with their opponents; that truth, virtue, freedom,

* See Vol. viii. p. 525.

and the progress of the species were bound up with their success, and would collapse or be eclipsed on their failure—should be both grieved and indignant that Great Britain, declining to look at the Southern States through their coloured glasses, should see in them only a large and civilised population, organised both for war and peace, which appeared determined, according to all the evidence that was obtainable, to suffer any extremity rather than submit to re-union to the Federal system of the Union, from which it had *de facto* seceded. Judging the quarrel from American principles only, we could not see how, if the South in the "pursuit of happiness"* considered secession to be necessary to its welfare, the North could consistently hold them guilty of a heinous crime. To come to the actual date and circumstances of the recognition complained of, Mr. Lincoln, then President of the United States, had issued a proclamation on the 19th April, 1861 (nearly a month before the publication of the British proclamation of neutrality), declaring that he had thought it desirable to set on foot a blockade of the ports within the states which had seceded "in pursuance of the laws of the United States *and of the Law of Nations in such case provided.*" The words printed in italics are enough of themselves to prove that the Government of the United States did in fact recognise the Confederate States as a belligerent Power before a similar recognition was made by Great Britain. For the "Law of Nations" regulating blockades is solely applicable to cases of belligerency; when Mr. Lincoln appealed, therefore, to that law, he did what was equivalent to conceding belligerent rights. A decision pronounced on the 17th June, 1861, by the Judge of the District Court for the United States for the district of Columbia, bears out this view. After reciting the various acts and menaces alleged by the President, in justification of his calling out 75,000 militia, and laying the Southern ports under a blockade, the decision proceeds: "These facts, so set forth by the President, with the assertion of the right of blockade, amount to a declaration that civil war exists. *Blockade itself is a belligerent right*, and can only legally have place in a state of war; and the notorious fact that immense armies in our immediate view are in hostile array against each other in the Federal and Confederate States, the latter having organised a Government, and elected officers to administer it, attests the executive declaration that civil war exists; a sad war, which, if it must go on, can only be governed by the laws of war, and its evils mitigated by the principles of clemency engrafted upon the war code by the civilisation of modern times."† In a debate in the House of Lords, in the course of the session of 1868, Lord Cairns justly said that the United States had recognised the Southern States as belligerents long before England did; and that if they denied this, and would not admit the existence of a state of war, then England had heavy claims against them for seizing and condemning English ships for attempting to break the blockade, such seizure being only justified by the fact of war. The question is indeed not worth arguing in fuller detail. We may feel certain that the judgment of posterity will decide that the conduct of England in regard to the recognition of Southern belligerency was both equitable and considerate; and that our Northern friends, when time has calmed the susceptibilities which the war aroused, will themselves acquit us of blame.

In the award published by the Geneva tribunal there is not one word tending to show that the arbitrators were of opinion, much as the unfriendly character of the proclamation referred to was insisted on in the "case" submitted by the United States, that in this respect Great Britain had departed in the slightest degree from the obligations of a strict and impartial neutrality.

2. We must now examine those proceedings, on the part of British subjects, or agents of the British Government, occurring during the continuance of the civil war, which were complained of by the United States as constituting breaches or abuses of British neutrality. But a useful distinction may here be drawn. Out of a long list of vessels, said to have been built or adapted for warlike purposes in some British port, and issuing from thence to have made havoc of American commerce, there were but three—the *Florida*, the *Alabama*, and the *Shenandoah*—in regard to which Great Britain was adjudged by the Geneva tribunal of arbitration to have failed to discharge the duties of a neutral Power. For the depredations of four other vessels* the tribunal does indeed hold Great Britain responsible; but it is not because any one in this country had any concern whatever in their building or equipment, but because they were employed as tenders to the *Alabama* and *Florida*; and on the principle that "*Qui facit per alium, facit per se*," the acts of the tenders must be ascribed to and estimated in connection with the acts of their principals. As to the *Georgia*, *Sumter*, *Nashville*, *Chickamauga*, *Tallahassee*, and *Retribution*, the proceedings and history of which had furnished the managers of the American case with abundant materials for impugning the fairness of the British Government, the Geneva tribunal found (in most cases by a large, and in the rest by a narrow majority) that England was free from all blame respecting them. Keeping this distinction in view, we propose to narrate in some detail the cases of the vessels in respect to which the adverse award of the tribunal was pronounced, but to dismiss the rest with the briefest possible notice.

Of the circumstances attending the building of the *Alabama* at Birkenhead, and her escape from the port of Liverpool, we have already given an account, to which we refer the reader. That the bungling and dilatoriness of the Government officials on that occasion, in permitting the *Alabama* to escape,† or not seizing her while she lay off the Welsh coast, furnished the United States with a good and valid claim to an indemnity for the devastation which she afterwards committed upon their

* See Vol. [illegible] page [illegible].

† See Professor Bernard's "History of British Neutrality," p. 98.

* The *Tuscaloosa*, tender to the *Alabama*, and the *Clarence*, *Tacony*, and *Archer*, tenders to the *Florida*.

† See page 15.

mercantile marine, no fair and reasonable inquirer will dispute. The British arbitrator at Geneva, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, himself admitted the liability of Great Britain for having permitted the escape of the *Alabama*, though it was upon somewhat different grounds, and to a more limited extent, than appeared right to his brother arbitrators.

The next case to which our attention is directed is that of the *Florida*. The framer of the American "Case," for submission to the arbitrators, has related the history of this vessel with considerable heat and asperity, not, we must own, without much reason. For although, in the counter-statements put forth on behalf of Great Britain, certain errors and exaggerations on minor points were brought home to the American case, yet, in its broad outlines, their statement remained unshaken; and the infractions of our neutrality thus established were, it cannot be denied, gross and indefensible.

The *Florida*, originally known as the *Oreto*, was an iron screw gun-boat of about 700 tons burden, three-masted, and barque-rigged. She was built by the firm of Miller and Sons, Liverpool, to the order of Messrs. Fawcett, Preston, and Co., also of Liverpool. It is stated in the American case that the contract for her construction was made with the Messrs. Fawcett by Captain Bullock, a Confederate agent, late an officer in the United States navy, who was introduced to them by a Mr. Prioleau, well known in Liverpool as a member of the firm of Fraser, Trenholm, and Co., the financial connection of which with the Confederate Government was notorious. All this is very likely to be true, and, if true, it seriously implicates the Messrs. Fawcett in the offence of levying private war against a friendly nation, with which the state to which they belonged was at peace. But these facts were evidently unknown to the British Government at the time, nor were there any obvious means by which they should have attained to the knowledge of them. The vessel was being built by one firm, and to the order of another, neither of which bore names that would naturally awaken suspicion, since neither was connected with Confederate trade and adventure. But the vigilance of the American Consul at Liverpool, Mr. Dudley, was not easily to be cheated, and hints as to the character of the *Oreto*, and her supposed warlike destination, reached his ears. It was given out that she was being built for the Italian Government; but when Mr. Dudley questioned the Italian Consul as to this, the latter replied that he knew nothing about her; and this was confirmed when the matter was referred to the Italian Government. Mr. Dudley then, in February, 1862, wrote to Mr. Adams, the American Minister, a full statement of what he knew and what he suspected. Mr. Adams immediately wrote to Earl Russell, then our Foreign Minister, urgently requesting him to inquire into the character of the vessel, and prevent her from leaving Liverpool, should Mr. Dudley's suspicion that she was intended for a Confederate cruiser be confirmed. Lord Russell referred the matter promptly to the Treasury, by which it was placed in the hands of the Commissioners of Customs. The commissioners reported (February 22) that they had caused an inquiry to be made, and found that the *Oreto* was pierced for four guns, though at present she had nothing in her but coals and ballast. They added, "She is not at present fitted for the reception of guns." It seems to have been a mistake to make such an inquiry through the Board of Customs, and not through the Admiralty, one main point to be decided being whether the vessel was built for the purposes of war or not; for the experienced eye of a naval captain would—as is proved by the statement of Captain Hickley, presently to be noticed—at once have perceived that she was in every point of her construction like a British gun-boat. It was further stated by the Commissioners of Customs that the *Oreto* was owned, they found, by Messrs. Thomas, Brothers, of Palermo, and that their collector at Liverpool informed them that "he had every reason to believe that the vessel was for the Italian Government." This array of testimony, as the result proved, was completely delusive; and since, after all, the *Oreto was* intended for the Confederate service, it is difficult to understand why the Board of Customs could not, by the exercise of a little more zeal and intelligence, have made out as much or more about her than had been ascertained by Mr. Dudley. However, Lord Russell could not but be guided in the matter by the result of the official inquiries which he had ordered; and the *Oreto* was, consequently, allowed (March 22) to leave Liverpool, clearing for Palermo and Jamaica in ballast.

So far, although the English officials may perhaps be chargeable with slight errors of judgment, no want of that "due diligence" which, according to the Treaty of Washington, a neutral Power is bound to exercise can fairly be imputed to the British Government.

About the same time that the *Oreto* took her departure from Liverpool, a steamer named the *Bahama*, laden with the guns, shells, and other military stores that were to form the warlike equipment of the new cruiser, cleared at Hartlepool for Nassau. The *Oreto*, which now that she has got fairly to sea we may call by her true name of the *Florida*, arrived at Nassau, the chief town of the colony of New Providence, one of the Bahama islands, on the 28th April. The *Bahama* had come into port a few days before her. Both vessels then went down to a place called Cochrane's Anchorage, about fifteen miles from Nassau, and remained there several weeks, during which time their proceedings seem to have been so closely watched by the commanding naval officer on the station, that little or no progress could be made in arming the *Florida*. The proceedings of the Governor of the colony were indicative of vacillation. On the one hand, the whole civil population of Nassau, including even the Attorney-General of the colony, were warmly attached to the cause of the Confederates; on the other hand, the British naval officers kept urging the Governor to execute his instructions strictly, and not allow British neutrality or hospitality to be abused. Under these opposing pressures, the Governor first, on the 7th June, caused the *Florida* and *Bahama* to be arrested and brought up to Nassau; a day or two afterwards he released them.

Again, on the 16th and 17th June, first on the representation of some of the sailors of the *Florida*, who complained that they were being embarked on a different destination from that which they had shipped for, and afterwards by the renewed orders of the Governor, Captain Hickley, of H.M.S. *Greyhound*, arrested the *Florida*. A few days before this, Captain Hickley had thought it his duty to examine the vessel, and his report on her condition, dated 13th June, 1862, is so remarkable that we must extract a portion of it.

He reported: "That the *Oreto* is in every respect fitted as a man-of-war, on the principle of the despatch gun-vessels in Her Majesty's Naval Service.

"That she has a crew of fifty men, and is capable of carrying two pivot-guns amidships and four broadside both forward and aft, the ports being made to ship and unship, port bars, breeching, side-tackle, bolts, &c.

"That she has shell-rooms, a magazine and light-rooms, and 'handing-scuttles' for handing powder out of the magazine, as fitted in the naval service, and shot-boxes for Armstrong shot, or shot similar to them. Round the upper deck she has five boats, . . . her accommodation being in no respect different from her similar class of vessel in the Royal Naval Service.

"And on my asking the captain of the *Oreto*, before my own officers and three of his own, whether she had left Liverpool fitted in all respects as she was at present, his answer was, 'Yes, in all respects,' and 'that no addition or alteration had been made whatever.'"*

The Governor laid this report before the Attorney-General of the colony, and was advised by him that it did not furnish sufficient data for arresting the vessel and libelling her in the Vice-Admiralty Court of the colony for a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act. This is a curious instance of the technicalities of law defeating the ends of justice. The ground of the Attorney-General's opinion seems to have been that, whatever had taken place in England, there was no evidence of the vessel having been armed or equipped for warlike purposes against a nation friendly to Great Britain *within the limits of the colony*. The equipment for war had taken place in England, but till the vessel left Liverpool there could be no clear proof that she was destined to cruise against the United States, and not, as the builders stated, for consignment to a Palermo firm. Now, the vessel was at Nassau, never having touched at Palermo, and it was as plain as daylight that her warlike equipment had been intended all along to fit her for a Confederate cruiser; yet, because that equipment had taken place in England, the justice of the colony shut its eyes, and declared itself powerless. It is impossible not to be reminded of the fable of the two rogues who had stolen the honest man's purse, and how, when taxed with the theft, one of them swore that he had not taken it, and the other asseverated solemnly that he had not got it.

Within a few days, however, the Governor again changed his mind, and, yielding to the representations of Captain Hickley, directed that the *Florida* should be seized, and that her owners should be prosecuted for a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The trial was commenced on the 4th July, and lasted a considerable time. "On the 2nd August . . . . the Judge of the Court decreed the release of the ship, on the ground that no proof had been given of any violation of the Act within the limits of his jurisdiction, and no evidence produced connecting her with the Confederate Government."* Such a decision could not obviously be satisfactory to the American Government. It was now glaringly evident that the *Florida* had been built at Liverpool as a Confederate cruiser. That of itself was an abuse of British neutrality; and if she was now allowed to pass out of British jurisdiction, Great Britain would be clearly wanting in the discharge of international duty. If the judicial authority of the colony could do nothing for want of legal proof, the executive of the colony had it in its power to step in, and detain the vessel till her assumed character of a lawful and pacific trader was established. This, however, seems never to have occurred to Governor Bailey, who acted as if the sentence of the Court relieved him of all responsibility in the matter.

A few days after her release, the *Florida*, accompanied by the schooner *Prince Alfred*, which had taken on board from the quay at Nassau the guns and ammunition which the *Bahama* had put on shore, went down to a remote islet of the Bahama group, called Green Cay, and in a very short time transferred to herself the armament with which the schooner was loaded. Thus equipped, she went forth, "to burn, sink, and destroy" the Federal shipping. The transfer of the armament at Green Cay was a manifest breach of British neutrality; but the secrecy observed, and the remoteness of the desolate islet where it occurred, probably made it impossible for the colonial authorities to prevent it. From Green Cay the *Florida* steamed for Cardenas in Cuba, hoping to pick up a crew there; but she was warned off by the Spanish authorities. Then she boldly steered for Mobile, and, running the gauntlet of the blockading squadron, succeeded, though not without receiving considerable injuries from the fire of the Federal ships, in entering the harbour. This was on the 4th September, 1862. On the 26th January, 1863, she was again at Nassau, entering the harbour in the early morning without permission. She sailed again about noon on the 28th, having been allowed to take on board a large supply of coal. "Three months' supply," says the American case, but refutes itself by other facts which it relates. Direct evidence was given by one of the men engaged in coaling her, that the *Florida* on this occasion received not less than 180 tons. On the other

* Professor Bernard, p. 350.

hand, British naval officers, who surveyed the *Florida* at Bermuda in 1864, reported her coal-carrying capacity as not exceeding 135 tons. At any rate, it is undisputed that she took on board at least 130 tons, and a serious blot on the equity of our neutrality was thus incurred. To show this, it is necessary to refer to the Government Regulations of the 31st January, 1862.

In a letter of that date addressed to the Admiralty, Earl Russell laid down precise instructions which all British officials were to observe in dealing with belligerent ships in British ports. The general object of the Government was "to prevent, as far as possible, the use of Her Majesty's harbours, ports, and coasts, and the waters within Her Majesty's territorial jurisdiction, in aid of the warlike purposes of either belligerent;" and among other regulations directed to this end were the following: "If any ship of war or privateer of either belligerent shall, after the time when this order shall be first notified and put in force, . . . enter any port, roadstead, or waters belonging to Her Majesty, ... such vessel shall be required to depart and to put to sea within twenty-four hours after her entrance into such port, roadstead, or waters, except in case of stress of weather, or of her requiring provisions or things necessary for the subsistence of her crew or repairs:" and again—"No ship of war or privateer of either belligerent shall hereafter be permitted, while in any port, &c., to take in any supplies, except provisions and such other things as may be requisite for the subsistence of her crew; and except so much coal only as may be sufficient to carry such vessel to the nearest port of her own country, or to some nearer destination; and no coal shall be again supplied to any such ship of war or privateer, in the same or any other port, &c., without special permission, until after the expiration of three months from the time when such coal may have been last supplied to her within British waters as aforesaid."

In the American case the British authorities at Nassau are charged with default as to both these regulations. It is asserted that the *Florida*, after entering the harbour early on the morning of the 26th January, 1863, was allowed to remain there thirty-six hours. But this is inconsistent with the statement of the American Consul at Nassau, who says that the *Florida* left the harbour "about noon" on the 27th January. Governor Bailey distinctly states that the vessel was allowed to remain twenty-six hours only, an excess above the prescribed period which is not worth disputing about. But with regard to the coal the matter stands differently. Nassau is distant at the most three days' voyage for a fast steamer, such as was the *Florida*, from the ports of Charleston or Savannah, and the supply of coal to enable her to reach either of those ports ought not certainly, under the Regulations of the 31st January, to have exceeded forty tons. We have seen that more than three times, perhaps more than four times, that amount of coal was in fact supplied to her. In palliation of this deviation from the rule, it has been urged that, the Confederate ports being strictly blockaded, a Confederate cruiser ought not to have been expected to steer straight for the nearest port, without regard to the risk she ran in doing so, but that a latitude of interpretation might properly be adopted, under which so much coal as had been supplied as would enable a vessel so circumstanced to keep the sea for several days. Such reasoning is clearly inadmissible. It was no business of ours to equalise the conditions of warfare between the Federals and Confederates, or to abate by our one-sided action a disadvantage which the former naturally counted on as one of the elements of their ultimate success. The duty of all British officials was simply to adhere to the Regulations as strictly as possible. To allow the *Florida* to take in a large quantity of coal at Nassau, by means of which she was enabled to make an extended cruise, harassing and destroying American shipping all the time, was indubitably to permit her to make the British colony a base of hostile operations against the United States.

Before the end of February, the *Florida*, having met with heavy weather which compelled her to use up her stock of coal more quickly than she had intended, entered the port of Barbadoes and there obtained a supply of ninety tons. The quantity was not excessive, for it was not more than enough to enable her to reach the nearest Confederate port. But (saving under extraordinary circumstances, which do not appear to have existed in this case) the permission to coal at one British colony within one month of her having coaled at another was a manifest breach of the Regulations. The Governor seems to have been under the impression that in allowing the *Florida* to coal, he "did no more than what he had sanctioned in the case of the United States steamer of war *San Jacinto*." And the law officers of the Crown in England (Sir William Atherton, Sir Roundell Palmer, and Sir Robert Phillimore), while stating that in their opinion "the letter and spirit of Her Majesty's Regulations had not been adhered to with sufficient strictness in either of the cases mentioned," exonerate the Governor from blame on the ground that, as the *San Jacinto* had been dealt with in the same way, he had shown no undue partiality in favour of the *Florida*. Unfortunately, the notion that the Regulations had been relaxed for the *San Jacinto* turned out to be a complete delusion. She received a small supply of coal at Barbadoes, shortly before the arrival of the *Florida*, but had not previously taken in any at any British port. The clear breach of rule committed in the case of the *Florida* remained, therefore, unbalanced by any compensating irregularity sanctioned in favour of the Federals.

Leaving Barbadoes on the 26th February, the *Florida* entered on a career of systematic destruction. The names of fourteen American ships captured or destroyed by her within a short time are given in the case of the United States. An intercepted letter from her commander, Captain Maffitt, to Bullock, dated April 25th, 1863, says, "The *Florida* has thus far done her duty. *Six million dollars will not make good the devastation this steamer has committed.*"

The remaining proceedings of the *Florida*, though they form the ground of abundant carping and exception in the American case, do not appear to have involved any

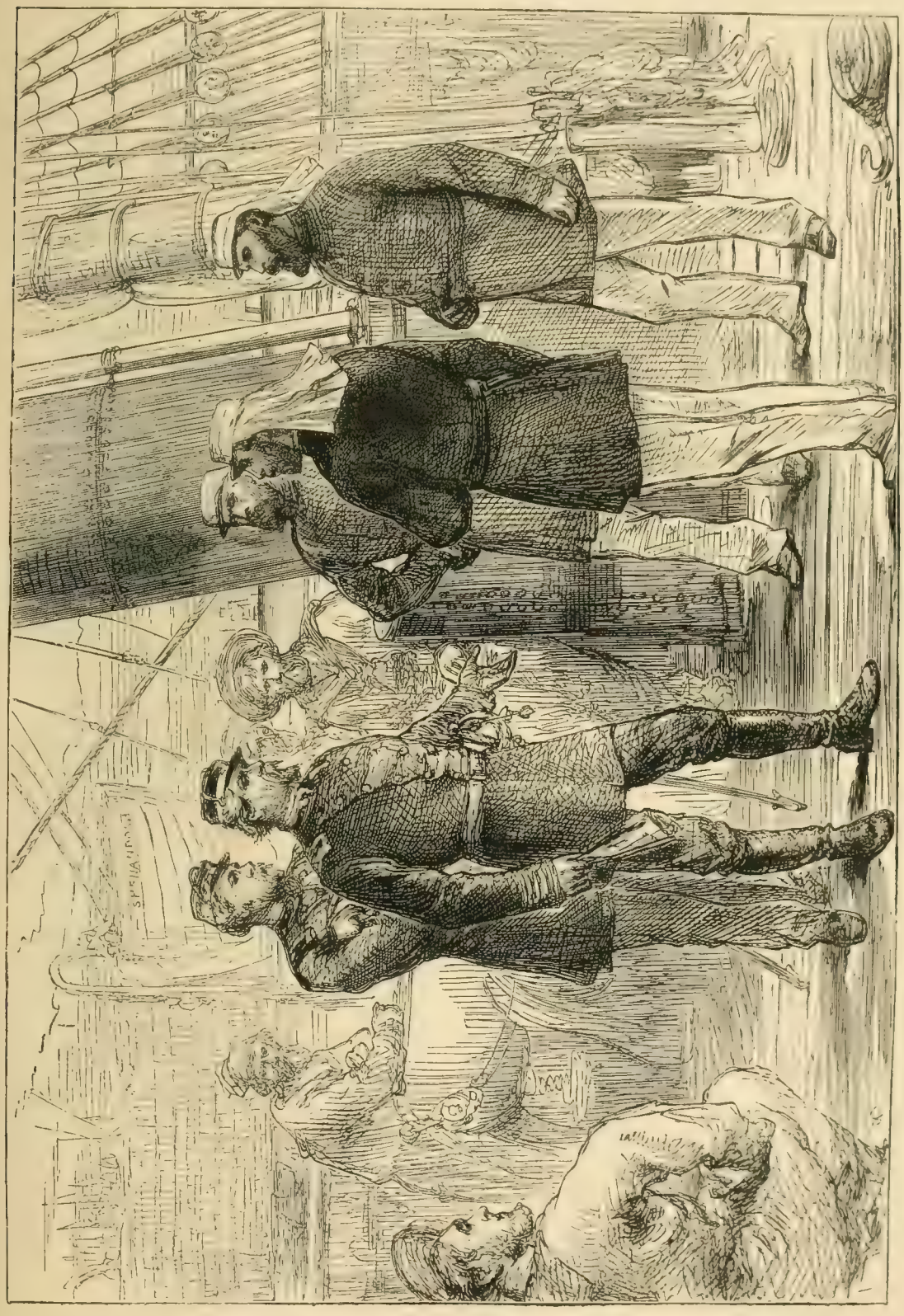
fresh breach of neutrality on the part of Great Britain. Her tenders, the *Clarence*, *Tacony*, and *Archer*, were Federal merchantmen, successively utilised and destroyed (except the *Archer*) as a more eligible and fast-sailing prize was captured. The career of the *Florida* was terminated at Bahia, in the manner that we have already related,* on the 7th October, 1864.

The third vessel, in respect of the building or equipment of which the tribunal adjudged Great Britain to be chargeable with a want of "due diligence," is the *Shenandoah*. But the default was expressly limited to what took place at Melbourne in 1865; for her departure from England and transformation into a cruiser the tribunal declined to hold Great Britain responsible. This part of her history may therefore be dispatched in a few words. The *Shenandoah* was originally the British steamer *Sea King*, and had been long employed in the East India trade. She was a large and fine vessel, and appears to have been pitched upon by the agents of the Confederate Government at Liverpool as exactly suited for their purpose. She was accordingly purchased by one Richard Wright, who, it seems,† was the father-in-law of the managing partner in the firm of Fraser, Trenholm, and Co., whose connection with the Confederate cause has been already referred to. On the 8th October, 1864, the *Sea King*, under the command of a Captain Corbett, and with a British crew on board, cleared from Liverpool. At the same time the British steamer *Laurel*, having the armament designed for the *Sea King* on board, cleared from Liverpool for Matamoras. She took out also some twenty natives of the Confederate States, and among them several who had served as officers on board the *Alabama*, before her destruction by the *Kearsarge*. The *Sea King* and the *Laurel* met at Funchal, in Madeira, and about the 21st October the transfer of the armament was effected off the rocky islet of Desertas, within Portuguese jurisdiction. Captain Corbett then announced to the crew that the ship had been sold, and was now in the service of the Confederate Government. Lieutenant Waddell, formerly an officer of the American navy, who had come out in the *Laurel*, hoisted his flag on board the *Sea King*, which was henceforward to be known as the *Shenandoah*. Great inducements were held out to the crew to re-enlist in the new service, but only five out of a crew of forty-seven, besides a few men from the *Laurel*, consented to do so. So far, though the neutrality of Great Britain had been shamefully abused by the acts of the British subjects who were instrumental in concerting the meeting of the *Laurel* and *Sea King* at Madeira, for the purpose of equipping the latter for war against the United States, it seems impossible to bring home a charge of negligence, or breach of regulation, to any British official.

VIEW OF NASSAU.

The *Shenandoah* then sailed on a cruise, which lasted

* See p. 101. † American Case, p. 416.



THE MELBOURNE POLICE ON BOARD THE "SHENANDOAH."

about ninety days, and after capturing and destroying several valuable American merchantmen, she arrived in Hobson's Bay, and dropped anchor off Sandridge, two miles from Melbourne, on the evening of the 25th January, 1865. The captain immediately sent a messenger on shore to convey a request to the Governor, Sir Charles Darling, that the *Shenandoah* might make some necessary repairs, and obtain a supply of coals. The Governor held an executive council on the following day to consider the request. The Acts and Regulations bearing on the subject of the maintenance of British neutrality and the treatment of men-of-war in the service of a belligerent Power were sought out, and carefully considered; and a well-weighed answer was returned to the application of the Confederate commander. And here we will say at once, that it is impossible for any unprejudiced person, who carefully studies by means of the original documents printed in the British case the narrative of the stay of the *Shenandoah* at Melbourne, to come to any other conclusion than that the colonial authorities, from the Governor down to the superintendent of police, were animated by an honest and genuine desire to fulfil all that international duty prescribed, and abstain from and repress all that it forbade. From this conviction it will be difficult not to proceed a step farther, and to adopt the belief, not only that the illiberal insinuations and malicious imputations with which the American narrative of what befell the *Shenandoah* at Melbourne is interspersed are entirely unfounded, but also that the minority of the arbitrators, which acquitted Great Britain of a want of due diligence in regard to the *Shenandoah*, *after*, not less than before, her arrival at Melbourne, took the most rational and equitable view of the facts. To make this clear to the reader it will be necessary to relate the circumstances in some detail.

It was decided at the executive council, held on the 26th January, to consider the application of the commander of the *Shenandoah*, that Lieutenant Waddell should be told to state in writing the nature and extent of the repairs which his ship required, and also that he would be permitted to take on board provisions and other stores required for the subsistence of his crew, but not beyond what might be necessary for immediate use. The time that the ship would be allowed to remain would be fixed by the Colonial Government as soon as they received Lieutenant Waddell's answer to the inquiry about the repairs.

The United States Consul wrote to the Governor on the 28th January, tendering evidence of the identity of the *Shenandoah* with the *Sea King*, and arguing that since she had not entered a Confederate port since leaving England, she could have obtained no new "naturalisation," that her original British registration remained consequently in force, and that she was not entitled to any of the rights accorded by international law to the ships of a belligerent. Even in the case of men, it seems hardly rational to maintain that they cannot legally change their nationality without touching the soil of the country to which they wish to transfer their allegiance; but to propound such a doctrine concerning ships borders surely on the absurd! The Governor consulted the law officers, guided by whose opinion he informed the Consul that the Victorian Government considered that the *Shenandoah* could be regarded in no other light than as a vessel of war of the Confederate navy, and that she would be so treated. On this point a long and animated correspondence arose between the British and American Governments after the close of the war, the latter maintaining that the *Shenandoah* had acquired no new nationality since leaving England, the former holding that by international law and right reason the sale and transfer of the vessel effected or announced at Madeira constituted a valid change of ownership, and altered her nationality. But this is too intricate a question to be discussed here.

Lieutenant Waddell engaged a firm of iron-founders, the Messrs. Langlands, to examine the machinery connected with the ship's screw-propeller. The matter was not accomplished with the same expedition that would have been possible in New York or London, and the American case makes the most of, and puts the worst construction on, this comparative tardiness. But when it is considered that the colony of Victoria, though its material and civil progress had been doubtless extraordinary, was at that time just thirty years old, it cannot be deemed a subject of complaint that everything did not proceed with the swiftness and facility that characterise an old community. On the 30th January, Messrs. Langlands reported that in order that the extent of the damage to the screw machinery might be fully ascertained, the vessel must be placed on the slip, and that the necessary repairs could not, in their opinion, be effected in less than ten days from that date. This brings us to the 9th February. Now, if the Government had been content to accept the report of the persons employed by the Confederate commander as to the length of time required for the repairs, they might justly have been charged with laxity, and a want of due diligence; but they incurred no such reproach. On the 29th or 30th January, the Government appointed a board of three officers, of whom one was the Government engineer, to visit and inspect the ship, so that they might obtain an independent professional opinion as to her condition. This board, after visiting the *Shenandoah*, reported on the 1st February that she was not in a fit state to go to sea as a steamship, and must be placed upon the slip, that the exact nature of the repairs needed might be ascertained. The framer of the American case omits all mention of this board, and so words his narrative as to convey the impression that the Governor took Lieutenant Waddell's bare word about the repairs, and the time required for them, and conceded to him all that he asked.

After having received the report of the board, which in effect confirmed that of the Messrs. Langlands, the Governor granted to Lieutenant Waddell permission to stay in the port for the number of days required for the completion of the repairs necessary to enable the vessel to put to sea as a steamship. The case of the United States represents that this was an excess of hospitality; that the *Shenandoah* could use her sails, and, as a sailing

vessel, was perfectly seaworthy; that she ought, therefore, to have been required to put to sea at once, and not allowed to put her screw in repair, so as to be able, when she got among the American whalers in the Arctic Sea, to steam about and destroy them one after another. How the Victorian Government was to dive into futurity, and forecast the movements of the *Shenandoah* after she left Port Phillip, is not suggested. That the commander of a vessel like the *Shenandoah, full-rigged, but notoriously short-handed,* should have desired to put his auxiliary steam power into working order, must have seemed the most natural thing in the world to the Melbourne authorities; and the notion that by allowing it they were laying themselves open to an accusation of breach of neutrality never, in all probability, crossed their minds. The United States themselves admit (Case, p. 421) that the scantiness of her crew, after parting with the *Laurel*, obliged the *Shenandoah* "to depend upon her auxiliary engine."

Orders were given by the Governor on the 3rd February to the Customs and Police departments to keep a vigilant watch on all that went on in and around the *Shenandoah*, while refraining from anything that was offensive or needlessly obtrusive, and to send in daily reports to the Government. These orders were punctually obeyed. From the reports furnished it may be gathered that the *Shenandoah*, being a large ship and deep in the water, had to be lightened before she could be taken on to the slip; that for this purpose she ranged alongside the railway pier at Sandridge to discharge on it a portion of her coals and stores; that, heavy weather coming on, she broke away from her moorings, and was obliged to anchor in the middle of the channel (which is here two miles and a half wide); and that, the process of lightening being thus delayed, it was only on the 7th or 8th February that she could be hauled on the slip. On all these material points the framer of the American case—let us hope because he was ignorant of them—is silent.

A fresh difficulty arose for the Colonial Government on the 10th instant. The *Shenandoah*, as we have seen, was short-handed; and there is some evidence which points to a diminution of her complement, already far too scanty, by desertion, subsequent to her arrival at Melbourne. That Lieutenant Waddell was desirous of enlisting men from shore—without breaking our neutrality more than he could help, but any way of enlisting them—is beyond a doubt. He is said to have expressed a preference for foreigners. British subjects he did not want, at any rate while he lay off Sandridge. But his subsequent conduct precludes us from believing that his scruples about infringing our neutrality were more than skin-deep. Confederate agents were busy among the low purlieus and sailor-haunted quarters of Melbourne, and their machinations reached the vigilant ears of the United States Consul. That gentleman, on the day just named, sent in to the Government the affidavit of a prisoner who had made his escape from the *Shenandoah*, to the effect that fifteen or twenty men, most of whom he named, had joined the ship since she came in, and were concealed on board. This was a serious matter, and the Government appear to have behaved with becoming promptitude. To engage or procure the engagement of any person as a sailor in sea-service under the flag of a belligerent Power, while Great Britain is at peace, is a distinct offence against the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, and is punishable as a misdemeanour. A Williamstown magistrate granted a warrant for the apprehension of one of the persons mentioned in the affidavit, whose name was James Davidson, but who was commonly called "Charlie." The framer of the American case sneers at the authorities (p. 431) for "proceeding against Charlie only," and "carefully letting alone Captain Waddell and his officers, who had been violating Her Majesty's proclamation and the laws of the Empire." It should be known that British authorities can only act according to law, and that while the law made it possible to issue a warrant against Charlie, who was sworn to have committed an illegal offence, the law could have no hold on Lieutenant Waddell, against whom mere rumour and suspicion were all that could be alleged. Even, however, if he had violated our municipal law, he would not, we believe, have been liable to arrest, for the captain of a man-of-war, at any rate on board his own ship, bears a public character, and cannot be arrested without disparagement to the dignity of the Power which he represents.

The superintendent of police, armed with the warrant for the apprehension of Davidson, went on board the *Shenandoah*. On the first occasion the captain was on shore, and the officer in charge said that in his absence he could not allow the ship to be searched. The next day (February 14) the superintendent again visited the ship, and informed Lieutenant Waddell of the object of his mission. Waddell declared that he had no such person on board. He added, "I pledge you my word of honour as an officer and a gentleman, that I have not any one on board, nor have I engaged any one, nor will I while I am here." The superintendent still requested permission to search the ship, but this the commander would not permit. He said that he dared not do it; that it was as much as his commission was worth; and that such a thing would not be permitted on board a man-of-war belonging to any Power.

The superintendent returned to Melbourne and reported to the Government the result of his visit. An executive council was immediately held to consider the state of things. Some thought the claim to execute the warrant should be enforced with all the power of the Government; others (and their opinion was afterwards confirmed by that of the highest legal authorities in England) doubted whether the enforcement of a search was permissible according to international law. A middle course, and as it would seem, a sound and discreet course, was adopted. The commander of the *Shenandoah* was requested to reconsider the determination which he had expressed not to suffer the warrant to be executed, and was informed that, meantime, the permission to receive supplies, and to have repairs executed, was suspended. The Governor, by proclamation, forbade all Her

Majesty's subjects to have anything to do with the supplies or repairs required on the *Shenandoah* from that time forward. Superintendent Lyttleton, the same officer who had boarded the vessel with the search-warrant, crossed with a party of police to Williamstown, where the slip was on which the *Shenandoah* had been raised, cleared the yard, took possession of the slip, and sent away the mechanics who were at work on the ship's stern-post. These proceedings do not look like the acts of a Government that was negligent about causing British neutrality to be respected.

Lieutenant Waddell replied the same day (February 14) to the letter of the Collector of Customs requesting him to reconsider his refusal to let the warrant be executed. In this letter he pointed out forcibly enough that "the deck of a ship of war represented the majesty of the country whose flag she bore," and was therefore exempt from the ordinary operation of law in any country where she might be temporarily remaining. He reiterated, however, his declarations that all strangers had been sent out of the ship, and stated that two of his officers, who had been ordered to institute a search, had reported to him that they could find no one on board except those who entered the port as part of the crew.

But the commander and his officers were both mistaken. We say mistaken, because the evidence does not seem to us to justify the assumption, which is freely made about his own countrymen by the framer of the American case, that they were guilty of duplicity and falsehood. About ten o'clock that same night the police in charge of the slip saw a boat put off from the *Shenandoah*; they pursued and overtook it. In this boat were four men, who were all detained in custody. One turned out to be an American, and was before long released; of the other three one proved to be the identical "Charlie," for whose apprehension the warrant had been issued. On being questioned, the men said that they had been some days on board *unknown to the captain*, who had ordered them on shore as soon as he knew it. The American case mentions the arrest of the men, but does not give their story, leaving its readers, therefore, to conclude that Lieutenant Waddell had just before written to the Colonial Government an egregious and deliberate falsehood.

The three men were charged before a magistrate on the 16th February with a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and were committed for trial. When the trial came on, one of them, who was only fifteen years of age, was discharged by the presiding judge on account of his youth; the other two were convicted and sentenced to ten days' imprisonment. This fact again—one surely somewhat material in the inquiry whether the Victorian Government were negligent or diligent in regard to the duties of neutrality—is passed over in the American case.

On the 15th February, all repairs being now suspended, the lessee of the slip wrote to the Chief Secretary that the *Shenandoah* was in an unsafe position on the cradle, and that, if a gale of wind arose, he should either be compelled to launch her, or if she were kept on the slip, it would be with great risk both to the hull and machinery. This letter placed the Government in an embarrassing position. Some days before, on the 10th February, the board of officials who had inspected the ship on her first arrival had again visited her after she was hauled on to the slip, and reported that the repairs to her stern bush would requüre five clear working days from that date. Of course, for every day that the repairs were suspended, the necessary detention of the vessel in the port was prolonged. Again, although the commander of the *Shenandoah* had refused to give way in the matter of the warrant, yet the Government, doubting whether he might not be legally in the right, was not disposed to press hardly upon him on that score, especially as the statement of the arrested men, joined to Lieutenant Waddell's reiterated declarations, disposed them to believe that the British subjects who had joined the ship were now really out of her. And indeed, so far as appears, this was actually the case. On the whole the Government determined to remove the embargo which had been laid upon the vessel, and allow the repairs to be completed. A letter was written to Lieutenant Waddell to this effect, in reply to which he reiterated, in the most formal manner, his resolution to respect British neutrality, and also explained the apparently suspicious circumstances attending the departure of the four men from the vessel on the night of the 14th instant. This part of the story is so confusedly told in the American case, that no one could gather from it the exact order and connection of the events; nothing is clear about it except the animus of the writer.

Lieutenant Waddell had been required two or three times during his stay to specify the time at which he would be able to sail; in reply to the last of these communications he named the 19th February. But in fact everything was ready, and the *Shenandoah* left the port, on the morning of the 18th.

On the night between the 17th and 18th February, a gross fraud was committed upon our neutrality, and a flagrant violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act perpetrated by the reception on board the *Shenandoah*, to recruit her ship's complement, of a number of British subjects variously stated at from twenty to forty-five. With these on board the vessel sailed early on the morning of the 18th February. The only question is, whether the Victorian Government can be fairly held responsible for the occurrence. The tribunal of arbitration, or rather a majority of its members, deemed that it was responsible, and regulated its award accordingly. How a number of fair-minded, intelligent, and honourable men could arrive at such a conclusion with all the original documents before them, *supposing them fully to understand the bearing of those documents*, it is most difficult to understand.

If indeed the version given in the American case were a truthful one, the responsibility of the Melbourne Government would be clear enough. There it is stated that on the 17th February, the day before the *Shenandoah* sailed, the United States Consul "lodged with the Governor the affidavit of one Andrew Forbes," showing

that six persons whom he named, residents of Melbourne and British subjects, intended to join the *Shenandoah* outside. Had the Governor received this information, he would not have fulfilled his duty had he not employed all means within the reach of the executive power to prevent the infraction of the law, such as sending guard-boats to row round the *Shenandoah*, and prevent any persons from boarding her without permission, or dispatching a British ship of war to accompany her and watch her movements as far as the Heads. But the statement made in the American case is not true. The Consul made no communication to the Governor of the nature referred to till the 18th instant, after the *Shenandoah* had sailed, and when, of course, nothing could be done. What happened on the 17th was this: The Consul brought his witness, Forbes, to the Crown Solicitor about five o'clock in the afternoon, and said that he wished to lay an information. The Crown Solicitor, not being a magistrate, could not receive the information; the Consul then went to various authorities, all of whom seem to have shown a readiness to act, as far as the law permitted them. But he could not procure a warrant, the resident magistrate at Melbourne not thinking that the unsupported affidavit of Forbes was enough to justify him in granting one, and there not being time to procure other depositions. Perhaps the magistrate was wrong, but he certainly acted according to his best judgment. The point is a hard one to decide; but to arrest a man, not on suspicion of *having* committed, but only on suspicion of *intending* to commit, a misdemeanour, does not seem according to the spirit of English jurisprudence. No measures, emanating from the *judicial* authority, were therefore taken at the last moment to prevent British subjects from enlisting on board the *Shenandoah*; nor does the omission, when all the circumstances are fairly weighed, deserve to be branded as neglect. The *executive* power, acting, not under any pressure from the United States Consul (for he did not, as we have seen, communicate Forbes' affidavit to the Governor till after the *Shenandoah* had gone), but in consequence of information in the hands of the police, and the suspicions which Lieutenant Waddell's conduct in the matter of "Charlie" and his companions had justly awakened,—seems to have taken all the precautions which the limited means at its disposal permitted. No British ship of war was in the harbour, the captain of which might have been requested to keep the *Shenandoah* in sight, and watch well all her movements, till she was outside the Heads. The water police did what they could; all through the night of the 17th they kept a boat rowing guard between the ship and the shore. But the night was dark, and two or three boats full of men, watching their opportunity, contrived to put off from the Sandridge pier and to row, unseen, to the *Shenandoah*. If the author of the "Cruise of the *Shenandoah*" (quoted in the American case) is to be believed, the vessel obtained forty-five volunteers at Melbourne. The fact redounds to the disgrace of Lieutenant Waddell, who, after having received and profited by the hospitalities of the colony, and repeatedly promised to obey its laws, thus scandalously broke his plighted word; but that the Colonial Government was in any way to blame for the result, the documents in the case, examined in a fair spirit, justify us in emphatically denying.

The facts connected with the surreptitious conveyance of these volunteers on board the *Shenandoah* soon became known; and the Governor, finding that the neutrality of the British colony had been shamefully violated, wrote a circular letter to the Governors of the other Australian colonies and New Zealand acquainting them with all the circumstances of the case, in order that they might be on their guard should Lieutenant Waddell pay any of them a visit.

One more point must be noticed, on which the United States founded a charge of want of due diligence against the British Government. It is alleged in the American case that the *Shenandoah* when she arrived in Melbourne had four hundred tons still remaining of the coal which she had shipped in London,* and that nevertheless she was allowed to ship three hundred tons more, and thus enabled her to keep the seas for almost an indefinite period, destroying everything American that came across her path. It seems (see British Counter Case, p. 99) that permission was given to ship two hundred and fifty tons of coal, on the ground that during the voyage out "she had expended a considerable portion of her original supply." This being so, it appears probable, either that the stock of coal remaining on board when the *Shenandoah* entered Hobson's Bay was much less than the American case (which quotes no authority for its statement) represents it to have been, or that, if that estimate be correct, the fact of her having so large a supply did not come to the knowledge of the colonial authorities. Two hundred and fifty tons was by no means an extravagant supply, for the purpose of enabling the *Shenandoah* to steam to the nearest Confederate port, and it is abundantly evident that the Victorian Government designed her commander no favour in allowing him to ship thus much, but were honestly bent upon complying in all things with the British Regulations.

"It is difficult under the circumstances," writes the framer of the American case, "to resist the conclusion that the repairs were dawdled along for the purpose of securing the recruits, *and that the authorities, to say the least, shut their eyes while this was going on.*" It is, however, urged by those who know from experience the high-minded and honourable tone that pervades the officials of an Australian colony, that this is a gratuitous aspersion which will be read with wonder.

After leaving Melbourne, the *Shenandoah* proceeded through the Pacific Ocean to the Arctic Seas, and there commenced a destructive cruise against American whalers. The American case charges her commander with having destroyed fifteen of these vessels after having been made fully aware of the surrender of Lee, and the consequent termination of the war. Lieutenant Waddell, however, in a letter addressed to Earl Russell in the autumn of the same year, after he had brought the ship to Liverpool,

* This, we find, is a misstatement. The author of the "Cruise of the *Shenandoah*" says that she had only one hundred tons of coal left on arriving at Melbourne.

declared that as soon as he knew upon trustworthy evidence that the resistance of the South was at an end, he discontinued all hostile operations, and sailed immediately for Europe. The *Shenandoah* arrived at Liverpool on the 6th November, 1865, and was given up by her commander to the British Government. The captain of a British man-of-war took charge of her, and shortly afterwards she was handed over, on their demand, to the United States Government. About these later transactions an unpleasant correspondence arose between the two Governments, on which, as it had no bearing on the

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final settlement of the points at issue, we need not comment.

The claims advanced by the United States against this country in respect of depredations committed by the *Sumter*, the *Georgia*, the *Nashville*, the *Chickamauga*, the *Tallahassee*, and the *Retribution*, having been disallowed by the tribunal of arbitration, need not detain us long. The *Sumter* was not British built; she escaped from the passes of the Mississippi on the 30th June, 1861, and in the following month visited Trinidad and remained there six days. But this was no infringement of rule at that time, for the regulations under which the ships-of-war of the belligerents were not allowed to stay more than twenty-four hours in a British port were not promulgated till the following January. The commander of the *Sumter* was Captain Semmes, whose name was afterwards widely known in connection with the *Alabama*.

In November, 1861, the *Sumter* put into Martinique, and was blockaded there for some time by the United States sloop-of-war *Iroquois*, which, however, she at last cleverly evaded, and put safely to sea. In January, 1862, she came to Gibraltar, and here her career as a ship-of-war was closed. Two United States cruisers kept watch and ward over all her movements with sleepless vigilance; and no merchant, such was the influence of the American Consul at the port, would consent to supply her with coal. She was therefore paid off in April, and lay in harbour till December, 1862, when she was offered for sale by public auction. She was bought by a British merchant and brought to Liverpool. Afterwards she is said, in the United States case, to have been re-named the *Gibraltar*, and to have done duty as an "insurgent transport," which seems to be American for "blockade-runner." She is believed* to have been wrecked at last in attempting to enter Charleston. From the time when she entered the harbour of Gibraltar she never appeared at sea as an armed ship, nor was employed to commit acts of hostility against the United States or their citizens.

The *Georgia*, originally the *Japan*, is said, in the American case, to have been built in the Clyde expressly for the Confederate service; and it is probable that such was really the case. There was, however, nothing about her framing or fittings different from what is seen every

* See British Case, p. 19.

day in merchant steamers. A crew was engaged for her in Liverpool, and sent down to board her in Greenock; she sailed from the Clyde at the beginning of April, 1863. Making for the French coast, she was met off Morlaix by the *Alar* steamer, which had sailed with her armament on board from Newhaven. The transfer of the guns and stores was effected somewhere off the island of Ushant, but whether or not within French waters appears uncertain. The Confederate flag was then hoisted, and the vessel took the name of the *Georgia*. Her career as a cruiser does not appear to have been a very successful one, and in May, 1864, she came into Liverpool, and was there dismantled and sold, acquiring thus, for a second time, a British nationality. This is certainly a scandalous history. That it should be possible to build a vessel in English waters, equip her with an armament of English manufacture, man her in great part with Englishmen, then change on the high seas (or possibly, in French waters) her nationality from English to Confederate, employ her in making war against the commerce of a nation with which England was at peace and amity, and, finally, when that pursuit became unproductive, to bring her back to England and transform her into a quiet English trader again;—that all this should be possible, argued something very lax and defective somewhere; it might be in our laws, it might be in our administration. A more energetic and clear-sighted chief of the Foreign Office than Lord Russell would not have submitted tamely to these impudent and injurious violations of our neutrality; he would have used naval, not legal, means to put down the scandal; he would have applied to the Admiralty more, and to the law officers less. Something, however, was done. The Liverpool firm which sent down the crew of the *Georgia* to Greenock was prosecuted before Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, and two members of it were fined £50 each. Moreover, an Order in Council was adopted on the 8th September, 1864, prohibiting for the future ships-of-war belonging to either belligerent from being dismantled and sold in British ports. A few days after the *Georgia* had left the Mersey, in her new, or rather resumed, character of a British trader, she was boarded and captured by the United States frigate *Niagara* off Lisbon. That the act provoked no remonstrance from the British Government proves that they did not recognise any right in the Confederate Government to sell its cruisers to British merchants, nor in British merchants to purchase them, and put them on the register of British shipping. It is obvious that Governments can only deal with Governments. If the Confederate Government wished to get rid of one of its

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commissioned cruisers, and, by a sale in England, to transfer it to private British ownership, it is obvious that this could only be done through the intervention, and with the consent, of the British Government. Now, as a matter of course, no such intervention and consent took place with regard to the *Georgia*; the United States were therefore justified in regarding the assumed transfer of the vessel to British ownership as fictitious and null.

With regard to the *Nashville*—a large paddle-wheel steamer, which escaped out of Charleston in October, 1861, and subsequently came into Southampton Water, whither (as has been already related in this History*) she was followed by the *Tuscarora*, to the no small embarrassment of our authorities—the United States had only to allege that she was allowed to take in an excessive supply of coal at Bermuda in the same month in which she left Charleston. The regulation limiting the supply of coal to the amount sufficient to carry the vessel to the nearest port of its own country had not then been issued; but the Governor of Bermuda refused to the *Nashville* permission to coal from the Government stores, and evidently did not intend to treat her with any exceptional favour.

The *Chickamauga* and *Tallahassee* were two fast steamers, built at Liverpool and London respectively for the blockade-running service, and launched in 1864. Each appears to have been employed for a short time as a ship-of-war by the Confederate Government. The *Tallahassee*, being at Liverpool at the close of the war, was claimed by, and given up to, the Federal Government. The *Chickamauga* appears to have been in the Wilmington river at the time of the capture of Fort Fisher, and to have shared the fate of the city. Except that these vessels, being British-built, were employed by the Confederates as cruisers (an incident in their career which no one who had not the gift of prophecy could foretell), and that one of them, according to the "case," was once rather too liberally supplied with coal at Bermuda, the United States could produce no material facts on which to ground a claim against Great Britain of compensation for the losses sustained by means of them.

The *Florida* was an American-built steamer, which fell into the hands of the Confederates soon after the war broke out, and, being converted into a cruiser, cruised about the Bahama banks. Her captain, by personation and fraudulent misrepresentation, succeeded in imposing on the magistrate of a small island called Long Cay—one of the Bahama group, but 240 miles from the seat of government—and was thus enabled to sell on the island portions of the cargoes of two American coasters of which he had made prize. He thus rendered himself amenable to British law, since an order issued at the beginning of the war prohibited the sale of prizes made by either belligerent in a British port. But international law does not forbid such sales; it is therefore difficult to understand on what principle the United States endeavoured to make Great Britain responsible for the hostile acts of this vessel also, which was built, manned, and armed outside of British jurisdiction.

The chief of those specific acts which the United States asserted to be injurious in themselves, incompatible with the faithful maintenance of neutrality, and opposed to the spirit of international law, have now been related. And before we proceed to consider the charge of general unfriendliness advanced against this country by the United States, let us pause to place on record certain specific acts of a character the reverse of unfriendly to the Northern States, on which, as the reader will not be surprised to learn, little light is thrown in the American case. These are, the seizure of the *Alexandra*, and the sequestration of the iron-clads. Of the former incident, and of the legal proceedings to which it led, we have already spoken,* and will only repeat here the remark we formerly made, that the impartial neutrality which it was the aim of such acts as the seizure of the *Alexandra* to enforce, was "the unalterable choice of the nation." The circumstances connected with the detention of the iron-clads were as follows. Information reached the Government, in the spring of 1863, that two iron-plated steamers, one of which was armed with a projecting-ram, or piercer, were building in the yard of Messrs. Laird and Co., at Birkenhead, and were very nearly finished. The names given to them were *El Monassir* and *El Toussoon*—Egyptian designations, which were doubtless given to them in order to give a countenance to the rumour that they were being built for the Egyptian Government. Inquiry being made, it was found that neither the French Government, to the order of which the Collector of Customs at Liverpool at first believed they were building, nor the Khedive of Egypt, had anything whatever to do with them. "While these inquiries were being prosecuted, the vessels were getting ready, and the builders desired to send out one of them on a trial trip. But this proposal was abandoned, on its being notified that she must carry with her a guard of seamen and marines from the *Majestic*, the commander of which had been directed to keep watch upon their movements. Information was afterwards received that an attempt might possibly be made to elude the vigilance of the *Majestic*, and carry the two steamers to sea by force. They were then seized; but, considerable difficulty being encountered in proving that they were intended for the Confederates, the Government at last cut the knot by purchasing them, at a cost of half a million sterling."†

3. In order to sustain the charge against Great Britain of "unfriendliness and insincere neutrality," the American case prints extracts from a number of speeches made at various times, while the war was proceeding, by leading English statesmen; and as all the "cheers" and "hear, hears" with which the remarks of each speaker were greeted were inserted, many people will consider that

* See page 11.

* See page 38.

† Bernard's "History of British Neutrality," p. 356.

it was done in order that the "unfriendliness" might appear to have existed as much in the breasts of the people as in the minds of their representatives. It is not a matter, however, which it has been thought necessary to answer. Of course, if Mr. Gladstone thought and said that the Southern States had succeeded in making a new nation,—and if Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston thought that it would be a dreadful thing, and not for the real good of the North itself, that the Union should be restored by force,—there is nothing necessarily unfriendly in these observations. For argument's sake it might be granted that all the speakers were in the wrong, both in their prognostications and in their judgments, yet the unhappy condition of the South since the termination of the war proves that considerable grounds existed for the opinions which they expressed. And perhaps a generation must pass away before an absolutely just and adequate opinion can be formed of the moral character of that tremendous struggle. It has been urged that we do not differ from the Americans as to the facts, but merely as to the interpretation we respectively put upon the facts; but that when the framer of their case proceeds to sum up these alleged instances of unfriendliness, and to deduce from them a general doctrine, we are compelled to dissent from him *toto cœlo*. As the logical inference from the facts which he has enumerated, he draws the following conclusion—that, with a few exceptions, "the leading statesmen of Great Britain, and almost the whole periodical press and other channels through which the British cultivated intellect is accustomed to influence public affairs, sustained the course of the existing Government in the unfriendly acts and omissions which resulted so disastrously for the United States." By these "acts and omissions" the writer evidently means proceedings taken by our Government in relation to certain vessels which were inconsistent with a sincere neutrality, since nothing else done or left undone by the Government could be truly said to have "resulted disastrously" to America. He means to say that both we and our Government purposely gave a rigorous construction to our neutrality as against the Federal States, but winked hard at infractions of the same neutrality when they tended to the advantage of the Confederates; that both we and they were not really sorry that the *Alabama* had escaped from Liverpool in defiance of our laws, and felt a secret satisfaction at hearing of the ravages which she and other vessels of her class committed. Something like this is plainly the writer's meaning, and we can only meet it with a formal and unqualified denial. To those who know anything of the real state of feeling in England, it is notorious that among the serious, conscientious, law-abiding heads of families, who, whether of high or low degree, form the pith and marrow of English society, there was during the whole war, whether their sympathies ran with the Federal or with the Confederate cause, hardly any difference of opinion as to the duty incumbent on the country and the Government to observe a strict and sincere neutrality between the belligerents. Among such persons it is surely no exaggeration to say that ninety-nine out of a hundred were troubled and distressed at the evasion of the *Alabama*, and deemed compensation to be justly due to the friendly country which suffered from her depredations; and if there was no such unanimity of sentiment with regard to the *Florida*, or any other vessel, the reason was that the facts were imperfectly known to the general public,—the will to act rightly and straightforwardly was as decided in regard to these vessels as in regard to the *Alabama*.

II. From the foregoing general sketch the reader will gather the nature and the grounds of the complaints which the conduct of our Government during the war gave rise to on the part of the United States. We now proceed to describe the various efforts made to adjust the difference which had arisen prior to the year 1871. Soon after the termination of the war, the American Government preferred a claim to compensation for the damages inflicted by the *Alabama* on American commerce; but Lord Russell, for reasons which it is not worth while to examine, refused at that time to entertain it; he also declined to refer the question to arbitration. This refusal appears to us to have been a great mistake. Whatever excuses might be made, it was clear that a substantial wrong had been done. The *Alabama* ought not to have been allowed to leave Liverpool, and yet she was allowed to leave it; our liability, therefore, to make compensation for the damage done by her ought not to have been disputed. Lord Stanley came into office at the close of 1866, and at the close of the year offered, through Sir Frederick Bruce, our Minister at Washington, to adopt the principle of arbitration. Mr. Seward accepted the offer, on condition that the whole controversy between the two Governments should be referred to the arbitrators. It appeared, after the correspondence had continued some time, that, in insisting on this condition, Mr. Seward intended to assert the right of his Government to impugn before the arbitrators the conduct of Great Britain in recognising the belligerency of the South. Lord Stanley could not consent to this point being referred, and the negotiations accordingly (November, 1867) came to an end.

Affairs remained in this state till the arrival of Mr. Reverdy Johnson in England, about the beginning of 1868. The new minister was a man of conciliatory character, and a useful pliancy of intellect; his warm attachment to the policy which would remove all causes of difference, and multiply binding ties and harmonising relations between the two countries, was well known, and his appointment was unanimously ratified by the Senate, though it had vetoed almost every other diplomatic appointment made by President Johnson. The first attempts at negotiation were abortive, but Mr. Reverdy Johnson's benevolent intentions were not easily to be baffled; and after signing protocols with Lord Stanley for the settlement of the questions of naturalisation and the San Juan water boundary, Mr. Johnson at last proposed a scheme for the disposal of the Alabama Claims, which met with the approval of the British Government. Two commissioners were to be appointed on each side, and these four commissioners were then to

choose an arbitrator or arbitrators, to whose final decision was to be referred any question upon which, in the course of their examination of the said claims, the commissioners should not be able to come to an agreement. The scheme also provided that neither Government should make out a case in support of its position, and that no person should be heard for or against any such claim, the official correspondence alone being laid before the commissioners. A convention, of which these were the leading features, was drawn up and signed by Lord Stanley and Mr. Reverdy Johnson on the 10th November, 1868. So confident was the American Minister that his Government and the Senate of the United States would approve and ratify this convention, that at the Lord Mayor's banquet on the 9th November, the day before it was formally concluded, he spoke in the following terms: "How that end [the termination of the differences between England and America] has been brought about I forbear to say, except that it has been brought about without touching in the slightest degree the rights or the honour of either nation. From 1846 to the present time, from one cause or other, there were clouds which alarmed the people of both countries. We have removed those clouds, and leave both nations in an undimmed sunshine of peace."

These anticipations, as it turned out, were too sanguine. Although Mr. Seward had telegraphed to Mr. Reverdy Johnson that the convention was entirely acceptable, except that the place of meeting should be altered to Washington (a modification to which Lord Stanley acceded), when the text was received in America, objections were raised by the Government. In a letter intended for Lord Stanley, but which, as it arrived after the resignation of the Conservative Ministry, was received and acted upon by Lord Clarendon, the British Government was informed that Mr. Reverdy Johnson had misunderstood his instructions, that the President thought several of the articles of the convention inadmissible, and that the Cabinet were agreed that the convention could not, in the form which it then wore, be ratified by the Senate. Certain modifications were proposed, which, when examined by Lord Clarendon, appeared to him to be variations in form rather than of substance; he did not therefore refuse to entertain them, and a new convention was signed between him and Mr. Johnson on the 14th January, 1869. Everything seemed at last in train for settlement; the convention was laid before the Senate of the United States, and referred by it to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which was expected to report in favour of its adoption. But a speech made by Senator Sumner on the 13th April, vehemently denouncing the conduct and attitude of England towards the United States, in relation to that whole class of acts and omissions out of which the Alabama Claims arose, had so great an effect upon the Assembly, that the convention was rejected by an overwhelming majority — fifty-four to one. That eminent man, in whom warmth of feeling and rectitude of purpose were not adequately seconded by intellectual gifts, had in some manner persuaded himself that the conduct of England during the civil war betokened a real, though suppressed, sympathy with the cause of slavery. Under the influence of this extravagant notion, he indulged in the following piece of declamation. "The truth must be told," he said, "not in anger, but in sadness; England has done to the United States an injury most difficult to measure. . . . At a great epoch of history [most true that was, it was a great epoch], not less momentous than that of the French Revolution, or that of the Reformation,—when civilisation was fighting a last battle with slavery,—England gave her name, her influence, her material resources to the wicked cause, and flung a sword into the scale with slavery." What more could Mr. Sumner have said if we had recognised the independence of the Southern States, and entered into an alliance with them against the North? Mr. Sumner maintained further, that "the escape and career of the *Alabama*, and the manner in which her depredations were viewed by the British Government, constituted an offence against the national dignity, for which England ought to offer an apology, or make some similar moral atonement." Mr. Gladstone appears to have become a convert to Mr. Sumner's views in this respect, as we shall see in due time. He also urged that, in estimating the material damages inflicted by cruisers of the *Alabama* class, the total loss to American commerce, caused by the fear of cruisers, consisting in the abandonment of the carrying trade by American shipowners, and the sale of their ships to foreigners, must be taken into account; and he hinted that the cost of carrying on the war, for at least a portion of the time, as a probable consequence of English sympathy, ought to be taken into account also. Here we have the first foreshadowing of those claims for "indirect losses," the production of which at a later period went near to rendering the Treaty of Washington abortive.

By the rejection of the convention, the question returned into its original state. In the summer of 1869, after Mr. Motley had succeeded Mr. Reverdy Johnson as the representative of the United States, various important interviews and much interesting correspondence took place, of which we shall give a very brief outline. Early in June, in an interview held by appointment with Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office, after a discussion of various pending negotiations between the two countries, Mr. Motley offered an explanation tending to throw light on the motives which had influenced the Senate in the rejection of the Reverdy Johnson convention. Owing to some accident, which he could not explain, the text of the convention had been published prematurely in America, long before it was brought under the cognisance of the Senate, and had become the mark for much unfavourable comment. The time at which it was signed was thought inopportune, because the late President and his Cabinet were then virtually out of office, and their successors could not be consulted on the question. The convention was further objected to because it dealt only with the claims of individuals, and had no reference to those of the two Governments on each other; and, lastly, because it did not settle one of the moot points of international law which had been debated between the

Governments, and laid down no principles for future guidance. Mr. Motley proceeded to say that President Grant had decided that it would be better to let the question stand over for a time, until angry feelings had subsided. When it was again approached, his Cabinet was of opinion that it would be desirable to lay down, with greater precision than heretofore, certain principles of international law with reference to the rights and duties of neutrals.

In the following September, Mr. Motley read to Lord Clarendon a long despatch from Mr. Fish, the American Secretary of State, narrating and characterising the circumstances which had given rise to the Alabama Claims, from the American point of view. As this despatch travels over topics which have been frequently handled in these pages, it is not necessary to analyse its contents. Its fairness may be judged of from the terms in which it describes the secession of the Southern States, as a "mere domestic act of insurrection." It labours to prove that the recognition by Great Britain of the belligerent rights of the South was a premature and essentially unfriendly act, and that it had much to do with hardening and prolonging Southern resistance. Mr. Fish actually connects the proclamation of neutrality with the subsequent escape of the cruisers from our ports, so as to make the former "a virtual act of war"! At the same time the American Government did not in this despatch, he said, propose or desire to set any time for the settlement of their claims. Their present object was merely to make the British Government fully acquainted with the manner in which the subject was regarded in the United States; they were, however, prepared to negotiate whenever a proposition should be made from this side, and to enter upon the examination of that proposition with a sincere desire to promote the interests of peace and permanent friendship between the two countries.

Lord Clarendon, in replying to this despatch (November, 1869), thus noticed the hint that America was prepared to consider any fresh overtures. "It is obvious," he said—"and Mr. Fish will probably on reflection admit—that Her Majesty's Government cannot make any new proposition or run the risk of another unsuccessful negotiation until they have information more clear than that which is contained in Mr. Fish's despatch respecting the basis upon which the Government of the United States would be disposed to negotiate." He transmitted at the same time to Mr. Thornton (who had succeeded Sir Frederick Bruce as British Minister at Washington) a paper of observations which he was to lay before Mr. Fish, informally replying to the principal allegations, and combating some of the exaggerated statements, which the despatch of the latter had contained.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE HISTORY OF THE ALABAMA CLAIMS—*continued*.

The Alabama Claims.—III.—Recall of Mr. Motley.—Joint High Commission—Alabama Claims referred to it—Meets in February, 1871—Progress of the Negotiation—British Commissioners propose Arbitration—Lord Cairns—Speech of Lord Derby.—Nomination of Arbitrators: They meet at Geneva. The Case submitted—Order of Procedure—The American Case includes Claims for Indirect Losses—Sketch of the Contents of the British Case—Excitement in England on the Subject of the Indirect Claims—Negotiations for a Supplementary Treaty—The American Government in the Right—Counter Cases filed—Proceedings on 15th June—The Tribunal rules out the Indirect Claims—Both Governments accept the Decision—Opening of the Arbitration—Views of M. Stæmpfli—Unsuccessful Endeavour of the British Agent to obtain Time for Sir R. Palmer to prepare [illegible] Cases of the different Cruisers separately examined—The Tribunal requests the Opinion of Counsel [illegible] Delivers its Decision—Termination of the Arbitration—Sir A. Cockburn's "Reasons for Dissenting." Analysis of the Award—Observations upon it.

III. THUS matters stood till the beginning of 1871, except that Mr. Motley was suddenly recalled towards the end of 1870. The impression was general, both in England and America, that the President had thought him too prone to a policy of compromise, and that he was to be replaced by a more unbending negotiator; and when, after much difficulty, the post was filled up by the appointment of a soldier—General Schenck—that impression naturally gathered strength. But, as it happened, the truth lay in the opposite direction. Mr. Motley was recalled because he had identified himself to such an extent with the extreme views and perfervid temper of Mr. Sumner, that he did not conform faithfully to his instructions, but indulged in phrases about "burning questions of grievance," and "the gravity of the occasion," which displeased the cool-headed and sagacious President. Grant had begun to perceive that it would not do to continue to place the conduct of England in conceding belligerent rights in the fore-front of the American case; since not only international law, but the similar behaviour of other neutral nations on the same occasion, made our conduct in that particular substantially unassailable. The damage caused—directly or indirectly—by the [illegible] issuing from our ports was, he correctly perceived, the true ground of claim; and the alleged premature recognition was only to be used as evidence of an [illegible] *animus*, which would give an air of antecedent probability to the positive breaches of neutrality with which we were to be charged.

Towards the end of 1870, Mr. Gladstone's Government proposed the appointment of a Joint High Commission, to be held at Washington, for the settlement of the Fisheries question. In assenting to the commission, President Grant proposed that all other matters of dispute between the two Governments, including the long-standing question of the Alabama Claims, should be referred to the same tribunal. To this, Lord Granville (who had succeeded the Earl of Clarendon at the Foreign Office) consented. It was agreed that five commissioners should be appointed on each side. For England the

leading commissioner was Earl de Grey, to whom were joined Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, our Minister at Washington, Sir John Macdonald, a prominent member of the Canadian Government, and Professor Mountague Bernard, the author of the learned and dispassionate essay on British neutrality to which in the foregoing narrative we have had to make frequent reference. It was considered a politic stroke on the part of Mr. Gladstone, that by requesting one of the leaders of the Conservative party (Sir Stafford Northcote) to join the commission, he in some measure anticipated and disarmed the hostility which the Opposition might otherwise be tempted to raise in Parliament, and partially committed the other side of the House to acquiescence in any treaty that might be concluded. The American commissioners were Mr. Hamilton Fish, the Secretary of State, General Schenck (whose sailing was purposely postponed that he might serve on the commission), Mr. Ebenezer Hoar, Mr. George H. Williams, and Mr. Justice Nelson. A paragraph in the Queen's Speech stated that the arrangement made with America for the holding of the High Commission included all claims for compensation which had been, or might be, made by each Government, or by its citizens, upon each other. The commission, dated February 16th, 1871, giving power to Earl de Grey and the other commissioners to negotiate and conclude a treaty, was very full and large in its expressions; it stated that they were appointed "for the purpose of discussing in a friendly spirit with commissioners to be appointed on the part of our good friends the United States the various questions on which differences have arisen between us and our good friends, and of treating for an agreement as to the mode of their amicable settlement."

The Joint High Commission met and constituted itself at Washington, on the 27th February, 1871; the first full meeting was held on the 4th March. The Alabama Claims came up for discussion on the 8th March.

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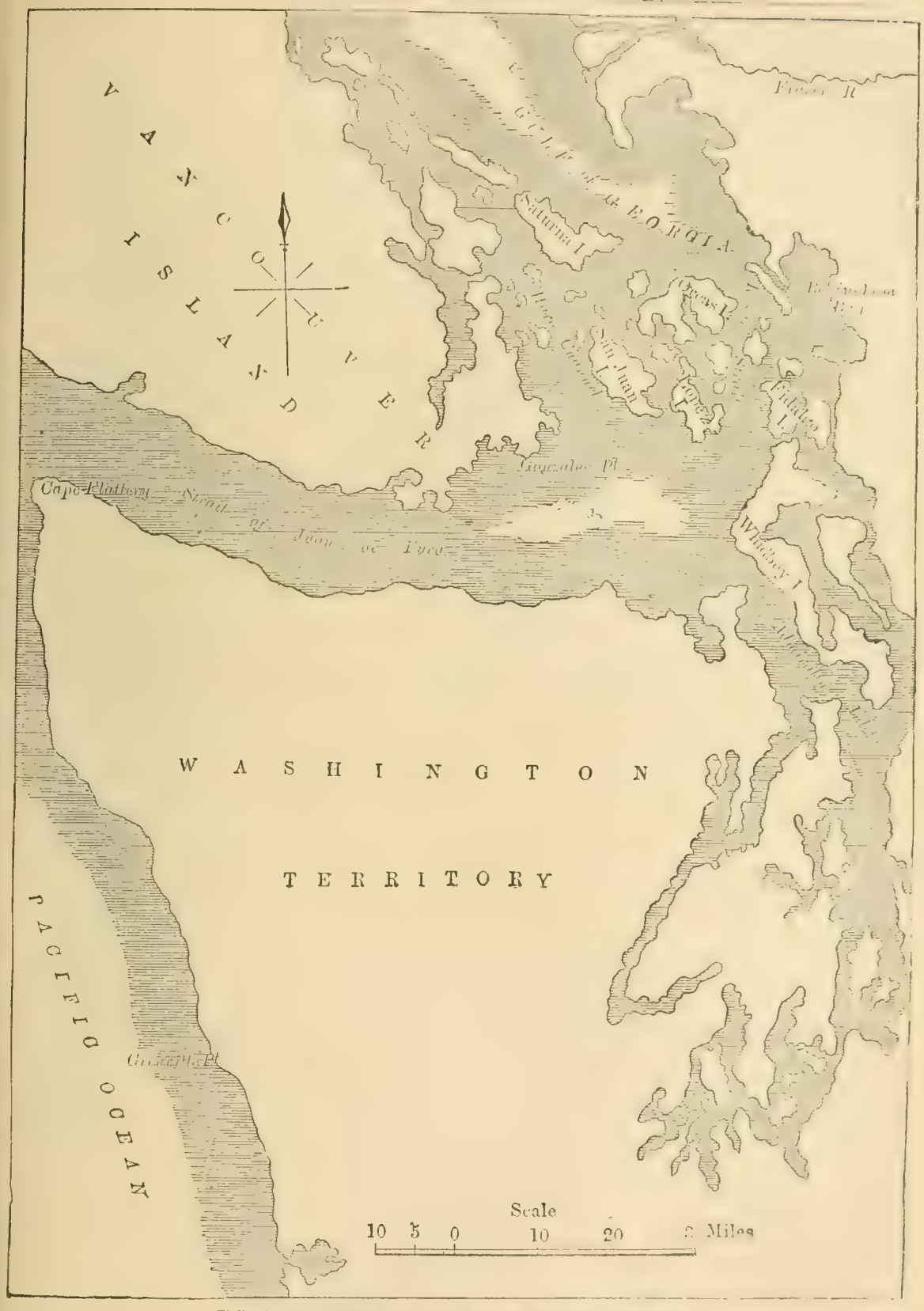
The American commissioners then stated the case of their Government, explaining the grounds on which the people of the United States conceived that they had just cause to complain of the conduct of Great Britain during the war, putting in a rough estimate of the direct losses which American commerce had sustained through the depredations of cruisers which had been fitted out, or armed, or equipped, or which had received augmentation of force, in the ports of Great Britain or her colonies; and adding that, "in the hope of an amicable settlement, no estimate was made of the indirect losses"—those alleged to have arisen through the enhanced rate of insurance, the transfer of American ships to foreign flags,



THE SAN JUAN QUESTION: MAP OF THE DISPUTED TERRITORY.
(Compiled from the Trigonometrical Sur. & of the Coast Charts)

and the prolongation of the war, all which grievous effects were ascribed to the cruisers; "without prejudice, however, to the right of indemnification on their account in the event of no such settlement being made." Finally, they expressed the hope that the British commissioners would be able to place upon record an expression of regret by Her Majesty's Government for the depredations committed by the vessels, the acts of which were under discussion.

The British commissioners replied, in accordance with their instructions, that they could not admit that Great Britain had failed in any of the duties imposed upon her by international law, nor that she was justly liable to make good to the United States the losses occasioned by the acts of the cruisers referred to. They reminded the American commissioners of various acts of the British Government, while the war was in progress, which argued, not merely an impartial, but a friendly animus towards the United States; such as the seizure of the *Alexandra*, and the iron-clads, and the acquisition, at a great cost, of control over the Anglo-Chinese flotilla, which it was apprehended might be employed against the United States. They added, however, that although Great Britain had consistently disavowed her liability, she had already shown her willingness to adopt the principle of arbitration, provided that a fitting arbitrator could be found, and an agreement arrived at as to the points which should be submitted to his decision. They, therefore, would abstain from replying in detail to the arguments urged on the other side, in the hope that a common understanding might be arrived at for the reference of the matters in dispute to an impartial umpire—a course which would tend to the maintenance of amity better than their continued discussion by the parties themselves.

There is something strange and unsatisfactory in this announcement, considered as the indication of a nation's policy. Let us consider in what cases arbitration is naturally and wisely resorted to in differences between individuals. Evidently it is in those cases where the law or the equity of the matter, or both, are *doubtful*; so that two honest and well-intentioned men, approaching the question from different sides, might easily differ in their appreciation of it. As then some bias towards a solution favourable to self-interest is to be apprehended in the great majority of men, the reference to a third party, who is wholly impartial, commends itself to reason as a good way of putting an end to the difficulty. But this is only where the question is really doubtful, and is felt by both parties to be so. If either party is persuaded that in equity the difference ought to be decided wholly in his favour, he will not consent to its being referred to arbitration unless either he cannot lose, but may gain, from the result of the arbitration, or an adverse decision be immaterial to him, as affecting not at all, or only in an insignificant degree, his honour and his interest. Except in these two cases, he will maintain his position, and leave his adversary, if he thinks himself aggrieved, to his legal remedy.

The rights of the matter, if we substitute nations for individuals, appear to be much the same. The Americans might reasonably consent to refer the Alabama Claims to arbitrators, because, although they entertained a strong opinion that the equity of the case was all on their side, they, as the claimants of compensation, could not lose, but might gain largely, whatever were the decision of the arbitrators. England, on the contrary, if convinced that equity was on her side, and that the claims made on her were unfounded, had no reason to consent to arbitration. Whichever way the arbitration went, she might lose, but could not possibly gain. Nor, again, was an adverse decision immaterial to her; for, firstly, it would involve a heavy pecuniary mulct; and, secondly, it could not be to her honour to be found guilty of wrong-doing by an independent tribunal, after having roundly maintained the blamelessness of her conduct. Had the question been doubtful and difficult, whether viewed in its legal or in its equitable aspect, England might, *on that ground*, have reasonably consented to arbitration. But our commissioners took no such ground; they professed to believe the conduct of England above reproach; like lawyers pleading for a client, they made no concessions, not one damaging admission.

But in this case, whatever the real state of international law might have been at the time of the occurrences complained of, the *equity* of the matter, after the full investigation which it had received, was no longer doubtful. It surely did not become Great Britain to dispute that much laxity had characterised her administration with regard to the equipment and career of several of these vessels; or that, in consequence of this laxity, the Americans had suffered harm and loss. If this was clear, then it was also clear that England owed America reparation; and to dispute her liability to make it was neither just nor dignified. At any rate, if England denied that reparation was due, she should have held to that view at all hazards. But to say, "England owes you no reparation, but we don't mind referring the matter to arbitration," was simply, as the event proved, and as any clear-sighted man could have foreseen, to court humiliation. The tribunal decided that England *did* owe reparation, and that, not on mere technical grounds, but on grounds of equity and reason. The inference was unavoidable, for all those who accepted the verdict as just, that but for some dimness of moral vision in England's representatives at Washington, they would have seen matters in the same light as the foreigners who sat at Geneva.

But to return to the negotiation. To the proposal of the British commissioners to refer the question to arbitration, the American commissioners replied that they would only consent to this, provided the principles by which the arbitrators should be guided could first be made matter of agreement. They gradually developed their meaning, and it appeared that they desired the definition of new rules or principles of international law, laying down more strictly than before the duties of neutral Powers in time of war. Long discussions arose on this point. The British commissioners were willing to discuss and agree upon rules the observance of which should be held binding for the future; but they thought that the best mode of conducting an arbitration was to

submit the facts to the arbitrator, and leave him free to decide on them after hearing arguments. The American commissioners answered that they were willing to consider what principles should be laid down for observance in similar cases in future, provided that those principles, when agreed to, should be held retrospectively applicable to the facts in respect of the Alabama Claims. The British commissioners felt that they were being hard pressed, said that their instructions did not permit of their agreeing to the arbitrator being fettered by rules, and sought enlightenment from England through the Atlantic telegraph. At this period of the negotiation the communication through the cable between the British commissioners and the Home Government was nearly incessant. The rules of international law proposed by the American commissioners were now brought forward and copiously discussed. So far as is known, there was little difference of opinion in the High Commission as to the soundness of these rules in themselves, nor as to the expediency of adding them to the code of international law, for the future guidance of all nations willing to accept them. But it was strongly contended by the British commissioners that no such rules were recognised as binding upon neutrals at the time when the depredations of the *Alabama* and the other cruisers occurred; and that it was not just that the arbitrator should try the conduct of Great Britain under an *ex post facto* law. Upon this point our Government ultimately gave way, and the rules were embodied in the treaty, with a proviso, however, which we shall notice when we come to the examination of that instrument. The three rules were adopted in the session of the 5th April.

During the remainder of the month various arrangements as to the mode of appointing the arbitrator, and the form of procedure, were agreed to. The American commissioners about this time reverted to the expression of a hope, to which they had given utterance at the commencement of the proceedings, that Great Britain would signify regret for what had taken place. The British commissioners (who, it will be remembered, were in constant communication with London) replied that they were authorised to express in a friendly spirit the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels. The American commissioners accepted with great satisfaction this expression of regret, and said they felt sure it would be received as a token of kindness and goodwill by the Government and people of the United States. The articles of the treaty referring to the Alabama Claims were then agreed to.

The remaining clauses referred to the Fisheries question and to the San Juan boundary. The treaty conceded to American fishermen for ten years the right of sea fishery on the Canadian coasts, without restriction as to distance from shore. The river fisheries were, of course, reserved exclusively for British subjects. In return, Canadian fishermen might fish in like manner on American coasts down to the 39th parallel. As to the San Juan boundary question, Articles XXXIV. to XLII. of the treaty established the following method for its solution. Our readers are probably aware that under the treaty signed at Washington in 1846, commonly called the Ashburton Treaty, the 49th parallel was fixed as the boundary between British and American territory, from a point near Lake Superior to the middle of the channel which separates Vancouver's Island from the mainland, and thence along the middle of the said channel to the sea. This, it should be observed, was, on the part of England, an important, many thought an excessive, concession, and one which involved great sacrifices; for the fertile lower valley of the Columbia river, and the valuable establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company near its mouth, and at Puget Sound, were by the treaty given up to the United States. When the line defined in the treaty was examined, it was found that, instead of there being one broad channel between Vancouver's Island and the main, as the contracting parties seem to have supposed, the whole space was, at one point, filled up with an archipelago of islands, with narrow channels dividing them. Of these channels the two most in use were the Haro channel, lying close to Vancouver's Island, and the Rosario channel, lying close to the mainland. The British authorities maintained that the Rosario channel corresponded best to the descriptive words of the treaty, and that the boundary-line ought to be run along it; the Americans similarly maintained that the Haro was the proper channel. The reader will perceive that if the Rosario channel were adopted, the archipelago of islands, many of which, particularly that called San Juan, were large and fertile, would fall to England; if the Haro, to America. Now, it was urged by many high authorities, considering the liberal concessions made by us at the time of the Ashburton Treaty, and the importance of the question to Canada, no British minister ought to have consented, under any circumstances, to accept the Haro channel as a boundary. The utmost limits to which concession ought to have gone should have been the acceptance of a compromise, so as to run the boundary along one of the narrow, deep-water channels which intersect the middle of the archipelago. In this way about one half of the islands composing the archipelago would have fallen to America; the other half, including San Juan, to us. Such were the views of those who opposed the policy of the Government. The British commissioners, however, were directed to consent to refer the question to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany, and to refer it in that particular form which the American commissioners were instructed to require. No power of directing or suggesting any compromise whatever was to be left to the Emperor of Germany; he was simply, after hearing both sides, and taking any evidence he pleased, to decide, finally, and without appeal, which of the two claims, that fixing the boundary to the Rosario, or that fixing it to the Haro channel, was most in accordance with the true interpretation of the Treaty of 1846. In the course of 1872 the Emperor of Germany made his award, which was in favour of the American claim. The important island of San Juan, which in equity belonged to us as rightfully as the Isle of Anglesea

was thus lost to Great Britain, and the command of Fuca Straits given up.

The Alabama Claims were dealt with in the first eleven articles of the Treaty of Washington. In the first article it was agreed, after the expression of regret before noticed, that the claims "generally known as the Alabama Claims" should be referred to a board of five arbitrators, of whom two were to be nominated by the high contracting parties, and the remaining three by the Emperor of Brazil, the King of Italy, and the President of the Swiss Confederation, respectively. In the second article it was provided that the arbitrators should meet at Geneva on as early a day as possible after their nomination, and proceed to examine and decide all questions that should be laid before them by the two Governments, each of which should also name an agent to attend the tribunal, and represent it generally in all matters connected with the arbitration. The next three articles prescribed the mode in which the case of each Government, with documents and evidence, direct and rebutting, should be laid before the tribunal.

The sixth article contained the three rules already referred to. "In deciding the matters submitted to the arbitrators, they shall be governed by the following three rules, which are agreed upon by the high contracting parties as rules to be taken as applicable to the case, and by such principles of international law not inconsistent therewith as the arbitrators shall determine to have been applicable to the case.

"*Rules.*—A neutral Government is bound:—

1. "To use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping within its jurisdiction of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a Power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use.

2. "Not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men.

3. "To exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties."

To these rules the following curious proviso was appended:—"Her Britannic Majesty has commissioned her high commissioners and plenipotentiaries to declare that Her Majesty's Government cannot assent to the foregoing rules as a statement of principles of international law which were in force at the time when the claims mentioned in Article I. arose; but that Her Majesty's Government, in order to evince its desire of strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries, and of making satisfactory provision for the future, agrees that, in deciding the questions arising out of those claims, the arbitrators should assume that Her Majesty's Government had undertaken to act upon the principles set forth in those rules." At the end of the article it was stated that the high contracting parties agreed to observe these rules as between themselves in future; and to bring them to the knowledge of other maritime Powers, and invite them to accede to them.

The seventh article directed the arbitrators to make a separate finding in the case of each cruiser, as to whether Great Britain had or had not violated the obligations of neutrality in her regard. Should the tribunal find that Great Britain had failed to discharge her duty in any such respect, it was empowered to proceed, if it thought proper, to award a sum in gross, to be paid by Great Britain to the United States, in satisfaction of all the claims referred to it, such gross sum being payable in coin at Washington within twelve months after the date of the award. If, however, the tribunal, while finding that Great Britain had failed more or less to perform the duties incumbent upon her as a neutral, should prefer not to award a sum in gross, it was agreed (Article X.) that a board of three assessors, to be nominated respectively by the two Governments and by the Italian Minister at Washington, should be empowered to ascertain and determine what claims were valid, and what amount or amounts should be paid by Great Britain to the United States on account of the liability arising from such failure as to each vessel, according to the extent of such liability as decided by the arbitrators.

The claims of Canada on the United States, on account of depredations committed in the Fenian raid, were brought forward by the British commissioners, who desired that articles for their settlement should be inserted in the present treaty. But the American commissioners refused to enter upon the discussion of this particular class of claims, and the matter was not pressed.

The entire treaty was framed on the 4th May; on the 8th May it was signed, and the labours of the high commission terminated.

The Treaty of Washington was received, not, indeed, with acclamation, but with a discriminating approval, on both sides of the Atlantic. The Senate of the United States ratified it by a majority of fifty to twelve, rejecting some amendments brought forward by Mr. Sumner, who, with characteristic impetuosity, objected to the words of regret introduced in the preamble of the first article, as not being sufficiently apologetic. A long debate arose in the House of Lords, on the 12th June, upon the motion of Lord Russell, that an humble address should be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty not to ratify any convention for the settlement of the Alabama Claims which imposed as binding on the arbitrators any conditions or rules other than the law of nations, and the municipal law of the United Kingdom, as existing and in force at the time when the alleged violations of neutrality occurred. Lord Granville vindicated the conduct of the Government. With regard to the original proposal to negotiate, he said that, although at the end of 1870 the alarming state of Europe had made the Government desirous of closing all questions still open

with the United States as soon as possible, that proposal did not emanate from us, the Government having adopted the opinion of his lamented predecessor, Lord Clarendon, that, after the failure of the Stanley-Johnson convention, the next proposal to negotiate should come from the United States. As to the Canadian claims on account of the Fenian raid, Lord Granville said, "We did not press them, because, having arrived at a satisfactory arrangement on all the numerous and complicated questions at issue between us and the United States; and knowing that the opinion of the high commissioners, including that of Sir John Macdonald, was, that in the present state of parties it would be impossible to obtain from the United States a recognition of these claims, we had to consider whether we ought to destroy all the fruits of the high commission, and allow a third failure to be the result of the negotiation." He denied that the conduct of the British commissioners during the negotiation could be fitly described as a series of concessions. The claim to hold us responsible for the premature recognition of Southern belligerency was brought forward by the American commissioners, but abandoned in consequence of the resolute opposition of our negotiators. And speaking of Mr. Fish's large sketch of a host of enormous claims for "indirect losses" in the very beginning of the protocols, Lord Granville said, "These were pretensions which might have been carried out under the former arbitration [that arranged between Lord Stanley and Mr. Johnson]; but they entirely disappear under the limited reference, which includes merely complaints arising out of the escape of the *Alabama*,"—he must have meant to add, "and other vessels of her class." General Schenck, the new American Minister, was present in the House of Lords during this debate, and his presence was referred to by Lord Granville in terms of elaborate compliment. Lord Granville, in expressing himself thus, did but interpret the treaty in the way in which it was at that time almost universally interpreted here; but we were all mistaken, as will appear in the sequel. The keen eye of Lord Cairns was not at fault even then. He quite agreed, he said, in the opinion that under the arbitration proposed by Lord Stanley and Lord Clarendon it was quite possible for the United States to have made extravagant claims. "But," he continued, "*what is there in the present treaty to prevent the same thing?* I cannot find one single word in these protocols or in these rules which would prevent such claims being put in and taking their chance, and under the treaty proposed by my noble friend (Lord Stanley) they could do no more."

Lord Derby, replying to Lord Granville, disapproved of the "*quasi* apology" contained in the treaty. He said that the Senate had rejected the former convention because they doubted whether the arbitrators appointed under it would, after all, decide in favour of the American claims. "They declined to play the game, unless they were made tolerably sure beforehand that they would win." He complimented the American negotiators on the shrewdness and tenacity they had displayed, but could not congratulate the British commissioners on that display of "lamb-like meekness" which had led them to make concessions such as were never made before. As to the abandonment of the pretension to hold us responsible for the recognition of Southern belligerency, or of the claim to recover from us the cost of making good the constructive damage done to American trade, he regarded neither of these as a serious concession, because the Americans could never have thought for a moment that we should entertain such claims.

Lord Russell did not press his motion to a division, and in the Commons the merits of the treaty were not at that time seriously discussed. In the course of the summer, the powers of nomination conferred by the treaty, with a view to the appointment of a board of arbitrators, were duly exercised. The United States nominated Charles Francis Adams, the able and vigilant American Minister in London during the war. Great Britain nominated Sir Alexander Cockburn, the Lord Chief Justice of England. The choice of the King of Italy fell on Count Frederic Sclopis, an ex-minister of state and senator of the kingdom of Italy, who was well known as the author of various writings of merit, in the field of history and jurisprudence. The President of the Swiss Confederation appointed M. Jacob Stæmpfli, who had once been President himself. Finally, the Emperor of Brazil nominated the Baron d'Itajubá, the Brazilian Envoy at Paris. Lord Tenterden, Assistant Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, was appointed to be the English agent; and Mr. Bancroft Davis was named agent for the United States.

The first conference of the board of arbitrators took place on the 15th December, 1871. They immediately proceeded to constitute themselves into a tribunal, electing Count Sclopis as their president, and M. Favrot secretary. The agents of the two Powers then filed the respective cases of their Governments, together with corroborative documents. The American case, with its appendices, extended to eight octavo volumes, and filled more than five thousand pages. The British case was also tolerably voluminous, if taken in connection with its appendices, which filled four volumes. It will be observed that the United States appeared before the tribunal to some extent in the character of a plaintiff, and that their case might be regarded as their indictment against Great Britain. The British case, on the other hand, was prepared in ignorance of the exact line and range which the American complaints would take; it was therefore inevitable that much that was contained in the American case should be but imperfectly met in the British case. This had been foreseen and duly provided for at the time of the drafting of the treaty. The tribunal accordingly ordered the respective counter cases to be filed on or before April 15, and then adjourned till the 15th June. The counter cases, it will be seen, were answers to the respective cases; at the meeting of the 15th June the arguments on each side, answering the counter cases and arguing the whole question on the merits, were to be given in; and then the tribunal was to consider and pronounce its decision.

On the delivery of the American case to the tribunal

on the 15th December, it was understood in England for the first time that the claims in respect of indirect—or, as Mr. Cushing* prefers to call them, *national*—losses, originally put forward by Mr. Fish at Washington, had not been withdrawn by the United States. The framer of the case divides the claims of the United States into five categories, as follows:—

1. For direct losses, occasioned by the destruction of vessels and their cargoes, and other property, by the insurgent cruisers.

2. For national expenditure in the pursuit of those cruisers.

3. For loss in the transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag.

4. For enhanced payments of insurance.

5. For the prolongation of the war, and the addition of a large sum to the cost of the war and the suppression of the rebellion.

The case itself furnishes a formal estimate of loss only under the first of these categories. The claims for compensation on account of loss of property occasioned by the cruisers amounted, up to the date of the Treaty of Washington, to about fourteen millions of dollars. The claim under the head of "pursuit of cruisers" could not be less, we are told, than "several millions of dollars." With regard to the loss under the head of transfer of commercial marine, the case quotes a speech

SIR STAFFORD NORTH COTE.

of Mr. Cobden drawing a gloomy, we trust an overcharged, picture of the disastrous effect which the operations of the cruisers produced, in diminishing the number of ships sailing under the American flag. On this, and also on the following head, that relative to enhanced insurance, the case supplies some materials for forming a judgment, and then requests the tribunal to estimate the losses incurred. As to the fifth head, the case says, "After the battle of Gettysburg the offensive operations of the insurgents were conducted only at sea, through the cruisers; . . . the war was prolonged for that purpose;" in the hope, says the writer, on the part of the Confederates, of involving Great Britain in war with

* See "The Treaty of Washington, its Negotiation, Execution, &c." By Caleb Cushing. New York, 1873.

the United States. How unfair and untrue this account of the matter was, the reader has only to turn back to Chapters V. and IX. of this History to convince himself. Finally, the United States claimed ("Case," p. 479) interest on the full amount of their losses, occasioned, as they alleged, by British default, at the rate of seven per cent. per annum, from the 1st July, 1863, to the day when the award, if any were made, would be payable under the treaty. Their case was concluded with the expression of an earnest hope that the tribunal would, instead of referring the detailed examination of the claims to a board of assessors, exercise the power conferred upon it, to award a sum in gross to be paid by Great Britain to the United States.

MR. ADAMS.

The British case sets out by carefully limiting the scope of the arbitration to claims in respect of losses "growing out of" the acts of certain vessels. The only vessels in respect of which correspondence had arisen between the Governments, and complaint had been made by the United States, were the *Florida*, the *Alabama*, the *Georgia*, and the *Shenandoah*. On one occasion since the war mention had been made in an American despatch of the *Sumter*, but no claims had been made in respect of her acts. "The Queen's Government therefore assumes, as the basis of the proceedings, that the only question for the arbitrators is—Whether and how far England has been guilty of a breach of international law, with respect to those four vessels, and is liable to the claims growing out of their acts?"

In order to illustrate the difficulty under which a neutral Government often finds itself in restraining its citizens from giving active aid and support to a belligerent, and also to mitigate any adverse impression which the facts connected with the *Alabama* and *Florida* might produce on the minds of the arbitrators, by showing that the United States had been in former times at least equally negligent of international duty, the British case entered in some detail into the history of transactions which occurred in the course of the war between Spain and her revolted colonies between 1815 and 1820. At that time Spain complained bitterly of the laxity which allowed vessels, built and armed in ports of the United States, and largely manned by American citizens, to escape from American jurisdiction, and carry on war against her on

behalf of the insurgent colonies. The introduction of such considerations into the British case is said by Mr. Cushing to be "worthless and absurd as argument," and to have been, altogether, "an outrageous act." It is true that the non-fulfilment by America of the duties of neutrality fifty years ago was no excuse for Great Britain's not having fulfilled them now; yet the production of these historical passages was not irrelevant, if they were calculated to impress upon the tribunal the great difficulty, in spite of the best intentions on the part of the central power, of controlling the cupidity and partisanship of individuals.

The Ministry were dispersed for the Christmas holidays, and little attention seems to have been paid to the American case before the middle of January, 1872. When its contents were known, feelings of dissatisfaction and anxiety pervaded the public mind. It dawned upon us that England was being put upon her trial; that the plaintiff was demanding an enormous sum in damages; and that we knew little about the composition of the judicial bench. The *Times* estimated the total claim of the United States, including that for indirect losses, at about two hundred millions sterling. But this estimate we believe to have been greatly exaggerated. Mr. Cushing contrasts with great complacency the calm and dignified attitude maintained during the next four or five months by the American Government and people, with the excitement, panic, and fluster which in his view took possession of all ranks of English society. Most people in England certainly thought that we had been less fortunate in our diplomatic representatives at Washington than the United States; that we had been outgeneralled in the negotiation, and that our Government had shown a rare capacity for blundering and misunderstanding; but as we had not the slightest intention of paying for indirect losses, whatever the tribunal might do, there was less excitement than Mr. Cushing supposes, and no alarm whatever. It would be needless to enter in detail into the narrative of the various expedients which were devised or suggested, with the view either of inducing the American Government to come round to the opinion of our ministers, that the treaty and protocols, rightly interpreted, excluded and were meant to exclude these claims; or, if that were found impossible, to negotiate a supplementary treaty getting rid of them. To the first alternative the American Government steadily declined to accede; the second they were willing to agree to. Difficulties, however, arose, which had not been overcome when the tribunal met on the 15th June, and at once set matters right by ruling out the claims. These resultless negotiations have lost all interest; but the question may still be asked—Which was really in the right, the American Government which considered that the treaty did not exclude claims for indirect losses, or the British Government which maintained that it did exclude them? To this question most persons would reply, that undoubtedly, as a matter of argument, the American Government was right. Mr. Fish, at the opening of the protocols, expressed the readiness of the United States to withdraw these claims, if an "amicable settlement" could be arrived at by the High Commission. "Exactly so," say the partisans of the exclusion theory; "and what more amicable settlement could there be than the agreement to refer the claims of the United States to arbitration, as was done by the treaty?" But this is not what was meant by Mr. Fish. He meant to say, "If we can settle this matter amicably together, now and here, you owning that reparation was due to the United States, and we desiring to remove all causes of difference and replace the nations on their old footing of friendship, in that case we will say nothing about indirect or constructive losses, but merely ask you to pay for the actual damage done by the cruisers which were allowed to escape out of your harbours." The British commissioners rejected this mode of settlement. As we have seen (see *ante*, p. 524), they would not admit that Great Britain lay under any liability for the acts of the cruisers, and this in the same instrument (for the treaty and protocols may be taken together as forming one instrument) in which they expressed the regret of the Government for their escape. They allowed the words to be used in the first article, with reference to all the claims therein referred to, "*which are not admitted by Her Britannic Majesty's Government.*" Surely it is an abuse of language to say that claims which "are not admitted" have been amicably settled. The reference to arbitration involved considerable delay and great expense; it conceded nothing, but simply substituted arbitration for war,—a humane and civilised substitution, we grant, but one no more to be confounded with an "amicable settlement" than war itself. It seems that the ministers, and the commissioners likewise, were so possessed with the idea that they were inaugurating a great epoch, in which peaceful arbitration was to take the place of war, that they failed to weigh their words with sufficient care, or to appreciate the exact bearing of each step in the transaction.

On the 15th April the counter cases were filed on both sides, with express reservation of all the rights of both Governments. The special meaning of the reservation on the part of Great Britain was this—that our putting in a counter case was to be without prejudice to the position which we had taken up, that claims for indirect losses were excluded by the treaty from the consideration of the arbitrators. Two months after the presentation of the counter cases, on the 15th June, the tribunal sat again, and the United States, as was prescribed by the treaty, filed their argument. This was a printed volume of 495 pages, drawn up by the American counsel, Messrs. Waite, Evarts, and Cushing, in which the facts and arguments of the British counter case were replied to at great length. It dealt with both classes of claims, national as well as individual, being, in fact, co-extensive with the original case. The British Government, on the plea that the negotiation with the United States respecting the elimination of the former sort of claims was still pending, withheld its argument, but filed a statement before the tribunal, shortly describing the difficulty which had occurred, and moving an adjournment of the arbitration for eight months, within

which time it was expected that a fresh understanding and a new point of departure would be arrived at between the two Governments.

The tribunal adjourned till the 19th June to consider the unexpected turn which affairs had taken. On that day they met again, and Count Sclopis read a paper, the effect of which was to eliminate the claims for indirect losses from the arbitration. "The arbitrators," it was said, "wish it to be understood that, in the observations which they are about to make, they have in view solely the application of the agent of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, which is now before them, for an adjournment." The statement proceeds to enumerate the classes of claims, the presentation of which had caused a difference between the two Governments, and continues: "This being so, the arbitrators think it right to state that, after the most careful perusal of all that has been urged on the part of the Government of the United States in respect of these claims, they have arrived, individually and collectively, at the conclusion that these claims do not constitute, upon the principles of international law applicable to such cases, good foundation for an award of compensation or computation of damages between nations, and should upon such principles be wholly excluded from the consideration of the tribunal in making its award, even if there were no disagreement between the two Governments as to the competency of the tribunal to decide thereon."

It will be noticed how prudently and warily this decision was expressed. The tribunal abstained from entering upon the question, disputed between the two Governments, whether or not these claims were inadmissible under the Treaty of Washington; much less did it offer any opinion as to their intrinsic character, whether just or unjust, moderate or excessive. It simply decided that, according to international law, such claims could not form a good foundation for an award of damages as between nations. Now this was a matter on which it was evidently within the competency of the tribunal to pronounce an opinion; and, this being so, the character of the eminent men who sat as arbitrators imparted great weight and cogency to their unanimous sentence. Accordingly, the American counsel telegraphed to Washington the contents of the arbitrators' statement, and advised that it should be acceded to. Mr. Fish telegraphed back that the President accepted this decision, and from henceforth "regards the claims set forth in the case presented on the part of the United States for loss in the transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag, the enhanced payments of insurance, and the prolongation of the war, and the addition of a large sum to the cost of the war and the suppression of the rebellion, as adjudicated and disposed of; and that consequently they will not be further insisted on before the tribunal by the United States."

Thus were the "indirect claims" (as they were usually, but incorrectly called) swept out of the case and disposed of. The direct losses occasioned by the depredations of the cruisers, and the expenses incurred in the pursuit of them, were now the only matters in respect of which claims lay before the tribunal for adjudication. The British agent, June 27, announced the acquiescence of his Government in the decision, withdrew his motion of adjournment, and filed the British argument.

Geneva, with its intellectual and cosmopolitan society, and Switzerland, with its ancient and recognised neutrality, were well chosen as the city and the country in which this international trial should be held. The cantonal Government warmly entered into the plans of the parties to the treaty, welcomed the arbitrators to their city, and placed a large and suitably arranged chamber in the Hotel de Ville—the Salle des Conférences—at their disposal. On the same day on which the British motion of adjournment was withdrawn, the President, Count Sclopis, "a man of large stature and dignified presence," read the opening discourse. M. Stæmpfli, who sat on the right hand of the President, is said to have had "a deep brown complexion, piercing dark eyes, jet black hair, and a quick but suppressed manner;"* so that any one who entered the hall in ignorance of the nationality of the arbitrators would have been more likely to set down Helvetia's representative as having been nursed under tropic suns, than the fair complexioned Brazilian, with "an air of gentleness and affability," who represented the rising empire in the west. In the interval between December and June, Stæmpfli had deeply studied the cases and counter cases, had thought out a programme of operations for the tribunal, and written out carefully reasoned opinions on the salient points of the controversy. As a Republican, his sympathies naturally inclined him to side with the United States; not, of course, to an extent incompatible with judicial impartiality; and, as a Swiss Republican, his pre-conceptions are said to have been, in this particular question, specially unfavourable to England, and for the following reason. Switzerland, a weak state surrounded by great military Powers, cannot afford to pass just neutrality laws, and trust their rigid execution to the chapter of accidents; its Government must *spontaneously* enforce upon its citizens obedience to those laws, or the Republic would be continually getting into difficulties with foreign Powers. In England, on the other hand, the attitude of the Government has been wont hitherto to be passive; if some private individual, or one of the belligerents, puts the law in motion, or urges the Government to do so, the intention of the Legislature in favour of neutrality is executed; but not otherwise. And this, though not to be justified on strict views of international duty, has been natural with us, just as an active attitude has been natural with Switzerland, because it has not been an obvious, pressing, national interest with us to prevent our neutrality from being abused.

Each side, as we have seen, had filed its argument by the 27th June. But the article of the treaty directing this appears to have been diversely understood by the two parties. The American counsel, besides meeting in their argument the various opposing statements, whether of law or of fact, contained in the British counter case, re-

* See the work of Mr. Cushing before mentioned.

argued the whole question at great length, and pressed upon the tribunal the American view of its merits with the greatest cogency that they could command. On the other hand, the British argument, which was simply entitled "Argument or Summary," was short and meagre; it aimed merely at summarising arguments which had before been advanced in the case and counter case; and it was felt, or imagined, that the British view of the question, if this were the final word upon it, would be placed at some disadvantage before the tribunal when opposed to the eloquent and forcible argument of the American counsel. Sir Roundell Palmer therefore—who had been appointed counsel to Her Majesty's Government—endeavoured to arrange with the counsel on the other side for an adjournment, so that he might have time to prepare a fresh argument; and when this did not succeed, Lord Tenterden formally moved that the arbitration should be adjourned till August, to give time to Sir Roundell Palmer to prepare a written argument in reply to that put in by the United States. The tribunal decided that there should be no adjournment. The treaty provided for no further arguments being laid before the tribunal, after the filing of the arguments which were due on the 15th June, except on particular points on which the arbitrators might themselves desire to be assisted by hearing the opinions, written or oral, of counsel. If the tribunal had allowed time for Sir Roundell Palmer to prepare an argument which the treaty did not contemplate, the American counsel must have had time to prepare a reply, and then there might have been a rejoinder and a sur-rejoinder with equal propriety, and so the arbitration might have run on to infinity.

The tribunal, after the lodgment of the arguments, adjourned to the 15th July. On that day M. Stæmpfli produced the programme before referred to, and proposed to take up the case of some one vessel, and consider whether on that vessel Great Britain was responsible to the United States. The British arbitrator opposed this, and moved that the tribunal should first of all discuss and settle the general principles by which it would be guided in its decision. But the other arbitrators were of the opinion of M. Stæmpfli, and Sir A. Cockburn's motion was overruled. The case of the *Florida* was then entered upon. Sir A. Cockburn first read his opinion on this case; then Mr. Adams, Baron d'Itajubá, and Count Sclopis successively read their opinions. On the 19th July the case was adjudged, the tribunal deciding by a majority of four to one that Great Britain had been guilty of a want of due diligence in regard to the *Florida*. After a short adjournment the tribunal met again on the 25th July. On the motion of the Baron d'Itajubá, the counsel for Great Britain were requested to give in a statement in elucidation of the following three points:—

1. The meaning of "due diligence" as defined by the treaty: to be treated in a general manner.

2. The effect of the commissions possessed by Confederate ships-of-war which entered British ports.

3. The supplies of coal granted to those vessels in the ports in question.

The statement required was handed in a few days afterwards. Meantime the case of the *Alabama* was proceeded with, being treated in the same way as that of the *Florida*. The arbitrators all agreed that Great Britain had failed in due diligence in regard to this vessel, but Sir A. Cockburn came to this conclusion on grounds somewhat different from those which commended themselves to the majority of the arbitrators. The Baron d'Itajubá at the time expressed his adhesion to the statement of Sir A. Cockburn—so, at least, it is stated by Mr. Cushing;* but in the final award he adhered to the views of the majority respecting the *Alabama*. Then the cases of the *Shenandoah*, the *Georgia*, and other vessels were successively examined. Separate decisions having been arrived at respecting all the vessels for whose proceedings it was sought to hold Great Britain responsible, the tribunal voted on the 26th August, the British arbitrator alone dissenting, to deliberate thenceforward with closed doors, as it was now its object to consider its award. The deliberations of the tribunal had never been public from the first; that is to say, reporters for the press, and all other persons not officially connected with the arbitration, had been excluded; but the agents and counsel on both sides had, by the invitation of the arbitrators, remained in attendance. These last also were now excluded, during the period from the 26th August to the 14th September.

On Saturday the 14th September, the tribunal met, this time with open doors, for its thirty-second and last session. The Hall of Conference was crowded with ladies, English and American spectators, and distinguished natives of Geneva. The President produced the Act of Decision, and directed the Secretary to read it in English, which was done. The originals of the act or award, in duplicate, were signed by four of the arbitrators, Count Sclopis, M. Stæmpfli, the Viscount† d'Itajubá, and Mr. Adams, and a copy delivered to each of the agents. A third original, similarly subscribed, was destined to be preserved among the archives of the Council of State of Geneva. Sir A. Cockburn declined to sign the award, and presented a statement of his reasons for dissenting from it, which the tribunal ordered to be received and recorded as an annex to the protocol of that day's proceedings. Then Count Sclopis, in a final address, declared the labours of the arbitrators to be terminated, and the tribunal dissolved. Salvos of artillery greeted the announcement that the blessed labours of the "peacemakers" had had a successful issue, and the flags of Switzerland and Geneva were unrolled between the banners of England and the United States.

Mr. Cushing indulges in terms of unmeasured denunciation when speaking of the reasons for dissent submitted by the Lord Chief Justice. The act of that distinguished and able judge he describes as "a dishonourable imposition on the tribunal and on both Governments;" he declares that the reasons are "false as reasoning," "a *nisi prius* argument," full of "unjudicial violence and

* Page 18.

† He had become a viscount since the commencement of the arbitration.

extravagance," &c., &c. So voluminous an argument, Mr. Cushing thinks, ought to have been laid before the arbitrators while the proceedings were pending, and not reserved to the end. But separate opinions were duly offered by the Lord Chief Justice as the arbitration proceeded; nor can we see anything inconsistent with his judicial position in his desire—like any other judge who dissents from the opinion of the majority of his brothers on the bench—to support his dissent from the award by a detailed and fully reasoned statement. To say that he treats the matter like an advocate seems to us untrue. He finds Great Britain guilty of negligence in regard to the escape of the *Alabama*; and, in the case of the *Florida*, although he will not go to that length, he says that in his opinion she ought to have been condemned by the Admiralty Court at Nassau, and that there was "a miscarriage of justice in her acquittal." As to the *Shenandoah*, he certainly says that he "cannot too strongly express his dissent from the opinion of the majority;" but if he was right and they were wrong, the expression of his decided opposition derogated in no way from his judicial character. The highest authorities in England regard Lord Chief Justice Cockburn's protest as a piece of masterly argument, expressed in a lofty strain of judicial eloquence.

The reader may find the following analysis of the award useful. After the usual formal recitals, the tribunal states that, having impartially and carefully examined the cases, counter cases, arguments, and all other communications laid before them on the part of the two Governments,—

"Whereas the arbitrators are bound by the Treaty of Washington to direct their judgment by the three rules specified in Article VI. of that treaty, and by such principles of international law not inconsistent therewith as the arbitrators shall determine to have been applicable to the case;

"And whereas the 'due diligence' referred to in the first and third of the said rules ought to be exercised by neutral Governments, in exact proportion to the risks to which either of the belligerents may be exposed from a failure to fulfil the obligations of neutrality on their part;

* * * * * *

"And whereas the effects of a violation of neutrality, committed by means of the construction, equipment, and armament of a vessel, are not done away by any commission which the Government of the belligerent Power benefited by the violation of neutrality may afterwards have granted to that vessel; and the ultimate step, by which the offence is completed, cannot be admissible as a ground for the absolution of the offender, nor can the consummation of his fraud become the means of establishing his innocence;

"And whereas the privilege of exterritoriality accorded to vessels of war has been admitted into the law of nations, not as an absolute right, but solely as a proceeding founded on the principles of courtesy and mutual deference between different nations, and therefore can never be appealed to for the protection of acts done in violation of neutrality;

"And whereas the absence of a previous notice cannot be regarded as a failure in any consideration required by the law of nations in those cases in which a vessel carries with it its own condemnation;

"And whereas, in order to impart to any supplies of coal a character inconsistent with the second rule, prohibiting the use of neutral ports or waters as a base of naval operations for a belligerent, it is necessary that the said supplies should be connected with special circumstances of time, of persons, or of places, which may combine to give them such character;

"And whereas Great Britain was guilty of a want of due diligence in regard to the building, escape from her jurisdiction, and arming of the *Alabama*;

"And whereas, in despite of the violations of the neutrality of Great Britain, committed by the *Alabama*, this same vessel . . . was on several occasions freely admitted into the ports of colonies of Great Britain, instead of being proceeded against as it ought to have been in any and every port within British jurisdiction in which it might have been found;

"And whereas the Government of Her Britannic Majesty cannot justify itself for a failure in due diligence on the plea of the insufficiency of the legal means of action which it possessed,

"Four of the arbitrators, for the reasons above assigned, and the fifth for reasons separately assigned by him, are of opinion that Great Britain has in this case failed, by omission, to fulfil the duties prescribed in the first and the third of the rules established by the sixth article of the Treaty of Washington."

Upon somewhat similar, but more special grounds, the tribunal, in the case of the *Florida*, was of opinion, by a majority of four voices to one, that Great Britain had failed to fulfil the duties prescribed by all three rules. The finding with regard to the *Shenandoah* we quote *in extenso*:—

"Whereas, with respect to the vessel called the *Shenandoah*, it results from all the facts relative to the departure from London of the merchant vessel the *Sea King*, and to the transformation of that ship into a Confederate cruiser, under the name of the *Shenandoah*, near the island of Madeira, that the Government of Her Britannic Majesty is not chargeable with any failure down to that date, in the use of due diligence to fulfil the duties of neutrality;

"But whereas it results from all the facts connected with the stay of the *Shenandoah* at Melbourne, and especially with the augmentation which the British Government itself admits to have been clandestinely effected of her force by the enlistment of men within that port, that there was negligence on the part of the authorities at that place;

"For these reasons the tribunal is unanimously of opinion that Great Britain has not failed to fulfil any duty prescribed by the three rules or by international law, in respect of the *Shenandoah*, previous to her entry into the port of Melbourne;

"And, by a majority of three to two voices, the tribunal decides that Great Britain has failed by omission to fulfil the duties prescribed by the second and third of the rules aforesaid, in the case of this same vessel, from and after her entry into Hobson's Bay, and is therefore responsible for all acts committed by that vessel after her departure from Melbourne on the 18th day of February, 1865."

In the next paragraph the tribunal decides unanimously that the tenders to the *Alabama* and *Florida* "must necessarily follow the lot of their principals, and be submitted to the same decision which applies to them respectively."

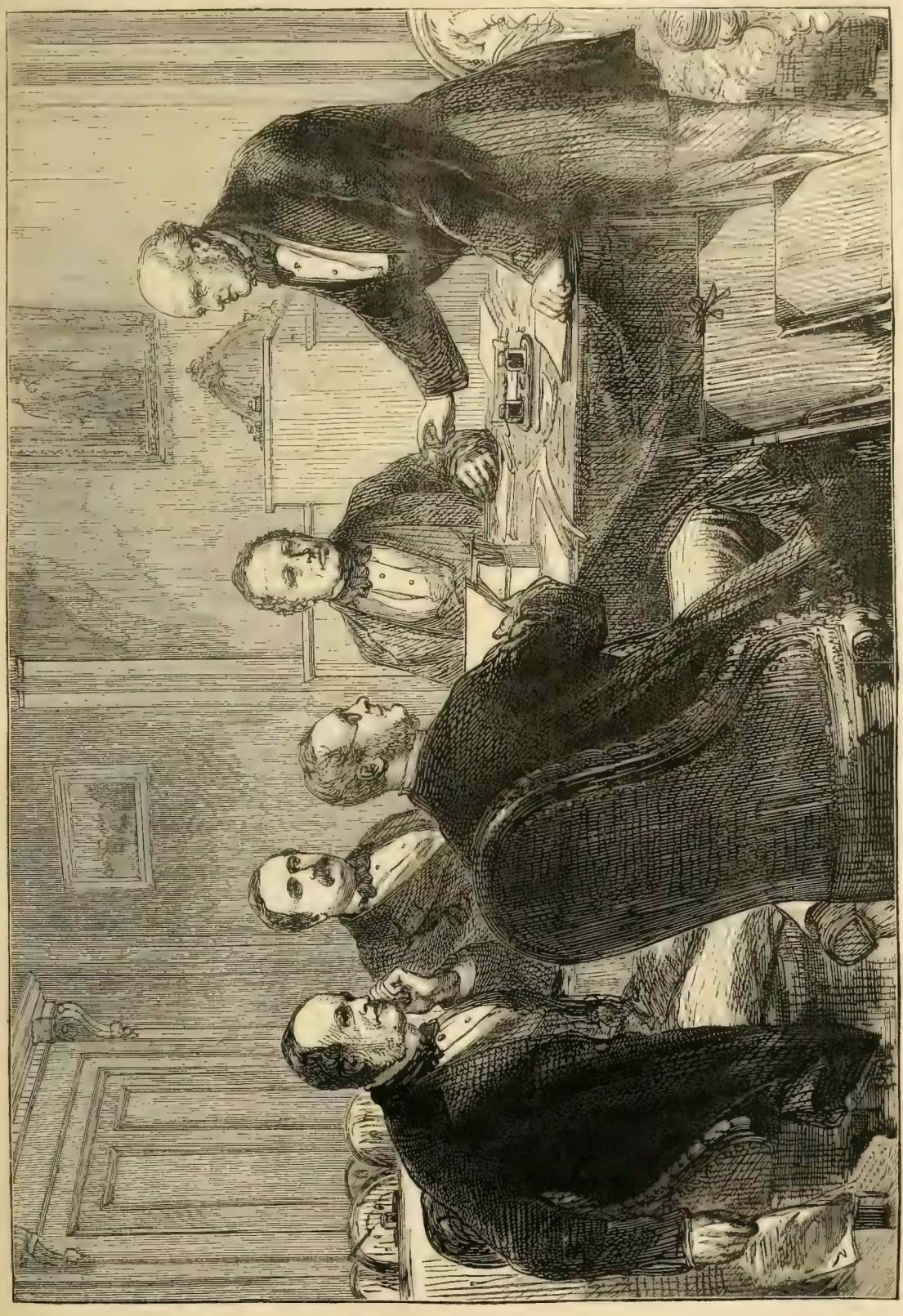
Then follow paragraphs in which the tribunal exempts Great Britain from responsibility, so far as relates to the vessels called the *Retribution*, the *Georgia*, the *Sumter*, the *Nashville*, the *Tallahassee*, and the *Chickamauga*.

The costs incurred by the American Government in pursuit of the cruisers, being the second head of the claims of the United States, are then disallowed, as not properly distinguishable from the general expenses of the war. The personal claims, also included among the direct losses by the United States, and which were founded on an assumed loss of profits and wages to American citizens through the captures effected by the cruisers, were disallowed by the tribunal, on the ground that "prospective earnings cannot properly be made the subject of compensation, inasmuch as they depend in their nature upon future and uncertain contingencies."

Having thus passed judgment upon the various claims submitted to it, the tribunal proceeds to make its award of compensation. Discreetly withholding the calculations by which it has attained the result, the tribunal merely states that the same losses must not be paid for twice over, and that interest must be allowed at a reasonable rate; and then, using the authority conferred upon it by the seventh article of the treaty to award a sum in gross, by a "majority of four voices to one, awards to the United States the sum of 15,500,000 dollars in gold as the indemnity to be paid by Great Britain to the United States for the satisfaction of all the claims referred to the consideration of the tribunal."

All claims known under the name of the "Alabama Claims" are then declared to be fully, perfectly, and finally settled, and the signatures of the four arbitrators

M. STÆMPFLI.



MEETING OF THE ARBITRATORS ON THE ALABAMA CLAIMS AT GENEVA.

follow, the British arbitrator having, as was mentioned before, refused to sign.

We have now brought the history of the Alabama Claims, and of the negotiations and other international transactions which grew out of them, to a termination. To a citizen of the United States it is a narrative which must convey almost unqualified satisfaction. In spite of some recklessness of assertion on the part of its agents, and some measure of extravagance in the extent to which it carried its claims, it must be said of the American Government that it knew what it wanted, and pursued its object temperately and steadily, with a sincere and laudable desire to avoid the calamity of war, but with a firm resolution never to desist from the prosecution of its claims until it had obtained redress. By the award of the arbitrators this persistence was justified in the face of Europe and of the world, and we cannot wonder if the 14th of September was to an American citizen a day of proud and joyful emotion. The feelings of Englishmen were of a mixed nature. All rejoiced that the causes of difference between two nations which have every motive to be friends were removed; but some people in England could not but feel that the finding of the tribunal was not very honourable to the nation, which had repudiated its liability for certain acts and omissions, which now were declared by an independent tribunal to have been culpable and injurious. How, then, had this English nation been brought to such an undesirable position? Those who took this view found the reasons, partly in the wrongful acts of British subjects, violating their country's neutrality during the war for the sake of gain, partly in a series of mistakes committed by our Government. First of all, the lax administration of Earl Russell during the war led to the abuse of our neutrality in the escape of war-vessels which ought to have been better watched, and prevented the adoption of active measures stringent enough to repress the evil. Secondly, it was a great error on the part of Earl Russell to reject peremptorily as he did the first application of the American Government for redress. Thirdly, the plan of arbitration agreed to in 1868 was abandoned by Mr. Gladstone's Government, and a new plan accepted which had not the advantages of the first. Under the Derby-Johnson convention the reference to arbitration was limited; the arbitrators were only to be called in to decide those points which the commissioners on both sides should by common consent refer to them. An unlimited reference of all the American claims to arbitration seemed to imply (so those who objected to the arbitration argued) — first, an incapacity on the part of the British Government to form and hold a decided opinion as to the plain right and wrong of cases where they had all the materials and every facility for forming a correct judgment; secondly, the decision by foreigners of points affecting the honour and good faith of British officials in distant countries, which no one could so well judge of, or was so bound to uphold, as the British Government itself. Fourthly, from the primary error of consenting to an unlimited arbitration flowed naturally the error of submitting the case of the *Shenandoah* to the decision of the tribunal. In the facts connected with the transformation of that vessel into a cruiser, and her departure from England, the non-liability of England to censure was recognised unanimously by the arbitrators. But they found, by a majority of three to two, that there was negligence on the part of the Melbourne authorities, and condemned Great Britain accordingly. Now our Government knew perfectly well that the Melbourne Government had not been negligent, and deserved no censure; and it was neither fair to the authorities there, nor consistent with the dignity of this country, to allow their conduct to be called in question. Some of the arbitrators do not seem to have understood English manners or the English language sufficiently to estimate aright the intentions and acts of the Melbourne Government. We have seen (page 514) that the Executive Council decided that Lieutenant Waddell should be "requested to reconsider" his determination not to allow his ship to be searched, and that meantime the permission for repairs was suspended. The council made use of this expression, partly because they were not certain of the law, partly because it was a courteous way of giving time to the commander to reflect, under the pressure of the suspension, on the consequences of his conduct. M. Stæmpfli describes this by the words, "Decision du conseil de *faire prier* [the italics are M. Stæmpfli's] Waddell de revenir sur sa resolution"—"Decision of the council to cause Waddell to be begged to alter (or, recede from) his resolution." M. Stæmpfli no doubt believed himself to be rendering the English words correctly; but we see that his translation in fact gives them a turn which they have not in the original. Again, he says that the suspension was withdrawn "sur les simples representations de Waddell;" but the documents in his hands proved that this was not so. A reference to our account of the *Shenandoah's* stay at Melbourne, a few pages back, will show what actually occurred. Many other instances of extraordinary inaccuracy in M. Stæmpfli's judicial opinions are cited by the Lord Chief Justice.

A further cause of dissatisfaction was found in the assumption by the tribunal of the position, as an undoubted principle of international law, that the commission of a Confederate cruiser, the building or arming of which had been attended with infractions of British neutrality, did not protect her from seizure upon her entering a British port. The impolicy and positive injustice of such a doctrine, unless full notice were given previously to the Confederate Government, is ably shown in the argument of Sir R. Palmer; to which the arbitrators only reply with the rhetorical flourish, that such a vessel "carries with it its own condemnation," and therefore may be seized without notice! No English Government, we may feel certain, will ever act on the principle thus laid down by the tribunal. And to assume as a rule for their judgment an opinion which, though vindicated by some writers, is keenly contested by others, and cannot therefore be regarded as a settled principle of international law, seems to have been scarcely justified by the article of the treaty which directed that the arbitrators should be guided, firstly, by the three rules,

and, secondly, by such *principles of international law*, not inconsistent therewith, as they might determine to be applicable to the case.

Yet in spite of some things which afford matter for regret, the result of the Geneva and San Juan arbitrations is held by most persons to be not discouraging, but much the contrary, with regard to the general policy of nations submitting disputed points to the judgment of an independent international tribunal. It should, however, show us the unwisdom, on the one hand, of an *unlimited* reference, as at Geneva; on the other hand, of a reference unfairly and unskilfully limited, as at Berlin. Duly controlled, it may again be useful to us and other nations in the future, and may avert the evils of war, by solving and removing "burning questions," without involving either party to the cause in unmerited humiliation.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Commune—Demonstrations of the Red Faction—Seizures of Cannon—Disbandment of the Army of Paris—Suppression of Journals—The Government resolve to retake the Cannon—The Central Committee dominant in Paris—Murder of Generals Clement Thomas and Lecomte—Loss of Vincennes—Military Preparations at Versailles—Manifesto of the 20th March—Efforts of Admiral Saisset—The International Society—Election of a Municipal Council, which takes the name of Commune—The Bank of France—Defeat of the Federals—Actions of the 3rd April—Storming of the Bridge of Neuilly—Decree of the Hostages—Arrest of the Archbishop of Paris and other Ecclesiastics—Decree for the Demolition of the Napoleon Column—It is carried into Execution on the 16th May—Decree for the Expropriation of Works and Factories—Declaration of the 19th April—Circular sent from Versailles—Conduct of the Freemasons—The Delegacy of War—Cluseret, Rossel, Delescluze, New Committee of Public Safety—The Commune orders M. Thiers' House to be Destroyed—Proclamation concerning Petroleum and Mineral Oils.

At the end of Chapter XL. we related the conclusion of a treaty of peace between France and Germany, and the entry of a portion of the Prussian army into Paris on the 1st March, 1871. A still more disastrous chapter of French history must now be briefly touched upon. We shall see France torn to pieces by the arms of her own sons, after having suffered incredible losses and humiliations from a foreign enemy; we shall contemplate a furious struggle in which the enemies of religion, morality, and social order were ranged on one side, and all that was soundest and best in the French nation on the other. Happily the contest was short, for the insurgents showed their hand too plainly for the issues at stake to be misunderstood by any portion of their countrymen; even Lyons would not fight for Felix Pyat and Blanqui; but the barbarians of the nineteenth century were not vanquished till, amidst the destruction of monuments and works of art, the conflagration of libraries, and the ruins of the fairest city in Europe, their red flag—the symbol of hatred and despair—was torn from their grasp, and flaunted no longer before the outraged eyes of civilised mankind.

From the date of the capitulation at the end of January a feeling of savage discontent with their own government and all persons in authority animated the greater part of the population in the revolutionary quarters of Paris. As early as the 11th February officers and soldiers could not enter the precincts of Belleville without being exposed to menace and insult. Of the sounder portion of the National Guard, representing the respectable and well-to-do classes in Paris, a large number, wearied out by the privations and confinement of the siege, had gone into the country, and the remainder, despondent and dejected, reluctantly obeyed the summons of their commanders. On the other hand, the battalions of the National Guard recruited from Montmartre and Belleville, to the members of which the daily pay was an important consideration, remained under arms, and were all the more formidable as a military force, because the regular army and the Mobiles, with the exception of the division Faron, had been compelled under the armistice to surrender their arms to the Prussians. At a meeting of the Council of Government held on the 16th February, General Clément Thomas, the commandant-in-chief of the National Guard, explained the dangerous condition of the force, and asked leave to resign. His resignation was accepted, and the command was given *ad interim* to Vinoy, until it could be assumed by General d'Aurelle de Paladines, whom it was intended to make the new commandant, but whom his duties as deputy to the National Assembly detained for the present at Bordeaux. Meantime a secret organisation, which had for a long time been making progress in the disaffected portion of the National Guard, prepared to dispute the control of the force with the nominee of the Government. This organisation had by this time gained external form in the shape of a "Central Committee of the National Guard," sitting in the Rue de la Corderie. Round this nucleus of revolt all the elements of sedition and anti-social conspiracy with which the revolutionary quarters of Paris were teeming quickly gathered. The International Society, formed in this country with quite innocent objects in 1864, but soon perverted by continental members to communistic and anarchical purposes, entered into a league of friendship—upon what terms is not precisely known—with the Central Committee. Sinister demonstrations soon showed the nature of the power that was getting the upper hand in Paris. On the 24th February, by way of celebrating the downfall of Louis Philippe, and the Revolution of 1848, a mob hoisted the red flag on the column of the Place de la Bastille. On the next day a processional demonstration took place round the same column, at which 2,000 Mobiles of the Seine, and even many soldiers of the line in uniform, were present. On the 26th, Vicensini, the police agent, was foully and brutally murdered by a mob in which there were many women. On the same day a number of persons, acting probably under orders from the Central Committee, seized a number of cannon which were standing on the Place Wagram, under the pretence of saving them from the Prussians, and carried them off to Montmartre. General Vinoy, who had now only a slender armed force at his disposal, could not prevent the seizure, nor did he think it advisable to send troops at once to retake the

guns, partly because his thoughts and time were occupied with the subject of the approaching entry of the Prussians, partly because a number of honest people had taken part in the removal of the guns in perfect good faith, thinking that they were thereby saving them from the Prussians. From this date seizures of cannon and munitions of war, made by that portion of the National Guard which obeyed the orders of the Central Committee, occurred almost daily at the different bastions of the *enceinte*, till by the 18th March a mass of artillery numbering not less than 170 pieces was collected at Montmartre, and a large number also at the Buttes de Chaumont in Belleville. In their new positions the guns were carefully placed behind temporary earth-works, and National Guards mounted guard over them.

General Vinoy had little time to attend to these disquieting incidents till the occupation of Paris by the Germans was at an end. The vapouring bluster and sanguinary rant of the Red journals gave reason to fear that collisions, of which none could foresee the terrible consequences, might arise between the Germans and the troops of the émeute, upon the triumphant entry of the former into Paris. To prevent this was for the moment the one absorbing care of the commander-in-chief. His arrangements to this end were admirably planned, and completely answered their purpose. But after the Germans had departed (March 3), it was still impossible for some time to pay much attention to the Central Committee. The Army of Paris, disarmed and worse than useless, a great proportion of the soldiers composing it being now due for their discharge, had to be disbanded and sent to their several homes before any effectual steps could be taken towards forming the regular army of the future. At the date of the capitulation, this army, including 100,000 Mobiles, numbered about 250,000 men. The Mobiles of the department of the Seine, a force of about 21,000 men, were disbanded first; they received their discharge with ten days' pay on the 7th March. Immediately after, 26,000 Mobiles from the departments nearest to Paris were discharged; and the remainder of the Mobiles, whose homes lay farther off, were all dispatched into the provinces before the 15th March. From the dilapidated state of the railways, and the trouble caused by the arrogant domination of the conquerors in a large portion of France, the disbandment of these troops was an affair of much delicacy and difficulty. The gallant tars, who had worked the great guns in the forts with such unflagging vigour, were then sent down to the coast; lastly, the troops of the line, divided into three great columns, were sent out of the city to the respective destinations of Orleans, Chartres, and Evreux. Seeing that he was about to be left with hardly any other troops at his disposal than those of the division Faron, Vinoy wrote to Bordeaux early in March, requesting the Minister of War, General Le Flo, to send him an immediate reinforcement. The Minister promised to send four divisions, the total strength of which, however, did not exceed 25,000 men, and also ten batteries of artillery.

General d'Aurelle arrived in Paris on the 4th March, and assumed the command of the National Guard. The Central Committee viewed with the highest disfavour this assertion of a regular and legitimate authority; and they lost no time in acquainting De Paladines with their sentiments. Unfortunately, the right of choosing their own officers in the subordinate ranks had been already conceded to the National Guard during the siege; the demand, therefore, that they should also elect their commander-in-chief was not without a certain plausibility. Availing themselves of the ill-judged concession just mentioned, the National Guards of the 13th Arrondissement elected as their commander (March 8) a working man named Duval, who immediately dubbed himself "General." On the previous day the Prussians had evacuated the forts on the left bank of the Seine, which were given in charge to the brigade Daudel. An attempt made on the 10th March to get back the guns on Montmartre peaceably, through the intervention of M. Clemenceau, Mayor of the 18th Arrondissement, proved a failure. All this time a number of journals were, by the seditious and blasphemous language in which they revelled, pouring daily poison into the popular mind and heart. The Government felt the evil to be so great that it ordered (March 11) the suppression of six journals, of which the *Vengeur*, edited by Felix Pyat, and the infamous *Père Duchesne*, edited by Vermesch, were the most notorious. About the same time a council of war condemned Flourens and Blanqui to death for their seditious proceedings during the siege. It also became known in Paris that the National Assembly, when it left Bordeaux, would not fix itself at the capital, but would sit at Versailles. This news, the condemnation of their fellow conspirators, and the suppression of the journals, caused a great ferment among the party of anarchy. They were, however, exasperated without being deterred; so long as they kept the guns, and held the command of the heights of Montmartre and Belleville, they knew that no other Government could consider itself master of Paris.

M. Thiers, the Chief of the State, knew this also; and the growing audacity of the Red Republicans disquieted him more and more. The Germans having evacuated Versailles on the 12th March, he had come up from Bordeaux to make preparations for the opening of the Assembly in its new chamber, the Versailles Theatre, on the 20th instant. He held council with Vinoy, De Paladines, and Le Flo, on the 17th. All were agreed that the guns must be recovered, the Central Committee dissolved, and its members arrested. But Vinoy, who knew better than the others the unsatisfactory condition of the army, wished that the attempt should be postponed for a few days, till the return of some good and seasoned troops from Germany should have imparted greater solidity to the force at his disposal. He was overruled, and the attack was arranged for the next day. The divisions Susbielle and Faron were to march simultaneously on Montmartre and Belleville, and to recover the guns, using whatever force might be required for the purpose. All went well at first; by 5 A.M. the divisions named, without having encountered any serious opposition, had made

themselves masters of the heights, and had the stolen guns in their possession. But they could not be removed without horses and gun-carriages; and as these, in order not to impede the movements of the troops, had been left at some distance in the rear, a delay of several hours took place. The Central Committee, which the suddenness of the blow appears to have at first stunned, recovered courage, and called out the battalions of National Guards which obeyed its orders. Barricades began to rise in the streets leading to the heights, and the heads of columns to appear. An incident which occurred in the Boulevard d'Ornano decided the issue of the day. Here a detachment of the 88th Regiment met a column of the National Guard, at whose head were some soldiers of the line, who had deserted their colours and fraternised with them. The mutineers shouted "*Vive la Republique*," and the men of the 88th Regiment (one of those which had been lately sent up from Bordeaux) threw the butts of their rifles into the air, fraternised with those whom it was their duty to quell and disperse, and afterwards, when the gun-carriages arrived, assisted them to prevent the removal of the guns. The misconduct of the 120th Regiment at the Buttes de Chaumont caused the attempt to retake the guns to fail there also. By twelve o'clock the enterprise had failed signally; the troops seemed determined not to fire on the insurgents, whatever might happen; and they were withdrawn in the course of the afternoon, leaving the brave General Lecomte in the hands of the revolted National Guard.

General Vinoy has been much blamed for the delay which occurred after the troops had gained possession of the heights; it has been said that if the carriages had been brought up immediately, an hour would have sufficed for the removal of the guns, and the party of disorder would not have had time to rally. The General replies * by calling attention to the number of guns and the quantity of warlike material that had to be removed,—a removal, he says, which it would have required at least forty-eight hours, instead of one, to accomplish. If this be so, but little progress could have been made in removing the guns in the four or five hours which elapsed between the first arrival of the troops and their treacherous collusion with the mob, even if the gun-carriages and horses had been present from the commencement.

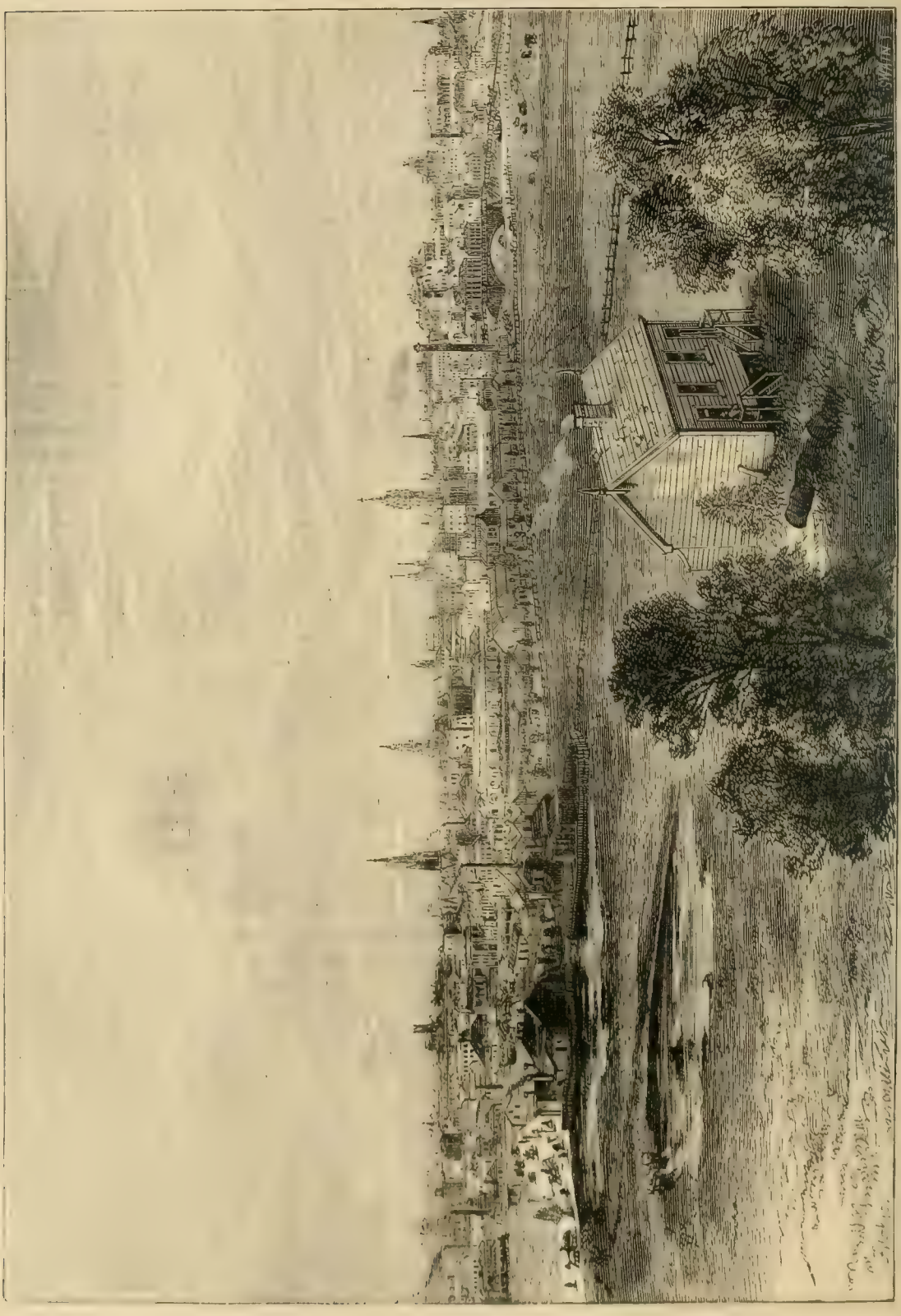
To a fine old soldier like Vinoy, the conduct of the troops on the 18th March must have been heart-breaking. Evidently it would not do to keep the army any longer in Paris; the men must be removed at once out of the reach of the corrupting voices of the siren city. Orders were sent to all generals of brigade, and all officers on detachment duty, to concentrate at the Ecole Militaire, near the Champs de Mars. General Derroja, finding that his brigade, which was quartered near the Hotel de Ville, was hemmed in on all sides by the troops of the insurrection, assembled his men in the Napoleon barrack, and drawing his sword, placed himself at their head, and marched out into the middle of the crowd. Not the slightest attempt was made to stop him. By the morning of the 19th, the whole army had evacuated Paris, and in the course of that day and the next it encamped in and round Versailles. At the same time the order was given to the troops of the brigade Daudel, who held the five southern forts, to evacuate them, and follow the rest of the army to Versailles. It must have cost the General much to give such an order, to surrender strongholds—

Quas multo repetet *Francia* milite,—

strongholds which were not recovered without shedding the blood of many brave and many misguided men. But besides that the positive order of M. Thiers left him no choice in the matter, Vinoy was himself of opinion that it was the right course to adopt. The garrisons of these forts, besides being exposed without support to the seductions and temptations with which they would be sure to be plied by the insurgents, had little chance of being able to defend them successfully, if seriously attacked from the side of the *enceinte*. They were of course never intended, and it would have been very difficult to adapt them, for defensive purposes as against the city and *enceinte*. But the most pressing reason of all was that drawn from considerations of discipline. "It was above all things necessary," says Vinoy, "to consider how to re-organise completely this army, which had just given such a fatal proof of its weakness and inexperience; and if this result were not promptly arrived at, one could not but expect still greater misfortunes than those already experienced. But to succeed in giving to the troops, within the space of a few days, a little cohesion and firmness, it was indispensably necessary to have them all under one's hand, united at one and the same place, and grouped under the direct orders of their chiefs."

The retirement of the army to Versailles left the Central Committee and the International Society masters of the situation. They were not long in seizing upon the spoils of victory. Their emissaries seized the public offices and the greater part of the Mairies, and raised money in all kinds of dubious or unlawful ways. Most of the respectable inhabitants who could leave Paris did so, and the number of persons who left the capital during the ten days ending the 30th March was estimated at upwards of 160,000. The new *régime* was inaugurated by a frightful crime. General Lecomte, as we have seen, was allowed by his own soldiers to fall into the hands of the insurgents at Montmartre; and on the same day, and near the same place, General Clément Thomas, ex-commandant of the National Guard, was captured by the mob. He was in plain clothes walking about among the crowd near the Place St. Pierre; but being recognised he was arrested, and his captors seem to have resolved from the first to murder him. He was dragged into a house in the Rue des Rosiers, and after a pretended trial was sentenced to be shot. He was a grand-looking old man, with grey hair and an austere countenance. Being dragged into a little garden at the back of the house, he was placed against a wall, and several National Guards, standing a few yards off, and not raising their rifles to the shoulder, shot him dead. He faced them without flinching or protesting,

* In his work entitled "L'Armistice et la Commune." Paris, 1872.



VIEW OF MELBOURNE.

and at the last moment exclaimed "Cowards!" General Lecomte was shortly afterwards brought to the same garden. "When he reached the fatal spot, he was visibly affected on beholding the corpse of General Clément Thomas. Being compelled to pass before the body, he uncovered, and then, calmly replacing his *képi*, faced towards the firing party with uplifted head and folded arms. He was very pale, and uttered a few words of protest. The firing party was composed of soldiers belonging to the 88th Regiment of the line. 'It is your turn now,' they cried; 'you gave the order to fire on the people.' At the third shot he threw up his hands, and plunged head foremost on to the ground, a corpse."*

Thiers to send the 119th Regiment from Versailles, early in the morning of the 20th, to re-occupy the fortress. The fortnight between March 19 and April 2 may be described as, for the Army and Government of Versailles, a time of preparation. The formidable character of the resistance that would be offered to the re-occupation of Paris being now recognised, permission was obtained from the Emperor William to raise the French army from 40,000 men (which was the amount to which it was limited at that time under the treaty of peace) to 80,000. The prisoners of Metz and Sedan began rapidly to arrive from Germany; those that came by sea were received into a large temporary camp at Cherbourg, while those sent

THE NEW OPERA HOUSE IN PARIS.

Having the army concentrated at Versailles, General Vinoy energetically commenced the task of re-organisation. But the list of misfortunes and treasons was not even yet exhausted. The fort of Vincennes, garrisoned by 3,500 artillerymen, was capable of resisting every attack from the troops of the *émeute*, and had accordingly been exempted from the order of evacuation sent to the commandants of the other forts. Nevertheless it surrendered (March 23) on the first summons, and many of the trained artillerymen who formed its garrison took service with the insurrection, and, as we shall see hereafter, made the work of the Army of Versailles much harder. Only a happy accident saved Mont Valérien itself from falling into the hands of the insurgents. Through a misapprehension of orders, it was evacuated, at the same time with the southern forts, on the night of the 18th instant, and remained defenceless during the 19th. The fact was fortunately unknown in Paris; and as soon as it became known to Vinoy, he obtained leave of M. by land were quartered in a similar camp near Cambrai, and thence after being partially re-formed, sent on to Paris. At Versailles everything was reconstituted with that energy and sureness of insight which distinguish the French intellect. The reins of discipline were drawn tight; new temporary *cadres* were formed; and the private soldier, ashamed of the temporary aberration into which the despair caused by overpowering misfortune had betrayed him, might again be counted on as the servant of duty.

Notwithstanding the terrible significance of what had occurred on the 18th March, there were still many persons, both in and out of Paris, who would not believe in the possibility of a civil war, but thought that by some adroit compromise—some ingenious combination of half measures—the insurgents and the Versailles Government could be brought to a common understanding. This intermediate party was variously composed,—the political sympathies of one portion of it attracting them strongly towards the insurrection; while the majority, though weak-minded and timorous, were at heart sincerely loyal

* Cassell's "Illustrated History of the War," II. 329.

to the National Assembly. The first-mentioned class was represented by the deputies for Paris and other extreme republican members of the Assembly. Certain concessions to the demands of the people would, in their opinion, conjure the rising demon of civil strife. They issued a manifesto on the 20th March, in which they said that in the ardent hope of avoiding a collision, and being convinced that the best way to achieve that result was "to satisfy the legitimate wishes of the people," they were resolved to ask the National Assembly to sanction two measures, the adoption of which, they hoped, would contribute to restore tranquillity—viz., the election by the rank and file of all chiefs in the National Guard; and the creation of a Municipal Council, elected by universal suffrage. This was signed by Louis Blanc, Langlois, Millière, and others. The Mayors of several arrondissements in Paris, men for the most part of moderate views, adopted the same programme as the last plank between them and destruction. A deputation from their number went to Versailles, and entreated the Government to remove d'Aurelle de Paladines from the command of the National Guard, and to substitute for him the more popular General Langlois. M. Thiers, wisely resolving that the insurgents should have no excuse for perpetuating their revolt, granted the request. The new commander, proceeding to the Hôtel de Ville, was met there by M. Brunet, the leader of the malcontent National Guards. M. Brunet asked him whether he recognised the Central Committee—a question to which General Langlois, of course, replied in the negative. "Then," rejoined M. Brunet, "I do not recognise your authority." Finding himself powerless, Langlois had no alternative but to resign.

The party of compromise, little understanding, as it would seem, with what description of men they had to deal, now projected a great peaceable demonstration, in favour alike of the Republic as a form of government and of the National Assembly, the moral effect of which, they hoped, would overawe the turbulent and confirm the wavering. A large number of respectable citizens belonging to the party of order assembled, about one o'clock on the 22nd March, in front of the New Opera House. Their number continually received accessions; in excited groups they discussed the intolerable condition of affairs; presently shouts were raised of "*Vive la République!*" "*Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!*" Unarmed, but many of them wearing the uniform of the National Guard, the demonstrators walked down the Rue de la Paix, towards the Place Vendôme, which was strongly occupied by the insurgent National Guards who obeyed the Central Committee. A line of Red Republican Guards stopped them at the entrance of the Place, but they still pressed forward, uttering the same cries, and endeavouring to induce their opponents to fraternise. Some few did so; but in a moment the drums on the Place Vendôme beat the charge, and the insurgent Guards, lowering their pieces, fired into the unarmed throng. A scene of fearful confusion and carnage ensued. About sixty persons were killed and wounded; the crowd sought safety in precipitate flight; and the notion of putting down the Committee by peaceful demonstrations was blown to the winds.

One more effort was made before Paris was abandoned to the insurrection. Admiral Saisset had been appointed in the place of Langlois to the command of the National Guard, and he endeavoured, in concert with several of the Mayors, to organise the loyal portion of the National Guard for a forcible resistance. For two or three days he occupied the Bourse and the adjoining streets, the head-quarters of the insurgents being in the Place Vendôme. But he soon discovered that the forces at his command were enormously inferior to those which obeyed the Central Committee, and that the latter were also better supplied with guns and ammunition. He therefore abandoned the enterprise as hopeless (March 25), left Paris in disguise, and reported to M. Thiers at Versailles that it would require an army of 300,000 men to reduce Paris to submission. Yet, even till the 31st March, the loyal National Guards were in possession of the gates and rampart in the neighbourhood of Passy; it was only on that day that the Central Committee were in complete possession of Paris.

The Red faction now ruled supreme in the doomed city. Who then were these men who set at defiance the freely and lawfully elected Parliament of their country, and claimed the right of organising Paris according to their own ideas, whatever might be the desire or opinion of the rest of France? The reader who desires full information on the subject will find it in the lucid and masterly exposition of the origin of the Commune contained in "Cassell's History of the War."* There he will find it explained how a combination of fortuitous and permanent circumstances gave, after the capitulation of Paris, an opportunity to the sects which are ever striving to undermine religion and society, such as the nineteenth century had not afforded them before. The aims and opinions of these sects—their hatred of God, their thirst for power and pleasure, their envy of the rich—aided by the pure intellectual enthusiasm of a small number for the principles which condemn inequality and antagonism, and seek to make man, by means of improved social arrangements, the Providence of his own destiny, and earth a "*paradis terrestre*," were the permanent elements of the combination. The fortuitous and temporary elements were—the discouragement of the better sort, the arms left in the hands of the men of Belleville which they had borne during the siege, the irritation and exasperation which the humiliations incurred by the morbid vanity of the Parisians through the events and issue of the war had accumulated in a hundred thousand breasts. Discord as to methods of execution prevailed among the leaders throughout the struggle, and hastened their downfall; but, in regard to principles, there was perfect harmony between the Jacobin majority in the Commune, who simply sought to overturn the Versailles Government and take their places, and the minority which owed allegiance to the International Society. "The business of the International," says one of its adherents,

* Vol. II., chap. xxv.

"is political, but only in the sense of destroying all that is political. It must destroy all existing institutions—State, Church, banks, armies, and police. We must overturn these institutions throughout the world."* In the able and interesting report,† laid before the National Assembly in 1872, on the causes and circumstances of the insurrection of the 18th March, the system which the International and other similar societies were and are aiming to establish is characterised in the following manner:—"The doctrine on which rests the socialism of the different schools may be summed up in a few words. According to it, all men have a right to happiness—they have an equal, an absolute right to it. By happiness is meant the enjoyment of all good things, whether those which are natural and primitive, or those which are created by human labour—an enjoyment which has no other limits than the needs and appetites of each individual.‡ Human existence being bounded by this life, there being no hereafter, there is no compensation to be looked for elsewhere for him who has been baulked of his share of enjoyment here. Society, therefore, must be organised in such a manner that nothing can raise an obstacle to the claims of each of its members. But the good things of life are become, in consequence of the accumulated labours of successive generations, the special property of certain men, certain families, or certain classes. For Socialists, this fact of property is a violation of the primordial right, possessed by the men of one and the same generation, to enjoy, all in an equal degree, that which is the common treasure of humanity. Thence is drawn the logical consequence that property ought to be abolished, as an impediment to the realisation of the right which each human being brings with him into the world, to take his proportional share of the good things accumulated by the labour of past generations. Thus all Socialist systems, whatever modes of action they may plume themselves upon, arrive at the same result—the abolition, namely, of individual property, and of all social institutions which have property for their basis."

It was, however, clearly ascertained, through the researches instituted by order of the National Assembly, that the International Society had nothing to do, as such, with the success obtained over the troops on the 18th March. That success was due to the efforts of the Central Committee of the National Guard, and was hardly expected even by themselves. Under the stress of the long siege, the organisation of the International had given way; its sections ceased to meet; and it was only late in January that attempts began to be made to reconstitute them, and at the same time to elect a Federal Council, as the principal organ of the society in France. The leaders were absorbed in questions relating to strikes and the organisation of labour, and had no idea that a great political opportunity was in store for them, through the suppression of all pre-existing and extra-Parisian authority in Paris. After the 18th March, the Federal Council formed a close alliance with the Central Committee, and an intermediate Commission was formed in order to ensure more swift and practical effect to that alliance. When the Commune was elected, on the 26th March, the Internationalists returned to it seventeen of their members. Still the organisations remained distinct to the end, and it remains an unascertained problem how far the International was responsible for the massacres and conflagrations which followed the entry of the Versailles troops.

The deputies for Paris, we have seen, spoke of the necessity of electing a Municipal Council. After the departure of Admiral Saisset, the Central Committee resolved that this election should immediately take place, and fixed the day for it on their own authority. Most of the Mayors, though the Assembly and the Government withheld their sanction, came to an agreement with the insurgents respecting the arrangements for the election. This culpable weakness was thus described by M. Thiers in a circular addressed to the departments: "An agreement, to which the Government has remained a stranger, has been established between the pretended Commune and the Mayors to appeal to the elections. They will take place without liberty, and will therefore be destitute of moral authority. Let not the country be troubled, but have confidence; order will be re-established at Paris as elsewhere." However, the name of Commune was not yet heard, and was only adopted on the day after the elections; till then only the name Municipal Council was mentioned. Owing to the compliance of the Mayors, a considerable number of respectable *bourgeois* took part in the voting (March 26), which resulted in the election of eighty-six councillors. Of these, thirteen belonged to the Central Committee; seventeen to the International; twenty to the party of Blanqui, the Radical press, and the ultra-revolutionists; twenty-one were public speakers from the clubs; and the remaining fifteen belonged to the moderate or *bourgeois* party. Nearly all of these, seeing what strange colleagues they would be associated with, sent in their resignation without having even taken their seats. Six others, among whom was M. Rane, resigned their seats between the 7th and the 10th April. On the other hand, M. Delescluze and M. Cournet, who, though deputies sitting in the National Assembly, had been elected to the Commune, wrote to the President of the Assembly that they preferred the municipal to the national distinction, and resigned their seats as representatives of the people.

The name of "Commune" was skilfully chosen by the new Government of Paris. For the masses it symbolised the recovery of those municipal franchises which the National Assembly itself had expressed a willingness to concede, and for which the Parisians had vainly sighed during the twenty years of the Napoleonic usurpation. For the Jacobins, it recalled the revolutionary dictatorship of 1792, concentrating all powers in itself, and giving the law to the whole of France. For the adherents

* From the "People's Almanack" for 1872, quoted in "Cassell's History of the War."

† "Enquête Parlementaire sur l'Insurrection du 18 Mars." Versailles, 1872.

‡ It is but fair to observe that this sentence does not correspond to the teaching of the better Socialist schools, which limits the right of each man to happiness by the corresponding right of every other man.

of the International, it indicated that the first step was taken towards the reconstitution of society according to correct principles. The Commune, in the Socialist and revolutionary view, is the true political unit, the basis on which alone a just and legitimate structure of government can be raised. We find the following questions and answers in a little republican catechism,* published at Paris during the domination of the insurgents:—"*What is the Commune?*" "The Commune is the union of the individuals inhabiting one and the same locality, and nominating a communal council by election." "*How must the social body, on the basis of the Commune, complete the general political organisation?*" "Either by the constitution of the department, which is a group of communes, of the province, which is a group of departments, and finally of the State—or otherwise, for every political organisation will be the most rational and the best, which shall protect and maintain the natural rights of the individual, while securing the harmony and safety of the social body."

The Commune held its first sitting at the Hôtel de Ville on the 29th March, which day, reverting to the exploded nomenclature of the first Revolution, it called the 8th Germinal of the year 79. In ancient Greece a democratic revolution in any city was usually signalised by three measures—the re-division of the land, the recall of the exiles, and the extinction of debts. The first measure exceeded the competence of the Commune, hemmed in as it was by Prussians on one side and Versaillists on the other; but to the second and third it made considerable advances. It opened the prisons, and restored liberty to its friends who, out of a noble disregard to the prejudices of proprietors, had become amenable to incarceration, while it filled them again with those guilty and obstinate citizens whom it suspected of "complicity" with the Versailles Government. Of three decrees passed at its first sitting, the first abolished the conscription, and declared that no armed force, other than the National Guard, could be raised in or introduced into Paris. The two other decrees emulated as far as was practicable the glorious Greek ideal of the "extinction of debts;" the first remitted to all tenants three quarters' rent, the second suspended indefinitely the sale of all pledges left unredeemed in the hands of the pawnbroker.

Money was the most pressing want of the new Government; and it will ever remain a marvel that the Bank of France, containing realisable securities to the value of three milliards (£120,000,000 sterling), though placed during sixty-two days at the mercy of the most unscrupulous set of men that ever held the reins of power in modern times, emerged from the hazard comparatively scatheless. A few millions of francs, belonging chiefly to the city of Paris, were all that the Bank was compelled to disburse to the Commune during its term of power. The merit of this happy result is ascribed by the committee of the Assembly† chiefly to the courage, energy, and presence of mind of the deputy-governor of the Bank, aided by the moderation of the Communal delegate, M. Beslay, and the fidelity of the large staff of employés, more than 500 in number, who defended the establishment with arms in their hands, and not one amongst whom proved false to his trust.

The easy triumph of the insurrection on the 18th March, and the kind of sanction which the elections of the 26th imparted to it, seem to have turned the heads of the ringleaders. They believed that they had but to march out in force against Versailles in order to cause the vile, reactionary, rural, monarchical, priest-ridden Assembly to collapse, the troops fraternising with the people as before. On the 2nd April, a large body of National Guards marched out across the bridge of Neuilly to the Rond-point of Courbevoie, and occupied the barracks of that village. Vinoy moved forward the division Bruat and the brigade Daudel to drive them back. The first life sacrificed to the Moloch of civil war was that of a man universally respected and beloved in the army, Surgeon-General Pasquier, who, while riding to join General Vinoy's staff, missed his way, and falling in with a party of Federals,* was at once shot down. The troops behaved extremely well; they seemed anxious to show that they could now be depended upon. The barricades which had been constructed at the Rond-point were carried by assault; the barrack was occupied; and the Federals, routed and in great confusion, recrossed the bridge of Neuilly and fled towards Paris along the Avenue de la Grande Armée. Guns were brought up to the Rond-point, and opened fire with great effect on the fugitives, visible for a great distance on the straight line of avenue which connects that point and the Arc de Triomphe. But no sooner had a few shells fallen than the avenue was cleared as if by magic, the Federals taking refuge in the side streets. The Commune notified the engagement to the citizens of Paris in a picturesque and imaginative bulletin, which said that the "royalist conspirators had attacked with the Pontifical Zouaves and the Imperial police; that the Chouans of Charette and the Vendeans of Cathelineau, flanked by the gendarmes of Valentin (the prefect of police), had rained bullets and shells on the inoffensive village of Neuilly, and commenced a civil war."

Nothing daunted by their defeat, the Communal authorities resolved to make a serious attempt the following day (April 3) to reach Versailles. Their army was divided into two columns. The right column, under Flourens, numbering about 30,000 men, marched over the bridge of Neuilly, re-occupied Courbevoie (from which Vinoy had withdrawn the troops on the previous evening), and directed its march towards Rueil, along the north flank of Mont Valérien. The Federals seem to have been misled by erroneous information into the belief that the garrison would not fire upon them. They were soon undeceived. The column had passed the Rond-point of Bergeret, and

* "Catechisme Populaire Républicain." Paris, Lemerre, 1871.

† "Enquête Parlementaire," I., 116.

* So the partisans of the Commune began to be called about this time, because one main object of the insurgents was to transform France into a federation of Communes.

had just turned to the right along the road leading to Rueil, when from the frowning hill-top above them issued flashes of fire and thick jets of smoke, and well-aimed shells, bursting in their ranks, scattered them in all directions. Flourens, however, succeeded in rallying the greater portion of them, and reached Rueil. Vinoy had by this time formed his plans. He seems to have handled his troops with much skill; sending one portion of them to threaten Rueil in front, he directed another portion to march between Mont Valérien and the Seine below St. Cloud, as if with the intention of cutting off the retreat of the Federals across the bridge of Neuilly. Perceiving the movement, the insurgent troops hastily evacuated Rueil, and made their way back into Paris by the bridge of Asnières. Flourens was found in a house near Nanterre, endeavouring to conceal himself; a scuffle ensued, and he was killed by a sabre-cut on the head. The left column, issuing from the city on the side of Issy, pressed forward in the direction of Villa Coublay. They were soon met by troops from Versailles, and beaten back with little difficulty as far as the redoubt and hill of Chatillon. This redoubt, and also the whole peninsula of Gennevilliers, General Vinoy now resolved to wrest from the Federals, and to drive them back behind the line of forts or within the *enceinte*, so that the Assembly at Versailles might deliberate in complete security. Accordingly, on the next day (April 4) he sent two brigades against the redoubt of Chatillon, the garrison of which, to the number of 1,500, having lost their commander, Duval, and finding themselves surrounded, laid down their arms. The Federals holding the forts of Issy and Vanves then opened fire on the redoubt; after a time they got the range, and though the troops sheltered themselves as well as they could, many casualties occurred; nor could any reply be made with the light field-pieces which they had brought with them. Presently the brigade La Mariouse attacked and took Clamart; but they also were immediately exposed to a heavy fire from the forts (where the great guns were worked by practised gunners from Vincennes), and suffered heavily. A decided success had been gained; but as he observed the well-sustained fire from the forts, the painful conviction forced itself on Vinoy's mind, that much still remained to be done, and that many precious lives would be sacrificed, before so determined a resistance could be crushed. Siege-guns must be brought up, and the various siege-works constructed by the Prussians must be adapted to the French artillery practice, and utilised for a second siege of Paris!

On the 7th April, the bridge of Neuilly, which the insurgents held in great force and had barricaded, was stormed by the Versailles troops. There was great loss of officers; Generals Pechot and Besson were both killed. Entrenchments were made at the Paris end of the bridge, and a strong *tête-du-pont* constructed, from which incessant firing went on till the end of the siege against the Federals who held the adjoining streets. The Commune had now given the chief command of its troops to a Pole named Dombrowski.

The party of compromise, in spite of the miserable failure of their former efforts, continued to invent various schemes the object of which was to effect an impossible reconciliation between the combatants. They formed themselves into a new association, with the title of "League of the Republican Union for the Rights of Paris," drew out certain terms to which they considered both sides ought to agree, and, with airs of authority which, considering the circumstances, were somewhat ridiculous, summoned both the National Assembly and the Commune to give in their adhesion to the programme. The Commune answered by the terrible "Decree of the Hostages" (April 6), in the preamble to which they declared that they would follow out the principle of retaliation. "The people," they said, "will take an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." The decree contained six articles; the first announced that "Every person charged with complicity with the Versailles Government will be immediately arrested and imprisoned." Such persons were to be tried by a jury, and if the verdict went against them, they were to be "the hostages of the people of Paris." The fifth article ran as follows:—"Every execution of a prisoner of war, or of a partisan of the regular Government of the Commune of Paris, will be immediately followed by the execution of thrice the number of hostages detained in virtue of Article IV., who will be selected by lot." Under this decree the Archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Darboy, whom we last encountered eloquently enforcing the views of the opposition at the Vatican Council, was arrested on a trumpery charge of plotting against the safety of the state, and thrown into prison as a hostage. Father Ducoudray, rector of the school of Sainte Geneviève, Father Olivaint, the saintly superior of the Jesuits' house in the Rue de Sèvres, the much-respected and beloved curé of the Madeleine, Abbé Déguerry, together with the excellent President Bonjean, the banker Jecker, and several other eminent laymen, were also arrested as hostages.

The Government of the Commune showed from the first a marked hostility to religion and its ministers. The ill-treatment, imprisonment, and murder of the Archbishop and so many other virtuous ecclesiastics, who had never done them the slightest harm, or even intrigued against their rule, but whom they detested as teachers of a doctrine radically opposed to their own, are sufficient proof of this. Other manifestations of the same feeling might be cited. The Citizen Le Moussu issued the following energetic order for the 18th Arrondissement:—"Seeing that the priests are a set of bandits, and that churches are dens in which they have morally assassinated the masses while making France crouch under the grasp of the infamous Bonapartes, Favres, and Trochus, the civil delegate of careers at the ex-prefecture of police, orders that the church of St. Peter at Montmartre be closed, and decrees the arrest of the priests and the ignorantines." By the "ignorantines" were meant, we presume, the choristers, acolytes, beadle, and all other persons connected with the church. Arrests of priests were continually being made, and on Sunday the 16th April the Christian religion was put down in

Paris so far as the Commune could effect it, the churches being either closed or employed for some secular purpose, and the clergy arrested or dispersed. Calumnies of the most horrible nature* were officially propagated in relation to monks and nuns; we need but refer to the story of the convent of Picpus, and the pretended discovery of sixteen dead bodies in the crypt of the church of St. Laurent. The expulsion or arrest of the Christian brothers and the teaching sisters who perform so large a part of the elementary instruction in France having left the schools vacant, the Commune eagerly seized the opportunity of introducing the favourite system of extreme Liberals—secular and compulsory education. Raoul Rigault, Procureur of the Commune and a member of the Committee of Public Safety, announced in the *Official Journal* that "the Brothers and Sisters of the Christian schools had abandoned their post (!), and the occasion was fitting to inaugurate definitively a system of lay, gratuitous, and obligatory instruction." A decree of the 28th April ordered the Bréa Chapel to be pulled down, because it was "a standing insult to the vanquished of June." The Bréa Chapel was erected in memory of the general of that name, who was assassinated on the 25th June, 1848, while holding a parley with the insurgent *ouvriers*.

The fanaticism of the Commune did not impel it to make war upon religion only; with equal frenzy it raged against Art, if the ideas and objects which it commemorated were distasteful in its eyes. With amazement the citizens read the following announcement, placarded everywhere on the 12th April:—"The Commune of Paris, considering that the imperial column of the Place Vendôme is a monument of barbarism and tyranny, a symbol of brute force and false glory, an affirmation of Chauvinism, a negation of international law, a standing insult from the victors to the vanquished, a perpetual offence against one of the three great principles of the French Republic—fraternity—decrees: the column of the Place Vendôme shall be pulled down." Granted that in these premisses there is a good deal of truth, yet what a conclusion to jump to! We might as well, because the names of the days of the week are a monument of Paganism, proceed at once to change them, or because the monarchy and the House of Lords remind us of feudalism and arbitrary power in days gone by, revolutionise our constitution. If books and theatres, cafés and journals, ceased to instil the love of "false glory" into the minds of Frenchmen, that graceful column, with the hatted figure on the top, would certainly not corrupt them. Between the issue of the decree and

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* The Picpus story is so designated by the Parliamentary Commission. But it ought to be mentioned that the *Times*' correspondent, who visited the convent at the time, seems to have formed a different opinion.

DEMONSTRATION OF THE PARIS FREEMASONS.

its execution there was a delay of more than a month, the Commune being in doubt as to the best means of accomplishing its purpose. At last, the base of the column, just above the pedestal, having been undermined, and ropes fastened round it, everything was ready for the demolition on the 16th May. The members of the Commune came to see the sight, as children run to witness the fall of a tree. The first attempt failed, through the breaking of a block; but another rope was brought; the purchases were hauled taut; and the Napoleon column, yielding to the pressure, and breaking into several pieces in the air, fell, without causing any damage, on the bed of sand and faggots which had been prepared for it. A Versailles despatch laconically announced that, according to a telegram received from Mont Valérien, "the top of the Vendôme Column had disappeared from the horizon." But this official calmness did not prevent a concentrated fury from taking possession of the breasts of the soldiers when they heard of this deliberate insult offered to the profession of arms, and to the memory of their gallant fathers. The Commune had taken no account of the virtues of endurance, courage, and fidelity which adorn the character of the victorious soldier; yet it was these, quite as much as vainglory and ambition, of which the column was a lasting monument; and of this Marshal MacMahon, in his order of the day on the occurrence, took care to remind the troops. "The Commune," he said, "hopes thus to efface the memory of the military virtues of which the column was the glorious symbol. Soldiers! if the recollections which the column commemorated are no longer graven upon brass, they will remain in our hearts. Inspired by them, we know how to give France another proof of bravery, devotion, and patriotism."

Before proceeding with the narrative of the siege, we will group together a few more significant facts and notices which tend to throw light on the inner spirit and tendency of the Communal Government. The Revolution of 1848 brought the idea of co-operation prominently to the front; and various experiments in co-operative association were at that time honestly tried, and were attended with results more or less encouraging. But it was reserved for the Commune to initiate that form of co-operation which, in order to get a good start, robs the capitalist of his plant and buildings, and appropriates them to the purposes of a regenerated industry. By a decree of the 17th April, a commission was appointed, charged with the duty of preparing a list of workshops and factories which had been abandoned by the proprietors. These establishments were to be made over to co-operative societies, which were to be declared the proprietors of them, in consideration of pecuniary indemnities to be fixed by a jury of arbitration. "This," observes the Parliamentary Commission, "was spoliation erected into a social system, the partition of property and the expropriation of industries for the benefit of those who had not created the requisite resources, nor had incurred the risks to which every industrial enterprise is liable."

Never was more vigorous language of self-laudation used on one side, or of reprobation on the other. In a "Declaration to the French People," published on the 19th April, the Commune endeavoured to put forward an attractive and coherent theory of their position and claims. "Paris," they said, "only demands the recognition and consolidation of the Republic, the absolute autonomy of the Commune extended to every locality in France, the permanent intervention of the citizens in municipal affairs by the free defence of their interests, the organisation of urban defence and of the National Guard. Paris . . . . does not seek to destroy the unity of France; but it is by the voluntary association of all local initiatives, all individual energies, that she wishes henceforward to found political unity. The communal revolution, commenced by the popular initiative of the 18th March, inaugurates a new era of experimental, positive, and scientific politics; it is the end of the governmental and clerical world, of militarism, functionarism, *exploitation*, stock-jobbing, monopolies, and privileges." They invite all France to aid them in the combat which they are waging, significantly adding that this contest can only be ended in one of two ways—either by the triumph of the communal idea, or by *the ruin of Paris*.

On the other side the Keeper of the Seals, in a circular addressed to all the *procureurs-generaux*, or public prosecutors, in the departments, urging them to vigorous action against the partisans of the Commune, said:—"These men are not the enemies of this or that government, but of human society; as such you must not hesitate to prosecute them. And do not allow yourself to be arrested in your course when, in a language more moderate in outward seeming without being less dangerous, they present themselves as the apostles of a conciliation in which they do not believe themselves, placing on the same level the Assembly sprung from universal suffrage, and the pretended Commune of Paris. Such language is not less guilty because it is more hypocritical; it weakens the sense of right and wrong, it habituates men to class under the same category the legal order of things and the insurrection, the power created by the will of France, and the dictatorship which has won its place by crime and keeps it by terror."

The conduct of the Paris Freemasons with reference to the Commune was fantastic, yet withal instructive. We are accustomed to associate Freemasonry in England with ideas of much good-fellowship, much finery, a little charity, and nothing more, and perhaps we are right. But since the time when Weisshaupt and the Illuminati, in the middle of the last century, used the machinery of the Masonic lodges to propagate the revolutionary doctrines which were soon to convulse and rend society from its foundations, Freemasonry has always been watched with somewhat of suspicion by the settled Governments of the Continent. The conduct of the Paris lodges on the occasion we are about to describe showed that this suspicion was well founded. A deputation waited on the Commune, on the 26th April, to declare that Freemasonry had resolved to plant its

banners on the ramparts of Paris, and that if a ball touched its banners, it would march against the common enemy. That is to say, if chance should direct a missile sent from the Army of Versailles through the piece of bunting which the Freemasons put in its way, the latter, accepting the omen, and rendering themselves the senseless slaves of a new and ridiculous superstition, would then regard the lawful Government of their country, the real merits of whose position could be made neither better nor worse by the accident, as the "common enemy" of themselves and the Commune! The manifestation took place on the 30th April. The lodges met on the Place du Carrousel, provided with their banners and all the usual paraphernalia; thence, accompanied by six delegates of the Commune, wearing red scarfs fringed with gold, they marched to the Hôtel de Ville. Here the Commune gave them an official reception; speeches were interchanged; then the Freemasons formed in procession, and marching along the boulevards to the rampart near the Arc de Triomphe, planted their banners on the wall near the Porte des Ternes. It happened that on that day the batteries were silent, and the precious banners remained intact; on the next day hostilities were recommenced, and some of them were hit. The Freemasons were then bound to take up arms for the Commune; but they do not appear to have done so with great alacrity, or to much effect.

In its first days, the Commune committed the main responsibilities of government to an executive commission of which Eudes, Bridon, Félix Pyat, and Bergeret were the principal members. But after a time the more fiery spirits at the Hôtel de Ville discovered that the commission was too lax and remiss in its proceedings, that it did not rise to the level of the circumstances, and that it recoiled before the radical measures prescribed by the situation. Accordingly, a decree appeared on the 2nd May, substituting for the executive commission a Committee of Public Safety, consisting of the following five members: Antoine Arnauld, Léo Meillet, Ranvier, Félix Pyat, and Gerardin. This resuscitation of names and attributes famous in the first Revolution was not altogether satisfactory even to staunch adherents of the Commune. The *Père Duchesne* newspaper said, "If this is a resurrection of the Committee of Public Safety of 1793, the men of the Commune of 1871 have not shoulders broad enough to support the burden of such a responsibility; if it is a new thing, why not define its functions?" In proportion as it felt real power escaping from its grasp, the Commune began to legislate about everything, to regulate everything. Numberless decrees appeared modifying the administration of the Museum, laying down rules for the opening of public libraries, abolishing oaths, reforming the opera, instituting new regulations for the guidance of advocates, attorneys, tipstaffs, &c.

Fortune, though earnestly invoked, vouchsafed no great man to the Commune; indeed the *dignus vindice nodus* had not occurred which might justify and require his apparition. Their agents, being all second-rate men, always disappointed them, and were being continually changed. Cluseret, an Americanised Frenchman, was the delegate for war during the month of April; on the 1st May he had to give way to Colonel Rossel. Rossel was a man with many fine points of character, but an insane pride was his ruin. Indignant at the resolution taken by the responsible representatives of his country to put an end to the war, which he was persuaded might yet be carried out to a prosperous issue, Rossel in a fatal hour forgot his military oath, absolved himself from the obligations of discipline, and took service with the Commune against the flag which it was his duty to defend to the death. His offence was inexcusable, and he expiated it by a deserter's death; yet there was something noble in his error, and his memory remains unstained by any of those dark blots which attach to the names of other leaders of the Commune. Rossel could not agree with the authorities, and on the 9th May he wrote to them resigning his post, and requesting "a cell at Mazas." His retirement brought with it the fall of the Committee of Public Safety. Delescluze, probably the ablest and most determined man whom the Commune produced, said of it, "The Committee has been unequal to its mission; it must disappear." A new Committee of Public Safety was formed, consisting of Gambon, Eudes, and Delescluze himself, besides Ranvier and Antoine Arnauld from the former Committee; the members were to sit *en permanence* at the Hôtel de Ville. Delescluze was appointed delegate for war in the place of Rossel, and it was under his influence that the Committee decreed, "That the goods, furniture, and other property of Thiers shall be seized, and that the house of Thiers in the Place Georges shall be rased to the ground." This outburst of impotent malignity did not remain a *brutum fulmen*; in the course of a few days the house of M. Thiers was sacked, and by the 16th May nothing was left standing but the outer walls. A special decree ordered that the works of art and valuable books found in the house should be sent to the national libraries and museums, the furniture sold by auction, and the proceeds devoted to the support of the widows and orphans of the men slain in resisting the ambition of the infamous ex-proprietor, and a public square laid out on the site of "the parricide's house." This was the "*Delenda est Carthago*" of the men of the 18th March!

A significant and ominous proclamation, issued on the 17th May, required all those who had any stocks of petroleum or other mineral oils, to notify the same to the Government within forty-eight hours. A day or two afterwards it was announced that the owners of phosphorus and other chemical products who had not responded to the appeal made to them in the *Official Journal* had rendered themselves liable to the seizure of those products. Vallés, a member of the Educational Commission of the Commune, added to the notification the words, "If M. Thiers is a chemist, he will understand."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Return of French Soldiers from Germany—New Formation of the Army of Versailles under Marshal MacMahon—The Batteries fire against Paris—Rapid progress made—Forts Issy and Vanves regained—Breach made at the Point du Jour—Endeavours to obtain an entrance without employing force ineffectual—Rampart deserted on the 21st May—The Troops obtain admission: They gradually push back the Federals—Occupation of the Palais du Corps Legislatif—Resistance at the Tuileries and the Place de la Concorde—Capture of the Heights of Montmartre—Important Military Results thus obtained—Commencement of the Incendiary Fires—Burning of the Tuileries—The Troops reach the Hôtel de Ville, which they find on Fire—Occupation of the Pantheon and the Luxemburg—Half of Paris recovered—Forts evacuated by the Federals—Progress on the Left Bank—Desperate Resistance at the Pont d'Austerlitz and the Place de la Bastille—Fighting on the 26th and 27th May—Capture of Belleville and the Buttes de Chaumont—The Troops reach La Roquette too late to save the Hostages—Final Suppression of the Insurrection on the 28th—Death of Delescluze—Proclamation of Marshal MacMahon—Losses on both sides—The Hostages—Letter of Intercession from the Protestant Ministers of Paris—The name of Hostage misapplied to the Prisoners of the Commune—Last Moments and Execution of Archbishop Darboy—Deaths of Jesuits and Dominicans—Fate of the principal men of the Commune—The Treaty of Frankfort—A French Writer on the Commune.

MEANTIME the vanquished and imprisoned soldiers of France—sad victims of the immorality and folly of the Empire—began to return in great numbers from Germany. A new organisation of the army became necessary. Three provisional corps d'armée, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, were formed, commanded respectively by Generals Ladmirault, De Cissey, and Bu Barail. The 3rd Corps was exclusively composed of cavalry. These troops were designated the First Army, and placed under the supreme command of Marshal MacMahon. Two other corps, the 4th and 5th, under the command of Generals Douay and Clinchant, were added soon afterwards. The divisions Faron, Bruat, and Vergé formed an Army of Reserve under General Vinoy. But the distinction between the two armies seems to have been little more than nominal. The division Faron continued to fight in the front line nearly to the last, while both the other divisions bore a prominent part in the severe fighting which followed the entry of the troops into the city. The division Vergé supplied the battalion which was the first to scale the rampart, on the memorable 21st May, 1871. The new organisation was completed by the 12th April, on which day Vinoy handed over the command to Marshal MacMahon.

From the 4th to the 24th April, while heavy guns were being brought up from distant arsenals, and the places for batteries marked out and got ready, the troops about St. Cloud, Sèvres, Meudon, and Clamart, though holding their ground, were exposed to a continual fire both from forts and batteries, from which they suffered much loss without the power of making an effectual reply. At last everything was ready, and, on the 25th April, De Cissey, who commanded on the right, opened fire on the forts of Vanves and Issy. It was not long before a considerable effect was produced, for the Commune could not command sufficient engineering skill to utilise against the Government to any serious extent the works which, during the first siege, had so efficaciously served to neutralise for the defenders the effects of the terrible Prussian artillery. The attack was therefore pushed on vigorously, and on the night of the 29th April two brigades of the division Faron, aided by the brigade Paturel, carried the cemetery, park, and trenches of Issy. On the following day the fort of Issy was summoned, but refused to surrender. On the night of the 1st May, the division Faron took the Château of Issy, but failed to drive the Federals out of the railway station of Clamart, of which the troops only obtained possession on the 5th May. On the 8th, the first of the forts which the Commune had occupied, that of Issy, was regained. It had been terribly dismantled by the fire of the batteries; and a regiment of the brigade Paturel, forcing their way in, found the fort evacuated. De Cissey then turned his attention to the fort of Vanves, which, after some sharp and murderous fighting in the village of the same name, surrendered to him on the 14th May.

Ladmirault, who commanded on the left, had made less, though still considerable progress. A night attack which he ordered to be made on the Château de Bécon, near Asnières, was repulsed by the Federals. This, according to General Vinoy, was the one real success which they gained in the course of the struggle; but so defective was their military knowledge that they seemed scarcely aware of it, and their official bulletins, so "grotesquely mendacious" on other occasions, made no mention of this real advantage. On the 10th April, Ladmirault drove the Federals out of Asnières, and the result of this success was to place the whole line of the Seine from St. Dénis to Meudon in the hands of the Versailles troops. The Château de Bécon was taken a few days after the unsuccessful attack upon it. Continual fighting took place between the troops holding the bridge of Neuilly, and the Federals occupying the eastern portion of the village; but it resulted in nothing, because there was no intention of making a serious attack at this point. But the unfortunate people of Neuilly were placed in a position of continual danger and hardship; and to give them time to quit their houses and remove into the city, a short suspension of arms was granted by Marshal MacMahon on the 23rd.

The real point of attack was the Point du Jour, that salient south-west angle of the *enceinte* facing St. Cloud and Sèvres, where the Seine issues from the fortifications of Paris. The besieging lines were here under the command of General Douay, who, besides his own corps, could dispose of the division Vergé of the Army of Reserve. A formidable battery had been prepared at Montretout, but could not open on the rampart without risk of being enfiladed until the fire of Fort Issy had been subdued. This was accomplished by the 8th May, and on that day the Montretout battery commenced firing on the Point du Jour. After nightfall Douay's troops crossed the Seine, and began to open trenches. The distance from Montretout to the Point du Jour is not more than a mile and a half, and as the guns were of large calibre, and the practice good, the ramparts thereabouts soon became untenable for the defenders. The first parallel was established at 1,200 mètres from the

wall, and breaching batteries were then constructed, which in a few days turned the wall about the gates of Sèvres and St. Cloud into a shapeless mass of ruins. The sap was carried forward with great energy, and by the 18th May the troops were arrived at the foot of the glacis.

The National Guards of Passy and Auteuil had all along been favourable to the Versailles Government, and had held possession of several gates in the interest of order as late as the 31st March. Emissaries of the Commune had since then made a house-to-house visitation, and had deprived them of their arms; but their ill-will to the Commune was as keen as ever, and it was hoped that means might be found, through their co-operation, to bribe the guards of one of the gates, and obtain an entrance for the troops. In this way it was expected that the Communal authorities would be surprised, and a desperate final struggle averted. But the endeavours of the Versailles Government were foiled, information having been in some way conveyed to the Commune of the treason that was in contemplation. In an address issued on the 12th May, the Committee of Public Safety informed the citizens that the Republic had just escaped a mortal danger. Treason, they said, had found its way into the Communal ranks; gold had been lavished with unsparing hand, and had found some who were capable of being bought. "The abandonment of Issy," continued the proclamation, "was only the first act in the drama of a domestic monarchical insurrection; the surrender of one of the gates of the city was to follow. All the threads of this dark conspiracy are in our hands; most of the guilty men have been arrested, and their punishment will be exemplary." In this instance the statement of the Commune was founded on fact, as we know from the admission of General Vinoy.*

But though the attempt on the fidelity of the defenders failed, the effect, whether of their negligence or their despair, resulted for the Versailles troops in a speedy attainment of their object. General Vinoy says that he finds himself at a loss fully to understand or explain the causes of the remissness of the Federal troops; but certain it is that about three o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, the 21st May, M. Ducatel, an inhabitant of Passy, and a simple overseer of roads, seeing that the ramparts about the Point du Jour were left without sentinels or defenders, advanced unchallenged to the gate St. Cloud, and from the ramparts waved a white handkerchief to the foreposts of the besieging army. The signal was perceived in the trenches; a naval officer, M. Trèves, ran up; explanations were rapidly exchanged between him and M. Ducatel; M. Trèves went back and brought up the battalion then on guard in the trenches: it belonged to the division Vergé. A sous-officier of this battalion was the first to plant the tricolour on the walls of Paris.

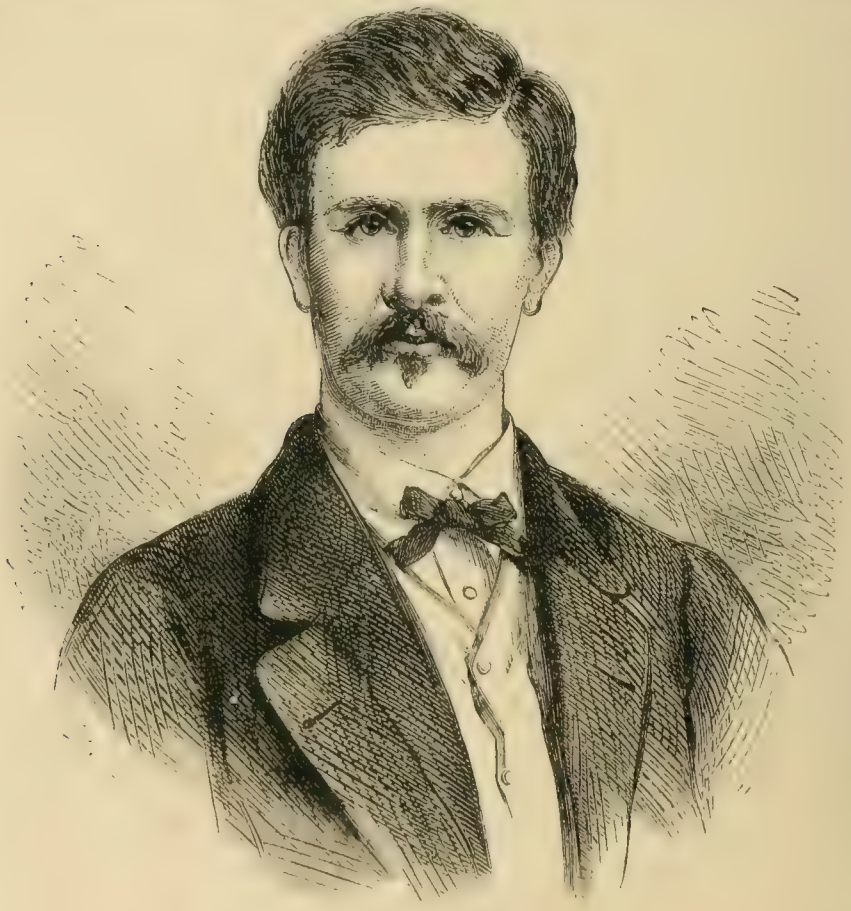
General Vinoy, summoned by telegraph, came upon the ground at 5.30 P.M.; he found that his men had effected a secure lodgment within the *enceinte*, but their farther advance was checked by a Federal fire from behind the Auteuil viaduct. After giving the necessary instructions to the division Vergé, the General went to Versailles, and as quickly as possible brought up the divisions Faron and Bruat. It was now dark, and in spite of every precaution, it was impossible to prevent the various columns moving upon the Point du Jour from becoming more or less entangled; but the block was of no long duration, and at two o'clock on Monday morning General Vinoy found himself in Paris. Finding itself thus supported, the division Vergé moved cautiously forward, passed the Auteuil viaduct, which the Federals had abandoned, captured a barricade, and advancing to the eminence of the Trocadéro, occupied it in force. Soon after sunrise on Monday, May 23rd, the division Bruat, which had marched along the left bank of the Seine, together with the troops of General de Cissey, entered the *enceinte* without opposition in rear of Fort Issy, and advancing through the suburb of Grenelle, gained possession of the Champ de Mars and the Ecole Militaire with little loss. On the right bank, the division Vergé was simultaneously pressing forward, and about noon made a dash at the Palace of the International Exhibition in the Champs Elysées, which was then used by the Commune both as a depôt and as a hospital, and carried it without loss. Okolowicz, one of the best military chiefs of the insurgents, was here captured. Assi had fallen into the hands of the troops on the previous day.

From the Champ de Mars the division Bruat advanced to, and occupied, the Hôtel des Invalides and the Palace of the Legislative Body. Here they found themselves in presence of a formidable defensive position, which the Federals had fortified with great care. The walls of the Tuileries gardens facing towards the river and the Place de la Concorde were lined with riflemen; on the terrace inside the gardens a powerful battery had been planted; massive barricades with deep trenches in front of them, carried across the quays from each end of the garden to the river, made a flank attack on the position exceedingly hazardous; while similar barricades had been raised in the Rue Royale and other outlets of the Place de la Concorde. Long before this Marshal MacMahon had come to the front, and had established his head-quarters on the Trocadéro. The leaders of the army resolved, after a consultation, not to attack the Federal position in front, as it was certain that it could not be carried without a serious loss of life. It was resolved to turn the barricades in the Place de la Concorde, and for this purpose engineers were sent into the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, and carried on a sap through the houses towards the Rue Royale. Perceiving this, the Federal batteries in the Tuileries gardens and on the Place opened a tremendous fire; but the troops, being now sheltered by the houses, sustained but little loss. On the evening of the 22nd the proper arrangements were made for deploying the army in Paris. General Clinchant had entered the city on the left of Douay, and Ladmirault's corps, penetrating the *enceinte* somewhere about the Porte Maillot, had gained possession of the Avenue de la Grande Armée and the Arc de Triomphe.

* "L'Armistice et la Commune," p. 300.

The entire army was now ranged on a line extending across Paris, from the railway station of Batignolles on the north to that of Mont Parnasse on the south. De Cissey held the right; next to him was General Douay; the centre, pushed considerably in advance, was formed of the three divisions of the Army of Reserve; the centre-left was held by the 4th and 5th Corps; on the extreme left was the 1st Corps, under Ladmirault. On the Monday evening one-third of Paris was already in possession of the army.

The morning of the 23rd June saw the deadly struggle renewed. On the right General de Cissey advanced his position in the course of the day from the Mont Parnasse station to the Observatory. In the centre the sap was continued along the Rue du Faubourg de St. Honoré, in order to flank the barricades in the Place de la Concorde. The garden of the English Embassy was taken advantage of for this purpose. Colonel Piquemal, chief of the staff of the division Vergé, was killed by a shot fired from a house at the corner of the Rue Boissy d'Anglas. To keep down the fire of the Tuileries battery, Marshal MacMahon ordered a battery to be constructed on the quay at the corner of the Boulevard Latour Maubourg. From a desire to be sparing of the lives of the troops, little progress was made in this quarter during the early portion of the day; but on the left a great and decisive success was obtained. The attack on the heights of Montmartre, which with Belleville were the two great strongholds of the insurrection, had been committed to Generals Ladmirault and Clinchant, and the arrangements for the enterprise had been carefully and skilfully planned. The great strength of the Montmartre position was on the side towards Paris; the insurgents had not contemplated the possibility of the line of the *enceinte* being in hostile hands, so that the heights could be attacked from the north. Accordingly, the troops of Ladmirault, immediately after daybreak, moved from Batignolles along the *enceinte*, taking bastion after bastion with ease, and almost without firing a shot. By this masterly movement the Federal troops occupying Clichy, Levallois, and the last houses of Neuilly were isolated; behind them were the ramparts, lined by the soldiers of Ladmirault, while before them there was the Seine on the one hand, guarded by the Versailles troops, and St. Dénis with its forts on the other, where the Prussians barred the way. This large force, being thus completely cut off, was compelled to surrender, together with a numerous artillery. Then the 1st and 5th Corps marched to the attack of the heights. "At that moment," says Marshal MacMahon in his report, "the heights of



COLONEL PIQUEMAL.

Montmartre were surrounded on the north and west by the troops of the 1st and 5th Corps, and a general attack was made through all the streets running parallel with the slope. The Clinchant corps, advancing through the Rue Lepic, took the Mairie of the 18th Arrondissement. The Pradié brigade of the 1st Corps, at the head of which

By the capture of Montmartre the insurgent positions at the Place Vendôme, the Place de la Concorde, and the Tuileries were in effect turned, for they could be easily shelled by guns planted on that commanding height. The subsequent movements of the Federals showed them to be conscious of this fact. In the after-

JARDIN DES PLANTES.

were the volunteers of the Seine, arrived first at Moulin de la Galette; and soon afterwards a company of the 10th battalion of Chasseurs, supported by a vigorous attack from General Wolff, hoisted the tricolour on the Tour de Solferino. It was one o'clock. We were masters of the great fortress of the Commune, the heart of the insurrection—a formidable position, from which the insurgents could cover all Paris with their fire. More than a hundred cannon, with considerable stores of arms and ammunition, fell into our hands."

noon the 4th Corps, meeting with little resistance, pressed forward beyond the church of the Madeleine, and made themselves masters of the Place Vendôme. About five o'clock a wild and rapid fire was kept up by the Federals from the Tuileries battery for about half an hour. After that all was still; but soon a lurid glare in the sky gave testimony that the threats of the Communal leaders had been no mere idle vaunts. "If we cannot rule in Paris" —such seems to have been their thought—"you shall have but a desolated Paris to rule over; we may be

weak, but we will prove that we are not innocuous." About seven o'clock an immense fire burst out on several points at once—from the Ministry of Finance, near the Rue Castiglione, from the houses of the Rue Royale, from the Palais Royal, the Tuileries, and the Louvre. Along the whole façade of the Tuileries a line of fires, starting out almost simultaneously, showed to the troops—the indignant spectators of this frightful spectacle—the designed and systematic character of the conflagration. The central cupola of the palace succumbed to the flames, and fell in about half an hour after midnight. Happily the night was singularly calm; the buildings that were fired were consumed, but the fire did not spread. Nature, says General Vinoy, seemed unwilling that the monstrous designs of these enemies of their own country and of mankind should take full effect.

At the first dawn on the following day (Wednesday, May 24th) the brave Admiral Pothuau, darting forward at the head of a party of sailors, seized the Ministry of Marine (the French Admiralty), and was in time to prevent the arson there contemplated. The rescuers surprised a number of miscreants placing rows of bottles containing petroleum in the different apartments of the building, preparatory to setting it on fire. The Bibliothèque Nationale in the Rue Richelieu is said to have had an equally narrow escape. Soon afterwards the division Vergé, pressing on to the Louvre, was in time to save the greater part of the building from destruction; but the Pavillon du Louvre, though the outer walls were little injured, was completely gutted, and the valuable library of 80,000 volumes which it contained was reduced to ashes. The day was warm and still, the bright Paris sun shone down on the streets, gardens, and fountains of the fair city with its wonted lustre, but its rays were intercepted by a cloud of lurid smoke, ashes, and dust, rising partly from the throats of hundreds of pieces of artillery, and partly from the ruins of burning and crashing houses; while beneath this dismal shroud the work of vengeance and despair went uninterruptedly on. Like a demoniac, Paris had turned her raging hands against her own entrails, and was tearing herself to pieces. All day the division Vergé pressed on step by step, amidst flames and death. In the evening it reached the Hôtel de Ville, only to find it blazing through its whole extent, so that no human power could extinguish the flames. That incomparable hall, that oriental centre of the fullest and most varied municipal life that the world ever saw, within whose walls the troops of the Convention seized Robespierre and St. Just, and beneath which the innocent "son of St. Louis" and the innumerable victims of the Terror shed their blood, was now given to destruction by the Revolution itself, arrived at its last and logical development of atheism, anarchy, and insane pride. Passing by it, the division arrived at the barracks on the Place Lobau, and halted there for the night. Following at some distance in the rear, the division Faron bivouacked on the Place de la Concorde. On the other side of the river the operations of the army were not less successful. The division Bruat cleared the long Rue de l'Université, and occupied the Palace of the Institute, and the Mint. The division Lacretelle, of De Cissey's corps, carried the Panthéon, for the destruction of which every preparation had been made. The palace and gardens of the Luxembourg were the object of a well-combined movement, a body of sailors advancing by the Rue Tournon, and De Cissey closing in from the south, on the side of the Observatory. At the close of the day considerably more than half of Paris was occupied by the army, its left being at the station of the Northern Railway, and its right close to the *enceinte* beyond the park of Montsouris.

In the course of Thursday, the 25th May, the insurrection may be said to have been almost entirely suppressed in all that part of Paris which lies on the left bank of the Seine. The three forts which still remained in the hands of the Federals after the reduction of Issy and Vanves—namely, Montrouge, Bicêtre, and Ivry—were evacuated in the course of the day, their garrisons all falling back upon the Place d'Italie. Up to the previous day, the fort of Montrouge had galled by its fire the Versailles troops, while advancing along the line of the *enceinte*; its evacuation was therefore a valuable advantage gained. The division Bruat, which had won its way the day before as far as the Mint, continued its advance this day in a direction parallel with the Seine, occupying before night-fall the Jardin des Plantes, and the passenger station of the Orleans Railway, close to the bridge of Austerlitz. Here it could open communication with the troops of General de Cissey, which had advanced as far as the goods station of the same railway at Ivry.

On the north bank affairs did not run so smoothly. Forced to quit the Hôtel de Ville, the Commune had now installed itself at the Mairie of the 11th Arrondissement, in the Boulevard du Prince Eugène. This Mairie is but a short distance from the prison of La Roquette, to which the hostages had been removed from the Mazas prison on the 23rd inst.; and this proximity had probably much to do with the selection of the new head-quarters, for the Commune was resolved not to lose its hold on its prisoners under any circumstances. But there were also other and military reasons for the choice. Two strongholds and centres of resistance were still left to the insurgents—the Place de la Bastille and the heights of Belleville; and nearly in a line between these is the Mairie of the 11th Arrondissement. The Place de la Bastille is the common centre and outlet, on which the streets and boulevards leading from several suburbs of Paris (the population of which was generally friendly to the Commune)—Bercy, Picpus, Charonne, and Menilmontant—debouche and converge. It had accordingly been fortified by strong barricades, armed with artillery. A strong position in front of it, the bridge of Austerlitz, was also firmly held, barricades having been erected at both ends of the bridge, and across the mouths of the Rue Lacuée and the Boulevard Mazas. Other barricades had been constructed in other streets leading to the Place; in particular, there was a very formidable one in the Rue St. Antoine. This group of positions formed, says General Vinoy, a sort of *place d'armes*, roughly triangular, protected by the fortifications and the Seine

on two sides, and by the Canal St. Martin on the third.

The first point of attack was the bridge of Austerlitz. The Canal St. Martin, which could only be crossed by one narrow bridge, close to the river, swept by the fire from the barricades at the Pont d'Austerlitz, detained the troops a considerable time. To facilitate a forward movement, batteries were established at the Jardin des Plantes, and on the quay, so as to play on the barricades of the bridge of Austerlitz, and also on the houses forming the salient made by the Seine and the canal. The gun-boats on the river actively co-operated in shelling the barricades, though sustaining themselves considerable loss. The large barricade in the Place Walhubert, on the south side of the bridge, was first evacuated by the Federals; a battery was then placed there by the troops, and after a time an attempt was made by the 109th Regiment to cross the bridge, but it was repulsed. The fight raged all day, and the troops made no farther progress till towards evening, when the brigade La Mariouze—the narrow crossing over the sluice-gate of the canal under the parapet, where it joins the Seine, having been repaired—threw forward a detachment, which, getting over the canal one by one, crept forward under the shelter of the parapet till it reached the bridge of Austerlitz. There, waiting till a considerable force was mustered, the soldiers suddenly swarmed upon the quays on either side of the bridge-head, and took the barricades with a rush. The defenders fled, and were pursued by the troops up the boulevard as far as the prison Mazas. But the hostages of the Commune, as has been already mentioned, were no longer there; about this time, on the previous evening, the Archbishop and five priests had been shot down at La Roquette.

The division Vergé was slowly winning its way throughout the day towards the Place de la Bastille, carrying the sap through the houses of the Rue de Cerisaie. In the evening it succeeded in gaining possession of the barricade in the Rue St. Antoine, which defended the approach to the Place. The attack on the Place itself was deferred to the following morning. A fierce struggle was going on all day in the neighbourhood of the Château d'Eau. A band of miscreants entered the houses between the Ambigu and Porte St. Martin theatres, and having plundered what they pleased, commenced a massacre of the inhabitants, one of whom had given a blow to one of the band. The Porte St. Martin theatre was set on fire and destroyed; the Ambigu was also set on fire, but saved by the rapid approach of the troops of the 5th Corps. The little Théâtre des Delassements was well known to the chiefs of the Commune; one of the actresses had been Raoul Rigault's mistress. It was burnt to the ground, the insurgents, by a refinement of cruelty, having forced the unfortunate proprietor and manager to kindle the fire himself. Formidable entrenchments had been made by the Commune round the Château d'Eau, which the troops of Clinchant had to batter with cannon, and carried with great difficulty.

On Friday the advance was continued, and the Place de la Bastille was captured with little loss. The brigade Derroja, penetrating to the Place Daumesnil from the bridge of Bercy, there seized the line of the Vincennes railway, and advancing along it, while the division Vergé attacked at the same time from the Rue St. Antoine, easily gained possession of the Vincennes station, and of the Place de la Bastille on which it fronts. The operation took up the best part of the day. On the same day the troops of Clinchant and Douay extended to their right along the Boulevard Richard Lenoir, and joined the Army of Reserve in the captured Place. The 1st Corps was engaged in the quarters farther north, and occupied at the close of the day the Abattoir of Villette.

On Saturday, May 27th, measures were concerted for surrounding the Federals who still resisted, and trampling out the insurrection; but, on account of the great fatigue of the troops, it was arranged that the operation should extend over two days. The 5th Corps was to remain stationary on the Boulevard Richard Lenoir; on the left Ladmirault was to advance along the fortifications from the Abattoir of Villette, while on the right the Army of Reserve, pushing forward along the *enceinte*, was to join the 1st Corps somewhere about the reservoir of Menil-montant. Uniting their forces, the 1st Corps and the Army of Reserve were then to capture the heights of Belleville, and the cemetery of Père la Chaise, and press the insurgents westward towards the Boulevard Richard Lenoir, where they would be stopped by Clinchant's troops. In pursuance of this programme, the division Faron, advancing from the Place Daumesnil by the Rue Picpus, carried the Place du Trône after an obstinate resistance. To this point, which was favourably placed for superintending the attack on Belleville, MacMahon immediately removed his head-quarters. The Commune was believed still to be installed at the Mairie of the 11th Arrondissement; barricades armed with cannon were upon the Boulevard du Prince Eugène, and swept with their fire even a portion of the Place du Trône. But the position was rapidly becoming unsafe for these model regenerators of society. The 1st Corps in the course of this day attacked and carried the park and Buttes of Chaumont. The division Bruat occupied the Boulevard and quarter of Charonne. An incident then occurred, which, being promptly taken advantage of, accelerated the accomplishment of the plan of operations. Some marines attached to the Army of Reserve, pursuing the Federals from Charonne, came upon the cemetery of Père la Chaise, which they found strongly occupied by the insurgents, who opened upon them a murderous fire. But the marines, attacking boldly, forced their way into the cemetery; and Marshal MacMahon, on hearing of it, sent up strong reinforcements to the aid of the marines, with orders to push on as far as possible. The cemetery was then cleared by the troops, foot by foot, and its occupants driven out of it and pursued to the gate of Bagnolet. In the park of Chaumont the 1st Corps took a large number of guns.

Here the general movement paused for a few hours; but the Marshal, filled with anxiety concerning the fate

of the Archbishop and the other hostages, ordered the division Bruat to press on from Père la Chaise, very early on the morning of the 28th, to the prison of La Roquette. In obedience to this order, the division Bruat advanced on the prison down the street of the same name, arriving there about three o'clock in the morning of Sunday, May 28th. There they first received certain intelligence of the death of the Archbishop, the President Bonjean, and other leading hostages. But there still remained a large number of prisoners in one wing of the building, who, following the suggestion of a turnkey more humane than his employers, had risen in revolt against the authorities, barricaded with mattresses and chairs the door giving admission to the wing in which they were confined, and after baffling an attempt to burn their barricade, were still holding out when the long-expected succour arrived. It is not surprising that after the dreadful trials through which they had passed, and after experience of the cruelty, mendacity, and treachery of the Commune, the nerves of the unhappy prisoners were so unstrung that they refused at first to trust to the assurances of their deliverers. "They feared," says General Vinoy, "under the uniform of our soldiers a new snare invented by their executioners, in order the better to repossess themselves of their victims. It was only after the day had dawned that they recognised their error, and then they testified to the troops in the most expressive manner the liveliness of their joy and gratitude." The persons thus saved were 169 in number.

At La Roquette, the troops learned that most of the members of the insurgent Government had come there from the Mairie of the 11th Arrondissement on the morning of the 27th instant. There, it was said, they had shared among them the funds which the Commune still had at its disposal, and had afterwards left for Belleville, where they finally separated.

Very early on this same Sunday morning, the division Faron advanced in a northerly direction from the Place du Trône and the Cours de Vincennes, and fell in with the advance of Ladmirault's corps at eight o'clock, near the reservoir of Menilmontant. Combining their forces, they now turned westward, and attacked the heights of Belleville. Scenes of terrible carnage, it is to be feared, took place here; for the troops were rendered savage by the long resistance, and by the massacres and burnings of which the insurgents had been guilty, and the slightest resistance doubtless brought down summary execution. The accounts of what took place, given by the generals in command, seem not altogether consistent with each other. In his evidence before the Parliamentary Commission, Marshal MacMahon said that whereas, in the first days of the struggle, the insurgents seemed to be possessed by a strange feverish excitement, so that they fought with extraordinary energy, and appeared sincerely to believe that they were defending a sacred cause, towards the close of it they were evidently seized with despondency, declaring, when made prisoners, that they had taken up arms because they could not help it, that they were forced to march, and fired on from behind if they quitted the ranks; or else that it was merely in order to gain a living. On the other hand, General Vinoy, speaking of the fighting at Belleville on this last day, says that although the insurgents had despaired of success since the capture of the Place de la Bastille, yet they were buoyed up in their useless resistance by an unreasoning sentiment of furious rage, which desires to injure at the very time that it is forced to acknowledge its own impotence. "Under these conditions," he adds, "the struggle became far more terrible and murderous for the insurgents than for our troops. Driven into their last entrenchments, and with their retreat completely cut off, they resisted with a constancy worthy of a better cause." The capture of one barricade in the Rue Haxo caused two thousand insurgents to lay down their arms. Unhappily this did not always save their lives. Marshal MacMahon, in his evidence, said with soldierly brevity, "When men lay down their arms, they ought not to be shot. That was generally agreed. Unfortunately, at certain points, the instructions which I had given were forgotten." The Marquis Gallifet in particular, who commanded a brigade of cavalry forming part of the 3rd Corps, was said to have shown a lamentable propensity for ordering summary executions. From the heights of Belleville, where many guns were taken, the 1st Corps and the division Faron marched down the Rue Menilmontant and parallel streets, taking in rear and capturing many barricades, collecting arms and ammunition, and taking prisoners. The Commune had an immense stock of arms and military stores at its disposal; never before, probably, was an insurrection so highly favoured in this respect. To recover these for the State, as well as to disarm the population of a turbulent quarter, a rigorous house-to-house search was ordered; and in the course of a few days 97,000 muskets were brought in.

About midday the division Faron, with the 1st Corps, reached the Boulevard Richard Lenoir, and joined hands with the troops of Clinchant and Douay. For some time longer a smouldering combat went on in remote streets and isolated localities, but after four o'clock all was over. Long lines of prisoners, guarded by bodies of cavalry, were seen proceeding along the Rue La Fayette to the Champ de Mars, from whence they were taken to Versailles.

The Mairie of the 11th Arrondissement was taken by the division Bruat about the same time that the junction was effected on the Boulevard Richard Lenoir. Delescluze, an old man, and labouring under a mortal disease, seems to have resolved not to survive the extinction of the Commune, the advent of which he had sincerely hailed as the commencement of a brighter and happier era. He was killed on the barricade which defended the last official residence and refuge of the Commune.

The fort of Vincennes was now the only point remaining in the hands of the insurgents. But it was occupied only by a feeble garrison of some 400 men, under the command of a Colonel Faltot; these men had borne no part in the assassinations and burnings of the last few days, and it was not likely, therefore, that they would imperil their lives by a useless resistance when

they had no cause to fear that they would be hardly dealt with. Nevertheless, they attempted to make terms, chiefly with a view to the escape of certain adherents of the Commune who had taken refuge in the fort. They were, of course, compelled to surrender unconditionally; and when the fort was occupied, ten individuals, more or less compromised by the events of the last week, fell into the hands of the troops. One of them named Merlet, formerly a sergeant of engineers, whom the Commune had sent into the fort with instructions to blow it up if it was likely to fall into the hands of the army, "anticipated the severe sentence which military justice would not have failed to pronounce against him, by blowing out his brains."*

The city of Paris, with its fortifications, being thus entirely recovered for the legitimate Government of France, Marshal MacMahon addressed the following proclamation to the citizens:—

"Inhabitants of Paris.—The army of France has come to save you. Paris is delivered. Our soldiers carried at four o'clock the last positions occupied by the insurgents. To-day the strife is over; order, labour, and security are about to revive."

The total loss of the Army of Versailles in this murderous struggle of eight days for the possession of Paris was less than might have been expected. It was stated by Marshal MacMahon in his evidence to have amounted to about 600 killed and 7,000 wounded. That of the insurgents was far heavier, but its exact amount will probably never be accurately known. During the examination of the Marshal, it was stated by one of the members of the Commission that he had it on the authority of a general that 17,000 soldiers of the Commune had fallen from first to last. MacMahon replied that he did not know upon what materials the general had based his calculation, but he was sure the number was exaggerated.

The deaths of those whom the Commune called its hostages must now be considered. An excellent letter of intercession was addressed to the Commune on their behalf (May 20th) by the Protestant ministers of Paris, in which the writers entreated the insurgent Government "not to add, to so much blood spilt on battle-fields, blood which will not be shed in fight." "To punish," they added, "a hostage by death, because another man is accused of having committed a murder—to strike, for the crime committed by another, even if the crime be proved, a man who has committed no fault condemned by ordinary laws—would this be an act of justice? We ask of the conscience of every member of the Commune, would it not be rather a return to barbarism?" The intention and spirit of this language are admirable, but the reasoning does not appear conclusive. If the persons detained had been really hostages, their individual innocence would have been no reason why the Commune should not proceed to extremities against them; in fact the very notion of a hostage is that of a person who has done his possessor no harm himself, but who is liable to suffer for the acts of the friends who delivered him up. If the Government of Versailles had given over to the Commune a certain number of bishops and other notabilities, as a guarantee of its peaceable behaviour towards Paris, those persons would have been hostages; and if after that the forces of the said Government had attacked Paris, the lives of those hostages would have been forfeited by the law of nations; nor could the Commune, shocking as the execution would have been, have been justly charged with iniquitous or wanton cruelty. But in the case of the Archbishop of Paris and the others who suffered as hostages, since no understanding of this kind had ever been come to between the Versailles Government and the Commune, it is evident that they were not hostages at all, but merely political prisoners, whom the insurgent Government put to death, not as guilty either of overt act or treasonable intention against themselves, but as persons whose death would be peculiarly painful and afflicting to the hated power which was putting them down.

The two immediate predecessors of Mgr. Darboy in the archi-episcopal see of Paris had both met with violent deaths. Mgr. Affre was shot on one of the barricades during the three days of June, 1848, while endeavouring to persuade its defenders to submit to the lawful Government. Mgr. Sibour, his successor, was assassinated in 1857, in the church of St. Etienne du Mont, by a suspended priest named Verger. These two may be said to have died martyrs, the one to charity, the other to ecclesiastical discipline; Mgr. Darboy died a martyr to faith. It was as the chief representative in France of those who worship and pray, and believe in the supernatural guidance of human life, that the Archbishop of Paris was peculiarly obnoxious to the atheistic chiefs of the Commune. He was arrested, as we have seen, under the decree of the 6th April, and imprisoned in Mazas, where he was allowed to live in tolerable comfort. On the 22nd May he was removed to La Roquette for greater security; and here, on the ground that some of the National Guards who had been made prisoners had been shot, and that they were but fulfilling the intention announced in the decree of the 17th May, the Commune ordered his execution on the 24th inst. It is said that Raoul Rigault, Ranvier, and Ferré were present as spectators. We subjoin the narrative given by an eye-witness* of the scene that ensued:—

"Mgr. Darboy occupied the cell No. 21 of the fourth division, and I was at some distance from him, in the cell No. 26. . . . His companions in captivity had succeeded in procuring a table and chair for him. The cell was itself larger than the others. On Wednesday, May 24th, at half-past seven in the evening, the director of the prison, a person named Lefrançais—of the same name as the member of the Commune—and a man who had been six years in the hulks, mounted the prison stairs at the head of fifty Federals, among whom was a fireman, and occupied the gallery in which the principal prisoners

* Vinoy.

* M. Everard, sergeant-major of the 105th Battalion, quoted in "L'Histoire de la Commune de Paris," by Semproulus. Brussels, 1871.

were confined. These Federals were ranged in the gallery, and a few moments afterwards a superintendent of turnkeys opened the door of the Archbishop's cell, and called him in a low voice. The prelate answered, 'Present.'

"Then he passed on to the cell of President Bonjean; then it was the turn of the Abbé Allard, member of the International Society for giving Aid to the Wounded; then of Father Ducondray, Superior of the school of Sainte Geneviève; and Father Clerc, of the Company of Jesus. The last name called was that of the Abbé Deguerry, Curé of the Madeleine. Each of the prisoners, as his name was given out, was brought into the gallery, and descended the staircase leading to the circular road; on each side, so far as my observation extended, were posted Federal Guards, insulting the prisoners and loading them with epithets which I cannot repeat. My unfortunate companions were thus accompanied by the yells of these wretches as far as the court in front of the infirmary. There a firing party was in waiting. Mgr. Darboy stepped forward, and addressing his assassins, spoke to them a few words of forgiveness. Two of these men approached the prelate and, before their comrades, knelt down and besought his pardon. The other Federals rushed upon them, and drove them back with insults; then turning towards the prisoners they began reviling them afresh. The commandant of the detachment was annoyed at this—a proof that the conduct of the men must have been singularly outrageous. He ordered silence, and exclaimed with a frightful oath, 'You are here to shoot these people, not to abuse them.' The Federals were silent, and at the command of their officer, loaded their

THE CEMETERY OF PÈRE LA CHAISE.

INSURGENTS RAVAGING THE STREETS OF PARIS.

muskets. Father Allard was placed against the wall, and was the first to be shot: then Mgr. Darboy fell. Six prisoners were in this way shot down, and all showed the greatest courage.

"The bodies were taken to Père la Chaise, where they were thrown all into a trench, and not even covered with earth."

On the 26th instant, hostages to the number of twenty-four, besides thirty-eight unfortunate gendarmes, were put to death by a kind of indiscriminate massacre in the Rue Haxo. Among the hostages were Father Olivaint, the Jesuit, and M. Jecker, the famous banker. Father Olivaint had a reputation for sanctity; many interesting memorials of him and his fellow-sufferers are reverently preserved in the Jesuits' Church of the Rue de Sèvres. But there was no assassination which surpassed in horror that of the Dominicans from the convent in the Rue de Vaugirard. "In the course of the afternoon of the 25th May, they were visited in their prison by a company of National Guards, who deliberately proceeded to load in their presence. The outer door of the prison was then thrown open, and the commanding officer said, 'You are free. Go out one by one.' They did as directed, and were shot down as they issued forth. Only one or two escaped."*

A passage which reads almost like a prophecy may be found in a letter from the Abbé Lacordaire, written in 1849, just after the acquisition by the Dominicans of the old Carmelite convent (known as "Les Carmes") in the Rue de Vaugirard. "Pray to God, my dear friend," he writes, "that this favour may not turn to our confusion, and that if the Carmes, in consequence of the public misfortunes, should become a second time the prey of revolution, *we may be able to mingle our blood worthily with that of the martyrs who preceded us.*"†

The Government of Versailles deemed it its duty to be stern in meting out punishment to those who had had a principal share in the excesses and crimes of the Commune. Many of them had fallen in the course of the eight days' fighting. Of the fate of Delescluze we have already spoken. The Pole, Dombrowski, the Commune's best general, was killed at the barricade in the Boulevard d'Ornano on the 23rd May. Millière, a deputy for Paris, taken with arms in his hands on the 28th instant, was summarily tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot. He displayed the greatest intrepidity, and bared his breast to the firing party. The officer who presided did so with marked inhumanity; because Millière would not kneel and ask pardon of society for the evil he had done, the officer ordered two soldiers to force him on his knees, and he was shot in that position; his last words were, "Long live Humanity." Raoul Rigault, the brutal public prosecutor of the Commune, was taken and shot at the Luxembourg on the 24th instant. Vaillant fell in battle. Vallès was taken at a barricade and shot; his body was then pierced by bayonets almost beyond recognition. In the course of August and September most of the remaining leaders were put on their trial. Assi and Billioray were sentenced to transportation to a fortress. Courbet, the painter, who had been active in bringing about the destruction of the column in the Place Vendôme, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 500 francs. Ferré, the most blood-thirsty of all the Communal chiefs, was condemned to death, and the sentence was executed on the plateau of Satory. Paschal Grousset, formerly Rochefort's assistant editor in the *Marseillaise*, was sentenced to transportation to New Caledonia. Rochefort—who had edited the *Mot d'Ordre* up to the 20th May, but on that day, seeing that the fall of the Commune was imminent, had made his escape from Paris, and fallen at once into the hands of the Versailles troops—was brought up for trial on the 20th September. That he should have used his scathing wit and bright intelligence to uphold so bad a cause was lamentable and inexcusable; but, fortunately for him, although he advocated the destruction of the column, the last article in the *Mot d'Ordre* that appeared with his name was a protest—lightly and gaily expressed, but still a protest—against the decree of the 17th May for putting the hostages to death, and against the system of reprisals generally. His life accordingly was spared, and he was sentenced to transportation to New Caledonia. Colonel Rossel had committed an offence which the laws of men do not pardon: as a deserter, he was condemned to death, and was shot on the 28th November.

Cluseret contrived to make his escape, and is now, we believe, in America, his adopted country. Felix Pyat disappeared while the struggle was proceeding, and his fate remains an unsolved problem.* We have found no account of what became of Eudes, Gambon, Leo Meillet, and Ranvier, after the overthrow of the Commune.

The definite treaty of peace between France and Germany, which will be known in history as the Treaty of Frankfort, was signed in that city on the 10th May by Bismark, who had lately received the title of Prince from the Emperor William, and MM. Jules Favre and Pouyer-Quertier. The terms differed but little from those which were agreed to for the preliminary peace; but whatever difference there was tended to make them harder and more unpalatable for France. Instead of merely agreeing to pay the first milliard in the course of 1871, France now bound herself to pay the first half-milliard within thirty days after the French Government should have re-established its authority in Paris, and the second and third half-milliards before the end of 1871. The Communal insurrection, leading German statesmen to regard France as still more weakened and disorganised than was really the case, is justly to be charged with this increased rigour. A heavy rate of interest was also to be paid by France in respect of the unpaid portions of the indemnity: and the evacuation of French departments by the German army was to proceed at a slower rate than had been originally arranged.

* [illegible]'s History of the War," II. 497.

† [illegible] Inédite du Père Lacordaire," by Villard. Paris, 1870. Page 250.

* Since this was written, a letter addressed by Felix Pyat to the *Times*, on the subject of the destruction of the Napoleonic column, and dated "London, May 25, 1871," has met the writer's eyes.

A passage from an eloquent article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* may fitly terminate this chapter:—

"Since after so many misfortunes in her war against the foreign enemy, France has found herself still further reduced to the necessity of reconquering herself—of reconquering Paris from the most criminal of all factions—she enjoys at least this day this last and reassuring victory. She has broken the tyranny of the subordinate malefactors, she has tamed the monster. It is the victory of right, of civilisation, of patriotism; but with what combats, what wearing anxieties, what sacrifices, has it not been necessary to purchase this victory, the saddest of all victories in civil wars! Never, surely, since human beings first lived together in society, will such a catastrophe have resounded through the world; never has the insanity of Erostratus been pushed to such a degree of malignant savagery. They began by the assassination of the 18th March; they reigned by terror and plunder; during two months they converted Paris into the rendezvous of all the Machiavelian perversities, all the infamous practices, of all the adventurers of Europe, crowding hither for the division of the spoil; they thought themselves almost immortal in their power of commanding chance! When they found themselves threatened, they ended with setting the great city on fire. What the wildest and most preposterous imagination could not or would not have foreseen, that they realised as a work worthy of them while fleeing before our soldiers. Such is their history, such is the history of these late days of conflict and mourning, which, to use the expression of M. Thiers, restore Paris to her true sovereign, France; but restore her bleeding, mutilated, soiled, ransacked, and half annihilated by the flames.

* * * * *

"What must we say again, when such an attempt is carried out at the moment when the nation and the city that are made its victims are under the weight of an implacable foreign occupation, under the insulting glance of the conqueror of yesterday? At such a time, it ceases to be merely a domestic revolution, more or less criminal; it becomes a complicity with the foreigner. Each blow dealt to the country delivers her up a little more to the enemy; and, in reality, this is what this Paris Commune has done, by suddenly paralysing the energies of France at the moment when she had need of all her powers to bear, without succumbing under it, the burden of her misfortunes and her obligations. Had there been nothing else to brand them with infamy, these people would have shown themselves in their true light by taking advantage of one of those dark hours which only occur once in several centuries, to urge on their country into utter perdition by divisions, impotence, and degradation in presence of the enemy."

CHAPTER XLIX.

Loss of H.M.S. *Captain* off Cape Finisterre—Admiral Milne's Report—Account given by the Survivors—The Queen's Letter of Condolence—Finding of the Court-Martial.—Contested Elections in Ireland in 1871—Judge Keogh's Report on the Galway Election—Its Sensational Character—Protest against it signed by Cardinal Cullen and his Clergy—It elicits marked Approval in other Quarters—Assassination of Lord Mayo, Governor-General of India, while at the Andaman Islands—The Convict Settlement at Port Blair—Visit of the Viceroy—The Party around Mount Harriet on Ross Island—A Khyberee attacks Lord Mayo in the back twice—Wounds Mortal—Discussion as to the Motives of the Murderer—The Opinion of Mr. Hunter Pamphleteer of the Wahabees—Death of Mazzini—Sketch of his Career—His Disappointment at the Non-Establishment of an Italian Republic—He dies at Geneva in 1872.

TOWARDS the end of 1870 a terrible disaster, which we have not yet found an opportunity to describe, deprived the country of one of the finest and most formidable iron-clads in the British navy. H.M.S. *Captain*, a turret-ship of six guns, was built from the designs of Captain Cowper Coles, the inventor of the turret principle, by Messrs. Laird of Birkenhead. Her displacement was 4,272 tons; she had two screws, and engines of 900-horse-power; her armour was of varying thickness, from eight inches over the machinery down to three inches in the least exposed positions. In her two turrets she carried six guns of the heaviest calibre, an armament which made her the most formidable ship in the service; able, in the opinion of Sir Thomas Symonds, to "destroy all the broadside ships of the squadron in detail." But a fatal error lurked in her construction; the enormous weights which were implied in her armament and system of armour were disposed too high, so that her centre of gravity was not as low by several feet as it ought to have been.

The *Captain* was commanded by Captain Hugh Burgoyne, son of the veteran Sir John Burgoyne, commander of the Royal Engineers. She had made two previous voyages to Vigo, so that both her designer and her officers might well be excused for considering her a safe ship. She had a crew of 500 men and thirty-five officers, including the chaplain and surgeons, besides a staff of eleven engineers. Among her midshipmen was a son of Mr. Childers, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Captain Cowper Coles was on board as a visitor.

The squadron to which the *Captain* belonged consisted of eleven vessels, under the command of Admiral Milne, whose flag was hoisted on the *Lord Warden*. The report of the Admiral, dated off Cape Finisterre, gives a clear account of the circumstances attending the catastrophe. The squadron had reached the longitude of Cape Finisterre without accident. On the evening of the 6th September it was formed into three divisions, the *Lord Warden*, *Minotaur*, and *Agincourt* leading, and was standing off from the land. The wind was strong, and heavy clouds covered the western sky, but there were no indications of a heavy gale. The Admiral, who felt anxious about the *Captain*, went on board of her in the course of the evening. When he left her, about 7 P.M., the water was pouring over her decks in cataracts. On regaining the *Lord Warden*, the Admiral exclaimed, "Thank God, I am back again in my own ship!"

At eleven o'clock the wind freshened, and before 1 A.M.

it was blowing a gale from the south-west. The *Captain* was in the division headed by the *Lord Warden*, and the next ship to her. Sail was reduced on board every ship in the squadron. Admiral Milne became more than ever anxious when the heavy weather set in, and watched the *Captain* attentively. From 1.15, he reports, "until about 1.30 A.M. I constantly watched the ship; her topsails were either close-reefed or on the lap, her foresail was close up, the mainsail having been furled at 5.30 P.M., but I could not see any fore and aft sail set. She was heeling over a good deal to starboard, with the wind on her port side. Her red bow light was all this time clearly seen. Some minutes after I again looked for her light, but it was thick with rain, and the light was no longer visible."

In that brief interval of a few minutes the *Captain* went down with all her officers and crew. About 2.15 A.M. the gale moderated, the wind drew round to the north-west, and the stars came out brightly. No large ship was then visible where the *Captain* had last been seen. When daylight broke, search was made in every direction for the missing ship; but all engaged in it must have felt only too certain that search was vain. Portions of wreck belonging to her were, after a time, picked up, and the body of a sailor.

From the narrative of one of the seventeen survivors, of whom Mr. James May, the gunner, was the highest in rank, it would appear that when the starboard watch came on deck, soon after midnight, the ship was careening over greatly to starboard. The captain was on the hurricane deck. As the wind increased, the pressure of sail became evidently too much for the stability of the vessel, and Captain Burgoyne gave the order, "Let go the foretopsail halyards," followed by, "Let go fore and main topsail sheets." The object, of course, was instantly to take the pressure of the topsails off the ship. But it was too late. For—in the nearly unanimous opinion of the rescued sailors—when the *Captain* got her starboard side well down in the water, with the consequent weight of water upon the starboard side of the turret deck, and the pressure of the wind blowing from the port hand on the under surface of the hurricane deck, and thus pushing the ship right over, she had no chance of righting herself again. She gradually turned over, trembling with every blow which the short jumping seas struck her, while the roar of the steam from her funnel screamed horribly above every other sound, and continued to do so when the ship was under water. The watch on deck were washed overboard or jumped into the sea; for a moment some of them found themselves on the ship's bottom, but she plunged from beneath them, and sank into the unknown depths of the ocean. The men who were saved got hold of one of the launches, and baled her out; they saw the captain to windward of them, clinging to the keel of the steam pinnace, and endeavoured to reach him, but were prevented by the wind and sea. They landed safely at Corcubion, on the Spanish coast.

The Queen wrote to Admiral Sir Sydney Dacres on the 17th September, desiring that measures might be taken "to signify to the widows and relatives of the whole of the crew, of all ranks, who perished in the *Captain*, the expression of Her Majesty's deep sympathy with them, and to assure them that the Queen feels most acutely the misfortune that has at once deprived Her Majesty of one of her finest ships-of-war and of so many gallant seamen, and which has inflicted upon their widows and other relatives losses which must for ever be deplored."

The court-martial which was held, *pro forma*, upon Mr. May, the gunner, thought it incumbent upon it to record its conviction that "the *Captain* was built in deference to public opinion," and in opposition to the views and opinions of the Comptroller of the Navy, and the officers of his department, by whom her construction was generally disapproved.

In continuation of the narrative of events of very recent date in the United Kingdom, the thread of which was interrupted after Chapter XLIII., we proceed to notice some of the more important occurrences which marked the year 1872. Very early in the year, before the meeting of Parliament, Irish political feeling was stirred to its depths by the elections of Galway and Kerry. The Home Rule agitation had been gaining ground steadily, and both its advocates and its opponents had long desired such an opportunity of measuring their strength against each other as seemed offered by these two famous and significant elections. Captain Nolan in Galway, and Mr. Blennerhasset in Kerry, came forward as Home Rule candidates, against Captain French and Mr. Dease, about whom the mob only cared to know that they were opposed to the notion of a Parliament in Stephen's Green. The two elections were marked by very different features; for, while in Galway the whole of the Roman Catholic clergy, headed by the Archbishop of Tuam, canvassed, preached, and threatened with one voice for Captain Nolan, in Kerry Dr. Moriarty, the venerable Roman Catholic bishop, addressed a solemn warning to his diocese against the Home Rule agitation, which he denounced as most mischievous under the present circumstances of the country, and strictly forbade his clergy to take any part whatever in the election. In Galway also the feeling of the landlords was universally in favour of the moderate candidate, while in Kerry it was much divided. The Galway election came off in the midst of a frenzy of fanaticism and excitement which took all the strength of a considerable military and police force to keep within decent bounds. From the country districts the parish priests came, flushed with the excitement of past war and confident of coming victory, marching at the head of their docile parishioners. One by one they led them up to the polling-booths, overawing all recalcitrants by a mixture of clerical argument and Irish sarcasm, which was extremely effective. They even attempted to harangue the mob within the very precincts of the polling-booths, feeling, doubtless, that an Irishman's enthusiasm must be taken at the flood, and not suffered to evaporate at a distance from the scene of action. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam recorded his vote early in the morning for Captain Nolan, amid the cheers of surrounding crowds, and afterwards went round and

inspected the booths, to the great edification of the rustics, who were not often brought into such close contact with an archbishop. In Kerry, Dr. Moriarty's letter was so far effectual that very few parish priests ventured to follow the example of their Galway brethren, and espouse Mr. Blennerhasset's cause publicly; but whatever clerical influence could do for him was not spared, and the same triumphant results followed as in Galway. Captain Nolan was returned by a majority of 2,165, and Mr. Blennerhasset was also far ahead of his rival. In spite of the disorder and excitement which prevailed at both elections, the efforts of the military and police were effectual in preventing any very serious injuries to persons or property. Still there was abundant material for a petition in both cases; and no sooner were the official returns of the poll made, than petitions were lodged by the defeated party against both Captain Nolan and Mr. Blennerhasset.

During the months which intervened between the election of Captain Nolan and the arrival of Justice Keogh to try the petition, the prospect of the coming trial kept up popular excitement in Galway. Both sides brought up an army of witnesses, and the trial itself was by no means a model of calm judicial procedure. Mr. Justice Keogh gave sentence in a judgment which it took nine hours to deliver, and which unseated Captain Nolan on the ground that his election had been "procured by undue influence and clerical intimidation." The strong language of the judgment, the severe and eloquent condemnation of clerical intolerance by the judge, roused indescribable excitement in his audience. Never had revolutionary and fanatical Catholicism received such emphatic judicial denunciation. Forty-five pages of the printed judgment, that is to say nearly all of it, are taken up with an elaborate review of the conduct of individual priests, and of the character of their evidence. The several cases were strung together by a series of comments, the manner and matter of which might well exasperate the party at which they were levelled. He spoke, for instance, of the "vile tongue of that audacious and mendacious priest, Father Conway," and described another priest as "that obscene monster, Pat Barrett." Captain Nolan's 2,800 supporters found themselves branded, *en masse*, as "swindlers, cowards, instruments in the hands of ecclesiastical despots." The judgment concluded in these words: "I shall state to the House of Commons the result of all the evidence that I have now investigated as regards the organised system of intimidation which has pervaded this county, in every quarter, in every direction, in every barony, in every town, in every place. I shall report to the House of Commons that the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Galway, the Bishop of Clonfert, all the clergymen whose cases I have gone through, and who have not appeared—with one exception—and all the clergy who have appeared, with, I think, a few exceptions, which I will look most carefully into, have been guilty of an organised attempt to defeat the free franchise and the free vote of the electors of this county; and that Captain Nolan by himself, and Mr. Sebastian Nolan, his brother, as his agent, in company with all those episcopal and clerical persons whom I shall set out by name, have been guilty of these practices; and I shall guard the franchises of the people of this county for seven years at least, for the statute will not allow any one of those persons to be again engaged in conducting or managing an election, or canvassing for a candidate aspiring to be the representative of Galway."

The judgment, as might have been expected, set Ireland in a blaze. That such an utterance should have been delivered by a Catholic judge in a matter in which Catholic feeling was supposed to be specially involved, astounded and enraged the whole of the extreme National and Catholic party. All sections of it joined in abusing and denouncing Justice Keogh; newspapers like the *Irishman* and the *Nation* exhausted the whole vocabulary of retaliation, and the obnoxious judge was burnt in effigy in many parts of the country. A great meeting of Roman Catholic clergy, conducted within closed doors, was held in Dublin under the presidency of Cardinal Cullen, the result of which was the issue of a lengthy protest addressed to the Catholics of the Archediocese of Dublin—a document which was little else than a long *tu quoque*, couched, of course, in dignified and imposing terms. "Which," it asked, "is the most unpardonable—the priest in the heat of an angry contested election, in which he believed that the independence of his flock was assailed, yielding to an impulse, unbecoming, if you will; or the ermined judge, in the delivery of a solemn judgment, surrendering himself to almost a paroxysm of vituperation? If the cassock is judged to be defiled, surely the ermine is not quite unstained. If the priest is to be relegated to obscurity and political silence for his indiscretion, is the judge to go unquestioned?"

The storm, however, spent itself in vain. The Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, to whom Justice Keogh carried up the case, not only confirmed the decision which unseated Captain Nolan, but also ratified that provisional part of the original judgment by which Captain French obtained the seat. With a spirit worthy of the proverbial town they represented, the Town Council of Kilkenny drew up a memorial calling for the removal of Justice Keogh from the bench; while the Dublin mob amused itself night after night by riotous attempts, generally defeated by the police, to burn the likeness of the renegade judge in various parts of the capital. When the time came for Justice Keogh to go on circuit, strong precautions were found necessary to ensure his personal safety, and many were the threatening letters which reached both the offender and his wife. By this time, however, the violence of the extreme party had roused the ire of the moderate Catholics, and it became evident that, in spite of all the clamour and tumult of popular excitement, the feeling of the steady-going middle classes was favourable to the judgment and grateful to the courage and spirit of Justice Keogh. Addresses from the grand juries poured in upon him as he went on circuit, couched for the most part in such language as the following. "We desire," said the grand jurors of the North Riding of Tipperary, "to express at this the earliest opportunity afforded us, and in language that

cannot be mistaken, the indignation we feel at the accumulated insult that has been heaped upon one of Her Majesty's judges for the upright and fearless manner in which he has discharged a most arduous and difficult duty imposed upon him by Her Majesty's Government. . . . We desire at the same time to express in the strongest terms our approval of the conduct of a judge who has not hesitated to prefer the honest and uncompromising discharge of his duty to every other consideration that could be brought to bear upon him, and who has been compelled—in his own language—to perform his duty under the most terrible denunciations, public and private."

MR. CHILDERS, M.P.

In the Protestant north of Ireland the judgment was, as might have been expected, as greatly applauded as it was condemned elsewhere; while in England, although few attempted to defend the taste and manner of Judge Keogh's great delivery, it was felt that the general position taken up by him could not be too strongly supported. English opinion found emphatic expression in the debate on the subject in the House of Commons, provoked by Mr. Butt's motion for the removal of Mr. Justice Keogh from the Irish bench, where, after a crowded and brilliant debate, Mr. Butt's motion was negatived by an overwhelming majority.

On the afternoon of the 12th of February, London was startled and dismayed by a telegram from India which reached the India Office at half-past one, and the contents of which became very soon generally known in the city. It bore the name of Mr. Ellis, a member of the Indian Council, and ran as follows:—

"I have to announce, with the deepest regret, that the Viceroy was assassinated by a convict at Port Blair on the 8th instant, at seven in the evening. The Viceroy had inspected the several stations of the settlement, and had reached the pier on his way to the boat to return to the man-of-war *Glasgow*, when a convict, under cover of darkness, suddenly broke through the guard surrounding the Viceroy, and stabbed him twice in the back. The Viceroy expired shortly afterwards. The assassin was arrested at once, and is being tried. His name is Shere Ali, a resident in foreign territory beyond the Peshawur frontier. He was convicted of murder by the Commissioner of Peshawur in 1867, and sentenced to transportation for life. He was received in the settlement in May, 1869."

This most melancholy news was announced in the evening to both Houses of Parliament, by the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Gladstone, and was received with deep and real regret. Lord Mayo, as Governor-General of

India, had served his country well, and had won that general respect from all persons qualified to criticise him which is the truest reward of weight and honesty of character. It was in no spirit of empty eulogy that the Duke of Argyll spoke of him in the House of Lords. "This House," he said, "is full of Lord Mayo's personal friends. I believe no man ever had more friends than he, and I believe that no man ever deserved better to have them. I may say with perfect truth that no news was telegraphed to Major Bourke, the brother of the Viceroy, in cypher, and he, thinking it was a mere ordinary confidential communication, took it to Lord Mayo's private secretary to decypher.

When the first shock of the revelation was over, came the inevitable cry, "Why were not greater precautions taken? The desperate character of the Port Blair convicts is well known; ought not so valuable a life to have been better guarded in their midst?" But the answer

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Governor-General who ever ruled India was more energetic in the discharge of his duties, or more assiduous in performing the functions of his great office; and, above all, no Viceroy that ever ruled India had more at heart the good of the people of that vast empire."

Public sympathy with the bereaved wife and children was real and warm; and when fuller news came, and the tragic story was told in greater detail, its various points were for a time in everybody's mouth. It was not till March 11th that the anxiously expected Calcutta mail arrived with full particulars. It appeared that the news which reached London on the 12th February was only known in Calcutta on that day, and that all knowledge of the event was for some time confined to a few high officials, and to the near relatives of Lord Mayo. The to this natural question was that the Viceroy himself had always steadily refused to surround himself with anything like a personal guard. "My brother," said Major Bourke, "very much disliked the attendance of an escort, and during all our tours I had to take measures privately for the protection of his person."

The Andaman Islands, where Lord Mayo met his death, are a group of islands on the east side of the Bay of Bengal. Till 1857 they had been thinly peopled by a few dark-skinned and barbarous inhabitants, from whose hands the rich and fertile soil received the very slightest cultivation which would suffice to supply their few and primitive needs. They were but little known, except to the coral-fishers, and any European landing upon their densely-wooded shores found it hard to believe that he

was but a few miles from the vast and crowded Indian empire, so remote and primeval was their whole aspect. But in 1857 the Indian Government, looking round for a suitable place for a great penal settlement, bethought them of the Andaman Islands, and a committee was sent to explore and report upon them. The committee reported favourably, and recommended Port Blair as a convenient site for the first settlement. The Government agreed with their recommendation, building was begun immediately, and in 1858 the first batch of convicts landed at Port Blair. The settlement gradually increased in size, and other islands were made use of. At the time of the Viceroy's visit, there were convict settlements on Ross Island, Viper Island, and Chatham Island, the worst and most desperate characters being confined on Viper Island. The Viceroy was led to visit the settlement by reports of certain irregularities which had occurred there, and of various outbreaks on the part of the convicts, which had put no small strain on the strength and discretion of the authorities. He landed at Ross Island on the morning of February 8th, and began a careful inspection of the different settlements. Before his arrival at the island, however, Major Burne, his private secretary and faithful friend, had taken precautions which the Viceroy would never have taken for himself. He had written to Major-General Stewart, the officiating superintendent of the settlement, suggesting the provision of an escort and some other measures of protection, which seemed to him reasonable and necessary. The Viceroy, however, in his inspection of Ross Island, discovering the care which was being taken of him, seemed rather annoyed by it, and several times told his escort to keep back. The day passed off very well. The Viceroy went to all three islands, inspecting, consulting, and advising; there were many convicts in sight, both within and without the buildings, pursuing their different works, and occasionally one or two of them were allowed to present petitions to the Viceroy, to which he promised attention, but all were quiet and orderly in demeanour, and though constant precautions were observed by those surrounding the Viceroy, there seemed little or no reason for them. In the evening, when the fierce heat of the day was over, and the Viceroy had done his work, it was proposed that the whole party should take advantage of the cool brief tropical twilight to climb to the top of Mount Harriet on Ross Island and get a general view of the Andaman group. The Viceroy entered heartily into the plan, a boat manned by stout sailors pulled the party swiftly to the foot of Mount Harriet, and just [illegible] the Viceroy and his companions reached the [illegible] of the hill. There they rested, scarcely heeding the [illegible]ering darkness in their enjoyment of the wide rich view and freshened atmosphere. When at last the party descended the hill it was growing rapidly dark. The Viceroy was as usual closely surrounded by his party, and as they neared the landing-stage a few torch-bearers met them, whom Lord Mayo, however, sent on to the front, as he disliked the smoke and smell of the torches. On reaching the landing-stage the party noticed a line of men [illegible] under the care of a prison superintendent. General Stewart explained that they were bearers who were to carry Lady Mayo up Mount Harriet on the following morning. The Viceroy passed on to where the *Glasgow* boat lay waiting for him by the side of the pier; he was just about to step into it when, to quote Major Burne's words, "in an instant a rushing noise was heard, and a man was seen fastened like a tiger on the Viceroy's back. The whole occurrence was momentary, and took place almost in total darkness. The assassin, who was a tall, muscular Khyberee Afreedee, seemed to have the Viceroy in some manner immovably in his grasp, and inflicted the wound so instantaneously as not to give him time to turn round and defend himself. The whole party rushed on the assassin and instantly secured him; alas! not till he had inflicted two mortal wounds. The Viceroy ran a few paces forward, turned to his left, and fell over the pier into some shallow water. I left the assassin and immediately ran to his help as he was struggling in the water."

Alas! it was soon found that help of any kind was of no avail. The Viceroy was lifted into the boat, and his companions urged the sailors to make all possible speed for the ship. But before five minutes had passed those hanging over him knew that all was over. The blow had been neither a chance nor a weak one; it had done its fatal work only too well. A few indistinct words escaped the Viceroy's lips immediately after the attack, but he made no sign of consciousness in the boat, and his actual death was so quiet that it was difficult to say at what moment he passed away. Of the feelings of his friends, of the agony of poor Lady Mayo, awaiting her husband's return on board the *Glasgow*, this is no place to speak. As soon as the news became known in India, the warmth and depth of public sympathy spoke volumes for the general character of Lord Mayo's administration.

The question then so warmly debated still remains to be discussed. What was the motive of the murderer? Was the crime a political one—to be taken as evidence of a wide-spread Mohammedan conspiracy against English government in India—or not? Shere Ali, the assassin, had been sentenced to transportation for life five years before this date, for the murder of a relation in consequence of a "blood feud." That he was a Mussulman was certain, and that he belonged to the fanatical Wahabee sect among the Mussulmans, a sect well known for their fierce hostility to English rule, was strongly suspected. The murder of the Chief Justice of Bengal only a few months earlier by a native assassin had given point to the anxiety with which this sect was commonly regarded. It began to be discovered that, not only upon the Afghan frontier, but throughout Northern India, Wahabee missionaries were stirring up the faithful and preaching a Crescentade. A brilliant writer, Mr. W. W. Hunter, of the Bengal Civil Service, published a book a short time afterwards—a book whose very title made Englishmen feel uncomfortable. "Our Mussulman subjects: are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?"—such was the alarming question asked on Mr. Hunter's title-page. And although he decided,

on grounds of Mohammedan law, that Mussulmans were not bound to rebel, he drew a picture of actual Wahabee feeling which, if we were to take it literally, would appal us. Mr. Hunter believes, as do many others with him, that the hatred to English rule is so deep-seated in the minds of many millions of Mussulmans that it has become a part of their religion; that it is an article of their creed that the first duty of the faithful is to displace the infidel from power; and that he who contributes to this, by successful war or by assassination, gains paradise by the very fact. These doctrines, according to Mr. Hunter, start from the mountaineers of Afghanistan, but find their way downwards along the course of the Ganges till they infect the very air of Bengal. The prophets of Wahabism, he maintains, preach in every town and village in Northern India, and make innumerable converts to Mohammedanism from the low-caste Hindoos. These men, accustomed all their life to a state of social subjection that has no parallel in Western countries, find themselves suddenly addressed in passionate accents by preachers of the doctrine which has always been at the root of Mussulman success—the doctrine of social equality. So from a religion which made outcasts of them they fly by thousands to a religion which "sets them with princes," and makes paradise depend upon action and not upon status. It is probable that Mr. Hunter's account of the success and the bitterness of the propaganda is much exaggerated; but though he most likely overrated the number of converts, he certainly did not overrate the intensity of the Wahabee fanaticism itself. And although it is not proved, it is at least an open question whether or no Shere Ali murdered Lord Mayo from fanatical motives. It is true that up to the time of his execution, which took place a short time afterwards in Calcutta, he never gave any clue to his reasons for the crime; he owned that he had had no accomplice "except God." The exception is significant, and sounds like the words of a fanatic; but there is no proof positive. The common reason given was, that Shere Ali, who was a moody man, had brooded on the supposed injustice of his being punished for killing a man in consequence of a "blood feud"—which, of course, is an act recognised by the customs of his native country, and indeed of most barbarous peoples.

It may be added that Lord Mayo was succeeded by Lord Napier and Ettrick, Governor of Madras, as temporary Governor-General; and, in the course of the summer, by Lord Northbrook. A pension was also voted by Parliament to Lady Mayo.

At Pisa, on March 10th in this year, died Giuseppe Mazzini; a man whose career had been of such European importance, and who had lived and worked so much in England, that a short notice of his life is not out of place in a History of England. He was born at Genoa, in what year precisely is uncertain, but probably in 1808. He spent a happy and well-cared for childhood and youth under the guardianship of parents who are said to have themselves possessed, and to have impressed upon their son, that passion for social reform and that vivid interest in social problems which were always so eminently characteristic of Mazzini. Before he was twenty his head was full of dreams of a regenerated Italy, and his pen was ready enough to set them forth in any Genoese journal which was courageous enough to print them. At twenty-one he became a member of the famous secret society of the Carbonari, an association based upon principles at once anti-papal and anti-monarchic. Young Mazzini's passionate convictions and rich natural gifts soon made him a power among his new associates, and his name and opinions began to be unpleasantly known to the Piedmontese authorities. It was felt that strong measures must be taken with a man who so early in life threatened to become formidable to the powers that were, and a very short time after his entrance into the ranks of the Carbonari, Mazzini's movements and utterances were tracked by a Government spy; he was arrested and sent for six months to the fortress of Savona. At the end of that time he was released on condition that he quitted Italy. It may easily be imagined with what zeal Mazzini returned to his old plans and dreams after this taste of martyrdom. From Marseilles, where he established the famous journal of *The Young Italy*, and whence he diffused a passionate republican literature over Italy in spite of all that police and censorship could do, he watched and regulated the movements of the party which was rapidly coming to regard him as their leader. During 1833 and 1834 he made his head-quarters in Switzerland, whence he launched two unsuccessful expeditions against the Sardinian kingdom. Both attempts failed, and the Swiss Government dared not continue to countenance him. They recommended him to go to England, the common refuge of the political exile, and to England Mazzini came. While living in London he earned his livelihood by keeping a school, and by writing, his dignified and independent bearing winning respect from those most opposed to him in politics. In 1844 he came out of the comparative seclusion in which he had lived and worked for nearly ten years, to bring forward an indignant complaint against the English Post Office authorities, for having, as he declared, opened his letters and made their contents known to the Italian Government. It was a mysterious and discreditable affair, and excited a painful interest in England. That there were grounds enough for the accusation was only too clearly proved by the course taken by the Neapolitan Government, who, acting upon information which, according to Mazzini, they could only have got at by the help of the English Post Office authorities, inflicted sudden and terrible vengeance upon some of Mazzini's friends in Naples, whose names were mentioned in the opened letters.

The next period of Mazzini's life was full of action, and of stirring scenes. He had a share in all those plans and schemes which turned Italian politics for years into a brilliant series of escapades and surprises. When Pius IX. was made Pope, and showed signs of favouring the Liberal cause, Mazzini put himself at the head of the party who saw in Pio Nono the champion of a united Italy; his letter from London to the newly-elected Pope strengthened Pius IX.'s position as nothing else could have done. The Liberals soon found, however, that

there was no real tie between them and the Papacy, and the alliance, begun so impulsively, was soon a thing of the past. On the time when Italy made her first formidable attempt to throw off the rule of the Austrian and the Bourbon, when Garibaldi came to the front, and the brilliant short-lived experiment of a Roman Republic was tried, with Mazzini, as one of a triumvirate, at the head of it, we have no room to dwell. Italian politics became a kind of romance, and Mazzini and Garibaldi were the heroes of it. It was Mazzini who defended Rome against the French allies of the Pope in 1848; and twelve years later, after various intervals of storm and calm, it was Mazzini who, behind the scenes, planned and organised the Sicilian expedition which Garibaldi and his red-shirts carried out.

Then came a time when the world said that Liberal Italy had no more to ask, that all save Rome was theirs, and that the dream of a united Italy was realised in the spread of the Sardinian government over Italy.

Mazzini and his friends, however, found it hard to accept a realisation of their hopes so different from that which they had hoped to gain. Italy, most of them thought, could never be either free or united till she had a republican form of government. In Mazzini at least such a theory, and the attitude it caused him to take up towards the Government of Victor Emmanuel, were consistent and natural enough. An Italian Republic, stretching from the Alps to Cape Spartivento, had been the dream of his whole life; and when a man thinks to grasp his ideal, he is impatient of those who bid him be content with what he profoundly believes to be second best. His friends, however, deny that he was as uncompromisingly opposed to the new system as was commonly reported. One of them even says expressly that, "as the price of seeing an Italy strong enough to live her own life even under a monarchical form of government, he willingly renounced the far dearer dream he had ever cherished of a united Italian Republic."

He renounced it, at any rate, so far that he withdrew from any active share in politics, and let affairs take their own way. Early in 1872, after many comparatively quiet years in his native land, he went to live at Geneva, and died a few months afterwards, worn into premature old age by the many excitements and vicissitudes of his eventful life.

CHAPTER L.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL PROGRESS DURING THE LAST TWENTY YEARS.

[illegible]

In the recent history of the United Kingdom, there are few more striking phenomena than the rapidity with which the inhabitants have been adding to their numbers. In the year 1801 Great Britain and Ireland, with the Channel Islands and Isle of Man, contained a population of rather less than sixteen millions of souls (15,795,287). So rapid has been the increase since that date that, at the census of 1871, the aggregate population was found to number upwards of thirty-one and a half millions (31,629,299). Since the beginning of the present century, therefore, the population has more than doubled its numbers, having received an addition of 15,834,012 souls in that period. During the whole of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, less than half this number of persons were added to the population, the inhabitants in 1700 being estimated to have numbered about eight millions; and in 1801, as above stated, 15,795,287. The larger population of the nineteenth century has, in fact, been increasing half as fast again as the smaller population of the eighteenth.

Great Britain and Ireland are no new and undeveloped countries. Their area, moreover, is very limited, covering, in fact, less than 122,000 square miles. Yet within the first seventy years of the nineteenth century their population doubled itself. Nor is this all. Within the period under consideration, emigration was carried on upon a scale to which no parallel can be found in history. Within these seventy years, seven millions of emigrants left their native shores—some to lay the foundation of new colonies, others seeking a home in the old ones. Nor is the fact without significance that, of these seven million emigrants, more than half (3,729,172) left the old country in the first twenty years of the second half of this century—that is, between the years 1851 and 1871—those who emigrated between 1851 and 1861 numbering 2,054,578, and those between 1861 and 1871, 1,674,594. Between 1861 and 1871 the population of the United Kingdom was increasing at the rate of 1,173 persons a day. Of these, 468 emigrated abroad, leaving behind 705 of each day's increase to swell the population at home. In describing the increase of the population of the United Kingdom, it is, therefore, not sufficient to say that in the first seven decades of the nineteenth century its numbers were doubled. It must be added that, besides this increase at home, a vast host of the sons and daughters of Britain and Ireland, almost as numerous as the entire nation at the commencement of the century, had within the same period removed to new homes beyond the seas.

This wholesale emigration has, indeed, affected the population of one portion of the United Kingdom very seriously. Ever since the terrible famine of 1847, described in its proper place in a former volume of this History, the inhabitants of Ireland, so far from increasing, have been rapidly diminishing in number. In the year 1841 the population of that portion of the United Kingdom numbered 8,196,597. Between that year and 1851 not less than 1,240,737 Irishmen emigrated abroad; and, owing to this and other circumstances, the population in 1851 was found to be reduced to 6,574,278. Between

1851 and 1861 the number of Irish emigrants was 1,231,308, and by the latter year the population of that island had sunk to 5,798,967. In the following ten years, from 1861 to 1871, the rate of emigration fell off 30 per cent., the number of emigrants being 866,626, and the population in 1871 numbering 5,412,377. Though in the course of the last ten years the tide of Irish emigration has thus been rapidly ebbing, the inhabitants were within that interval of time reduced by 386,590, or 6½ per cent. In the thirty years from 1841 to 1871 there was an aggregate reduction of no less than 30 per cent. in the population, the inhabitants being fewer by 2,784,220 at the later date than at the earlier. The population of Ireland in 1871 differed, in fact, very little from the number at which it stood at the commencement of the century, when it is estimated to have been 5,216,331.

Very different is the case with the rest of the United Kingdom. There, too, emigration has been very large, but the additions to the population have nevertheless been still larger. Comparing the years 1871 and 1841, we find that Scotland has maintained a steady increase at the rate of about 10 per cent. every decade, while in England and Wales the decennial rate of increase has been still higher, varying from rather less than 12 per cent. to rather more than 13 per cent. The population of Scotland in 1841 was only 2,620,184. Between four and five hundred thousand Scotchmen emigrated abroad between that year and 1871, and yet at the latter date the inhabitants of that portion of the United Kingdom numbered 3,360,018, showing an addition of 739,834 souls in the thirty years. At the intermediate dates, 1851 and 1861, the population of Scotland was found to be respectively 2,888,742 and 3,062,294.

Remarkable as has been the progress of population in Scotland, the increase in England and Wales has been even more extraordinary. In 1801 the population of this part of Great Britain was no more than 8,892,536. In 1871 it was 22,712,266, showing an addition in the seventy years of 13,819,730 souls, or more than 155 per cent. In 1841 the inhabitants of England and Wales numbered 15,914,148, so that in the last thirty years their numbers have been increased by 6,798,118. Within the same period of thirty years nearly two millions of persons born in England and Wales emigrated abroad. In 1851 the inhabitants of England and Wales numbered 17,927,609, or 2,013,461 more than in 1841. In 1861 they numbered 20,066,224, or 2,138,615 more than in 1851; while in 1871 their numbers, as above mentioned, being 22,712,266, were greater by 2,646,042 than in 1861. So great, indeed, has been the increase in this part of Britain, that it has not only made up for the gigantic losses in Ireland, but, combined with the steady increment in Scotland, it has overlapped them to such an extent that the aggregate population of the United Kingdom has never failed at each of the decennial censuses to show a more or less considerable increase over the numbers of each preceding period. Between the years 1841 and 1851 the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, including the army, navy, and merchant service at home and abroad, show an increase of 688,026; between 1851 and 1861, an increase of 1,575,330; and between 1861 and 1871, an increase of 2,524,091.

Nor was this large advance in numbers in any very considerable degree due to immigration from abroad. Whether as settlers or as visitors, the number of foreigners in this country has at all times been comparatively insignificant. In the year 1871 it was found that in England and Wales they barely exceeded a hundred thousand—the exact number being 100,098; and the census of that year was taken at a time when, owing to the war between France and Germany, a larger number of foreigners were staying in this country than, according to all probability, would otherwise have been the case. In 1861 the number of foreigners in England and Wales did not exceed 84,090. The greater half of the alien element of the population was German and French; the Germans numbering 28,644 in 1861, and 32,823 in 1871; while the French, who are little more than half as numerous as the Germans, mustered 12,989 in 1861, and 17,906 in 1871. In the latter year, then, when, owing to extraordinary circumstances, the number of foreigners in England and Wales was unusually high, there was only one alien out of every 226 persons in the country; and in Scotland and Ireland the proportion was even less than in South Britain. In connection with this subject, it may be added that according to the returns, incomplete as they have always been, respecting British subjects visiting or residing in foreign countries, their number in 1861, independently of 2,476,132 settled or travelling in the United States, was not less than 67,969; while in 1871 it was 59,376, those settled in the United States at the latter date numbering more than three millions (3,122,823).

On the other hand, there is a considerable movement of the population within the limits of the United Kingdom itself. Thus in 1871 no fewer than 213,254 natives of Scotland, and 566,540 natives of Ireland, were found residing in England and Wales. In this portion of the United Kingdom, therefore, there was *one* Irishman in every forty of the population, and *one* Scotchman in about every hundred. At the same time, there were enumerated in England and Wales 25,655 persons born in the Channel Islands; 70,812 born in the British Colonies or the East Indies; 38,807 British subjects born in foreign countries; and 4,395 persons who first saw the light of day at sea. Altogether, therefore, out of the 22,712,266 persons enumerated in South Britain in 1871, the number of those who were not natives of that part of the United Kingdom was 919,463; so that Englishmen and Welshmen in their own country still outnumbered immigrants of every description in the comparatively high proportion of twenty-one to one. The immigrant element in the population was, however, a growing one. In 1841, with a population of 15,914,148, it numbered but 432,974; so that at that date there was but one person out of every thirty-five not born in the country, as against one out of every twenty-two in 1871. And the immigrants who have increased at the most rapid rate are not, as might

very readily be supposed, those of Scotch or Irish origin, but the foreigners and the British subjects born in foreign countries, who together numbered no more than 39,244 in 1841, but whose numbers in 1871 had risen to 139,445; the latter, therefore, having increased three

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and a half fold, while the former had scarcely doubled their numbers.

Wonderful as has been the progress as regards population of the United Kingdom itself, it is even surpassed in this respect by the numerous British colonies and dependencies abroad. The population of the British Empire, as a whole, stood in the year 1851 at about 159,000,000 souls. In 1871 the grand total had increased to nearly 235,000,000, showing an increase of 76,000,000 in the interval of twenty years. In the East Indies and other Asiatic possessions alone, the subjects of the British crown had increased within that period from less than 126,000,000 to more than 194,000,000; the increment being, however, in part due to the annexation of additional provinces. The Australian colonies had but 437,000 inhabitants in 1850; in 1871 their population had increased more than fourfold, their aggregate numbers being close upon 2,000,000. The population of Cape Colony, Natal, and the rest of the British territories in Africa, was little more than 600,000 in 1850; by 1871 it had considerably more than doubled itself, its numbers being nearly 1,500,000. The colonies of North America were peopled by 2,500,000

THE ASSASSINATION OF THE VICEROY OF INDIA.

in 1851, and by 3,750,000 in 1871, showing an increase of as much as 50 per cent. in the twenty years. The West Indies, with the Bermudas, Honduras, and British Guiana, had rather less than 500,000 inhabitants in 1850; they had 1,300,000 in 1871. And even the small possessions in Europe—Gibraltar, Malta, and Heligoland—show an increase in their population from 70,000 in 1850, to 176,000 in 1871; this increase being, however, partly due to the military not having been included in the earlier returns. The British Empire in 1871 covered a surface twice as large as that of all Europe, its aggregate area in round numbers having, at that date, reached the huge total of 7,500,000 square miles. The East Indian and other Asiatic possessions alone comprise an area of little less than 1,000,000 square miles. Of the rest of the colonies, which cover 6,500,000 square miles of the earth's surface, by far the greater portion has been colonised by settlers mainly of British and Irish origin—a fact pregnant with the most momentous consequences for the future of the Anglo-Saxon race.

In his work entitled "Greater Britain," Sir Charles Dilke, who in the years 1866 and 1867 travelled through all the English-speaking countries of the globe, in depicting "the grandeur of our race, already girdling the earth, which it is destined, perhaps, eventually to overspread," remarked that "the countries ruled by a race whose very scum and outcasts have founded empires in every portion of the globe, even now consist of nine and a half millions of square miles, and contain a population of three hundred millions of people. Their surface," he continues, "is five times as great as that of the empire of Darius, and four and a half times as great as the Roman Empire at its greatest extent. It is no exaggeration to say that, in power, the English countries would be more than a match for the remaining nations of the world, whom, in the intelligence of their people and in the extent and wealth of their dominions, they already considerably surpass. Russia gains ground steadily, we are told, but so do we. If we take the maps of the English-governed countries and of the Russian countries of fifty years ago, and compare them with the English and Russian countries of to-day, we find that the Saxon has outstripped the Muscovite both in conquest and in colonisation. The extensions of the United States alone are equal to all those of Russia. Chili, La Plata, and Peru must eventually become English; the Red Indian race that now occupies those countries cannot stand against our colonists; and the future of the tablelands of Africa and that of Japan and of China is equally clear. Even in the tropical plains, the negroes alone seem able to withstand us. No possible series of events can prevent the English race itself in 1970 numbering three hundred millions of beings, of one national character and one tongue. Italy, Spain, France, Russia become pigmies by the side of such a people.

"Many who are well aware of the power of the English nations are nevertheless disposed to believe that our own is morally, as well as physically, the least powerful of the sections of the race, or, in other words, that we are overshadowed by America and Australia. The rise to power of our southern colonies is, however, distant, and an alliance between ourselves and America is still one to be made on equal terms. Although we are forced to contemplate the speedy loss of our manufacturing supremacy as coal becomes cheaper in America, and dearer in Old England, we have, nevertheless, as much to bestow on America as she has to confer on us. The possession of India offers to ourselves that element of vastness of dominion which, in this age, is needed to secure width of thought and nobility of purpose; but to the English race, our possession of India, of the coasts of Africa, and of the ports of China, offers the possibility of planting free institutions among the dark-skinned races of the world.

"The ultimate future of any one section of our race, however, is of little moment by the side of its triumph as a whole, but the power of English laws and English principles of government is not merely an English question—its continuance is essential to the freedom of mankind."

The population and extent of the British Empire were ascertained more completely at the great imperial census of 1871 than at any previous period. The various details of the elaborate arrangement under which this census was carried out were probably as perfect, humanly speaking, as they could be made; and the benefits resulting from the information—which was alike novel and interesting—then obtained were correspondingly important. With few exceptions, the area and number of inhabitants of every province in the empire were enumerated simultaneously in that year. The final and revised results of this census, together with the populations, as estimated or enumerated in 1851, are stated in detail in the annexed table:—

POPULATION AND EXTENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1871 AND 1851.

Province.	Population. 1871.	Population. 1851.	Area in Square Miles.
EUROPE:			
England and Wales	22,712,266	17,927,609	58,311
Scotland	3,360,018	2,888,742	30,463
Ireland	5,412,377	6,574,278	32,531
Islands of British Seas	144,638	148,126	30
Army and Navy	—	212,194	—
Total of United Kingdom	31,629,299*	27,745,949	121,633
Heligoland	1,913	2,000	2
Gibraltar	25,216	12,182	1
Malta	149,031	124,739	115
[Ionian Islands	(Ceded to Greece.)	[224,000]	1,041
Total in Europe	31,805,512	27,885,340	121,744
NORTH AMERICA:			
Dominion of Canada	3,485,761	2,311,182	750,185
Manitoba	11,965	—	14,340
British Columbia	10,586	—	220,000
North-West Territory	28,700	—	2,750,000
Prince Edward's Island	94,021	40,880	2,173
Newfoundland	146,536	58,338	40,200
The Bermudas	12,121	11,092	24
Total in North America	3,789,670	2,421,492	3,776,925

* Army and Navy Abroad, 1871, included in the returns for the Colonies, &c.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1871 AND 1851—*continued.*

Province.	Population. 1871.	Population. 1851.	Area in Square Miles.
WEST INDIES AND CENTRAL AMERICA:—			
The Bahamas	[illegible]	23,410	3,021
Turk's Islands	[illegible]	[illegible]	420
Jamaica	506,154	377,433	6,400
British Honduras	21,710	24,000	13,500
The Leeward Islands:—			
Antigua and Barbuda	35,157	36,178	183
Montserrat	8,203	7,355	47
St. Christopher or St. Kitt's	28,169	23,177	68
Nevis	11,735	9,571	20
Anguilla or Snake Island	2,775	—	35
The Virgin Islands (Tortola, &c.)	6,426	6,689	91
Dominica	27,178	22,220	291
The Windward Islands:—			
Barbadoes	162,042	122,198	166
St. Lucia	31,610	24,546	248
St. Vincent	35,688	30,128	131
Grenada	37,684	28,927	133
Tobago	17,054	13,028	97
Trinidad	109,638	68,600	1,755
Total of West Indies and Central America	1,088,596	817,430	26,609
SOUTH AMERICA:—			
British Guiana	193,491	127,695	76,000
The Falkland Islands	803	433	6,500
Total of South America	194,294	128,128	82,500
AFRICA:—			
Ascension	27	2,679	34
St. Helena	6,241		47
West African Settlements:—			
Sierra Leone	38,936	44,472	468
The Gambia	14,190	4,851	21
The Gold Coast	400,070	151,346	6,000
Lagos	62,021	—	—
Cape of Good Hope	480,995	285,279	200,610
British Kaffraria	86,201	81,353	
Basuto Land	75,000	—	
Griqualand West	25,457	—	17,800
Natal	293,832	120,627	11,172
The Mauritius, Seychelles, &c.	330,460	189,878	708
Total of Africa	1,813,450	880,485	236,860
ASIA:—			
British India	191,307,070	123,931,339	938,366
Perim	—	—	—
Aden*	—	—	—
Ceylon	2,405,287	1,575,573	24,454
The Straits Settlements:—			
Singapore	97,111	269,000	224
Penang and Prov. Wellesley	133,230		382
Malacca	77,756		640
Labuan	4,898	1,150	45
Hong Kong	120,124	33,143	32
Total of Asia	194,145,476	125,801,225	964,163
AUSTRALASIA:—			
Western Australia	24,785	5,886	978,000
South Australia	188,995	63,039	760,000
Victoria	731,528	76,162	88,198
New South Wales	503,981	265,503	323,437
Norfolk Island	481	90	13½
Queensland	120,104	11,162	678,600
Tasmania	99,328	70,130	26,215
New Zealand	256,393	26,707	106,259
Total of Australasia	1,925,595	518,880	2,960,722
Total of Colonies & Dependencies	203,133,294	130,750,773	7,647,841
Grand Total of British Empire	238,762,793	158,493,727	7,769,449

The large additions which we have remarked as having been made to the inhabitants of England and Wales in recent years, have been accompanied by a significant change or movement in their relative distribution and grouping. The additional population has not spread itself equally over the surface of the country, but has tended more and more to congregate together in masses. There has, in other words, been a decided movement towards the towns. Though the rural population has not remained stationary, it has increased at a far less rapid rate than the population of urban districts. In 1851 the inhabitants of the town districts of England and Wales differed from those of the rural districts by less than half a million in number. In the year 1871 the former numbered nearly thirteen millions (12,900,297), while the latter had increased to but little more than nine and three-quarter millions (9,803,811). Thus, while the town populations had, in the course of the twenty years, increased by more than 40 per cent., those of the country districts had added but 8½ per cent. to their numbers.

Speaking of the growth of the population between the years 1851 and 1861, the Census Commissioners observed that "three-fourths of the total increase of population had taken place in the towns." The seventy-two largest towns in the country, which had an aggregate population of 2,221,753 in 1801, and 7,677,622 in 1861, had, in the ten years preceding 1861, added to their numbers at "double the rate at which the rest of the population increased." "The county and assize towns increased in the ten years since 1851 at the rate of 1·39 annually; the manufacturing towns where silk and woollen goods and gloves were made increasing most slowly, the towns famous for cotton, stockings, shoes, and straw plait increasing most rapidly. The increase of population was most rapid in the seaport towns, and in the towns amidst the mining districts where hardware is made."

"England is in this age still a great agricultural country; but its cities are extending beyond their ancient borders. Villages and small places are rising up to the importance of large towns." Thus Barrow-in-Furness, in Lancashire, was a village, not important enough even to be mentioned by name in the census of 1861; but in 1871 it had risen to the dignity of a town, with nearly 20,000 inhabitants, and had, within the brief space of ten years, attained the status of a municipal borough, governed by a mayor and corporation. Another instance is that of Middlesborough, in Yorkshire, which, in the year 1831, had a population of 383 persons. In 1871 its inhabitants numbered close upon forty thousand (39,563).

In 1871 there were 103 towns in England and Wales with upwards of 20,000 inhabitants. Their aggregate population at that date was 9,543,968, an increase of nearly seven and a quarter millions since 1801. These 103 towns in 1871 contained a larger population than all England and Wales at the beginning of the century. Within seventy years from that time these 103 towns had quadrupled their population, while the population of the rest of the country had barely doubled its numbers. England and Wales at the same date contained, besides the 103 towns just mentioned, 118 towns with a population of between 10,000 and 20,000; 220 towns of from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants; 358 towns of from 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants; and 100 of from 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants, besides thirty-eight other places which, though having less than 1,000 inhabitants, are classified with the towns on account of their possessing local boards, or other forms of local self-government. These 937 towns possessed in 1871 an aggregate population of 14,[illegible]. In 1801 their inhabitants numbered 12,026,546, so that they had added 2,014,858 persons to their population

* The population of Aden is included in that of India.

in the ten years. The population of the rest of the country was 8,039,678 in 1861, and only added 631,184 thereto in the ten succeeding years. The town populations, according to this mode of division, had therefore increased by 17 per cent., while the remaining population had only increased 8 per cent.; and, according to this principle of division, of the population of England and Wales, nearly two-thirds (62 per cent.) belonged to the towns, and rather more than one-third (38 per cent.) to the rural districts.

While the prevailing tendency of the population has thus, beyond doubt, been to gravitate to the towns, there are not wanting symptoms of an incipient movement in the very opposite direction, more particularly in the most recent years. Numbers of merchants and tradesmen, more particularly those of the wealthier class, who were formerly compelled by the exigencies of their business to dwell in the larger towns, have recently been enabled, by the rapid development of railway communication, to remove to private residences in the country. The resident population of the City of London, which in 1861 numbered 112,063, had sunk in 1871 to 74,897. For centuries this portion of the metropolis had never had a population of less than 110,000. In the year 1631 its inhabitants are estimated to have numbered 111,608, and in 1801 they were as many as 128,269. The sudden and unprecedented decrease of 37,166 persons, or 33 per cent., which took place in the ten years from 1861 to 1871, is no doubt partly due to street improvements, but it is also in great measure to be attributed to the increasing habit in certain ranks of society of seeking their places of residence as far away from the centres of business as circumstances allow. Thus the central portions, not only of the metropolis, but also of almost all the largest towns in England, have of late years been increasingly abandoned to commerce and industry. Soon after the middle of the nineteenth century, the phenomenon was for the first time seen of merchants in the City of London who travelled a hundred miles a day simply between their places of residence and their offices of business—a phenomenon probably still without a parallel in any other nation in the world. The fact of a returning tide from the towns towards the country is quite consistent with, if not confirmed by, the relative progress of the urban and rural populations at the last two censuses. Thus the rate of progress of the rural population (reckoning under this head the utmost which can possibly be conceded) was only 4 per cent. in the ten years, 1851 to 1861. It was 7 per cent. in the following ten years. The urban population in the earlier decennium added 19 per cent., but in the latter period only 18 per cent., to its numbers. This reverse current, however, has, as appears from the numbers just quoted, hitherto been on too small a scale to affect materially the truth of the assertion that the urban population has in recent times been progressing at a far more rapid rate than that of the rural districts.

As the pursuits of town populations are chiefly of a manufacturing and commercial character, so those of the country are mainly agricultural, and the more rapid growth of the former is a clear indication of the fact—which is abundantly confirmed from other sources, hereafter to be mentioned—that England was every day becoming more and more a manufacturing and commercial nation, and relatively less and less agricultural in its pursuits. A comparison of the number of persons engaged in the various classes of occupations at each of the last three censuses likewise bears witness to the same fact. Thus the actual number of persons occupied in agriculture in England fell from 2,011,447 in the year 1851, to 1,924,110 in 1861, and to 1,559,037 in 1871. The classes of persons not strictly engaged in agriculture rose from 15,916,162 in 1851, to 18,142,114 in 1861, and to 21,153,229 in 1871. In the occupations classed as commercial there were 815,424 persons engaged in 1871, as against 623,710 in 1861, an increase of 30 per cent. Again, in industrial or manufacturing employments the number of persons occupied in 1861 was 4,828,399, while in 1871 it was 5,137,725, an increase of nearly 6½ per cent. in the ten years. Within the same period, the population engaged in farming and the cultivation of the earth had decreased as much as 19 per cent.; and was, therefore, receding three times as fast as the manufacturing classes were advancing. It must be remembered that these statements refer simply to the mere numbers of the persons engaged in the various classes of occupations mentioned. The effect which has been produced upon the general welfare of the respective classes of persons in question is not capable of being determined by a mere knowledge of the changes which have taken place in their numbers alone. To enable us to form a judgment upon that point, additional data of a different kind, which will be adduced in a subsequent chapter, are requisite. Of the population not included in any of the three classes mentioned, the occupations described as professional were followed in 1861 by 481,957 persons, and in 1871 by 684,102, showing an increase of more than 200,000, or nearly 40 per cent., in that brief period. The domestic class, which includes, among others, married women and widows engaged in the management of households, as well as domestic servants, housekeepers, innkeepers, &c., rose from 4,287,020 in 1861, to 5,905,171 in 1871. The rest of the population—the indefinite and non-productive class, which, besides including all the children and scholars under twenty years of age, comprises all persons of rank and property, as well as those whose occupation could not be determined with precision—numbered 7,683,794 in 1861, and 8,512,706 in 1871. In the three last-mentioned classes there has thus been an aggregate increase of 2,648,914 persons during the ten years in question—a fact which, as the persons in question are mainly dependent for their subsistence upon the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing portion of the community, tends to show that the labour of these latter classes has been more productive than formerly, and that the nation at large is to the same extent more wealthy.

The smaller relative importance of agriculture as compared with other occupations, which we have observed in the case of England and Wales, is also found to obtain in the case of Ireland and Scotland, though not in the same degree. In regard to Ireland, the case may be

illustrated by saying that, out of every 1,000 families in the country, 662 were dependent for their subsistence on agriculture in the year 1841. In 1851 the proportion had been reduced to 526, and in 1861 to 426 per 1,000. What change has taken place since 1861 has not yet been ascertained. The non-agricultural portion of the Irish population, therefore, increased from 338 in the 1,000 in 1841, to 574 in the 1,000 in 1861. The figures here stated show that agriculture is still, as it has always been, beyond comparison the most important single occupation of Irishmen; but they also show at the same time that, within the period under consideration, the number of families dependent upon it decreased to the extent of 23½ per cent.

In Scotland, too, the agricultural was far outstripped by the non-agricultural portion of the population in its rate of increase. During the ten years from 1861 to 1871 the town populations, numbering about 1,100,000, added 240,000 to their numbers; while the inhabitants of the rural districts, numbering 1,900,000 in 1861, had only increased by 56,000 in 1871. The non-agricultural districts had therefore increased by nearly 22 per cent. in the interval, while the agricultural districts had increased scarcely four per cent.

Of the single or special occupations, which gave employment to the largest numbers of persons, that which stood first in England and Wales in 1871 was domestic service. In that year no fewer than 1,237,149 persons were so occupied; in 1861 their number was only 1,106,974. The increase in this occupation was therefore 130,175. The farm labourers and farm servants in 1861 numbered 1,188,789; in 1871 their numbers had been reduced to 980,178. This decrease of 208,611 is to be attributed to the extension of the use of machinery in agriculture, combined with the increasing fashion of uniting a number of small farms together into a single large one. Altogether, there were in England and Wales nineteen separate special occupations in 1871, in each of which more than 100,000 persons were engaged. Besides the two already mentioned, there were the general labourers, who in 1871 numbered 516,605, and 309,883 in 1861; the workers in cotton, 468,142 in 1871, and 456,646 in 1861; the milliners and dressmakers, 301,109 in 1871, and 287,101 in 1861; the coal miners, 268,091 in 1871, and 246,613 in 1861; the farmers and graziers, 249,907 in 1871, and 249,745 in 1861. Of the remaining trades, occupying more than 100,000 persons between 1861 and 1871, the carpenters and joiners increased from 177,969 to 205,833; the workers in the iron manufacture, from 125,731 to 180,207; the washerwomen and laundry-keepers, from 167,607 to 170,598; the merchant seamen, from 159,469 to 169,933; the tailors, from 136,390 to 149,864; the blacksmiths, from 108,165 to 112,471; the grocers and tea-dealers, from 93,483 to 111,094; the engine and machine makers, from 60,862 to 106,680; and the house-painters, plumbers, and glaziers, from 74,619 to 103,912. The shoemakers, on the other hand, declined from 249,745 to 223,365; the woollen-cloth makers, from 130,034 to 128,464; and the English in the army and navy, from 199,905 to 175,217.

If we except the domestic servants, the army and navy, and the milliners and dressmakers, each of the persons engaged in most of the above occupations may, on the average, be taken as supporting a family of four persons. On each of these leading trades or occupations, therefore, with the exceptions mentioned, it may be assumed that there were probably more than 400,000 persons dependent. There were, further, seventeen special trades or occupations, each giving employment to from 50,000 to 100,000 persons, each of which probably afforded subsistence to between 200,000 and 400,000 persons. The bricklayers numbered 99,984 in 1871, and 79,458 in 1861; the gardeners, 98,069 in 1871, and 78,533 in 1861; the masons and paviors, 95,243 in 1871, and 84,434 in 1861. Between the same dates those engaged in the worsted manufacture increased from 79,242 to 94,766; messengers and porters, from 75,629 to 93,182; commercial clerks, from 55,931 to 91,042; shirtmakers and seamstresses, from 76,493 to 80,730; charwomen, from 65,273 to 77,650; publicans and innkeepers from 53,713 to 77,049; butchers and meat salesmen, from 68,114 to 75,847; drapers, from 57,653 to 74,337; carmen and draymen, from 67,651 to 74,244; governesses and tutors, from 49,743 to 68,595; bakers, from 54,140 to 59,066; schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, from 56,139 to 58,152; and cabinet-makers and upholsterers, from 41,037 to 56,945. Those engaged in the silk manufacture declined in number from 101,678 in 1861, to 75,180 in 1871.

In addition to the occupations we have here mentioned, there were ninety-six other occupations or trades employing over 10,000 persons, but under 50,000. The numbers in 1871 were, in the majority of instances, considerably larger than in 1861.

Of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, therefore, as a whole, whether they be contemplated in their distribution over the town and the country districts, or in their classification according to the occupations they followed, it is clear that, as they advanced in the nineteenth century, they became, more particularly in Great Britain, more and more devoted to manufactures and commerce, and less and less to agriculture. And this conclusion is completely confirmed by other circumstances, especially by the character of the imports and exports, which we shall presently proceed to consider.

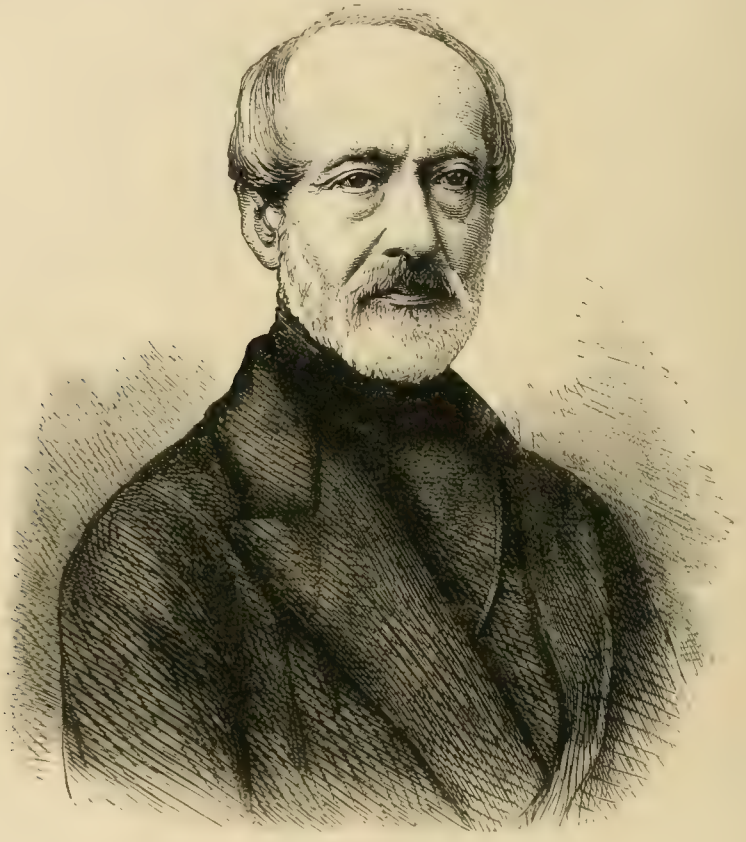
CHAPTER LI.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL PROGRESS—*continued.*

Trade and Commerce of the United Kingdom—Analysis of the Imports and Exports—Animal and Vegetable Food—Drinks—Raw Materials of Manufactures—Manufactured Goods—Enormous Preponderance of Food and Raw Materials in Imports, and of Manufactured Goods in Exports—Dependence on Supplies of Food from Abroad—Wealth of the Country—Estimates of the Annual National Income—Professor Leone Levi and Mr. Dudley Baxter—Progress of the Nation during the Ten Years 1860—1870.

THE direction which the industry of the United Kingdom has taken, and the progress it has made in recent years, is, indeed, indicated by nothing more strikingly than by its foreign commerce. In the very nature of the goods which a nation purchases from other peoples, and

of the goods it sells to them, the character of its own occupations is necessarily more or less clearly reflected. A mere glance at the catalogue of British imports and exports shows at once how vast is the manufacturing industry of this country, and a comparison of the returns of the most recent years with those of earlier dates places, in the clearest light, the immense strides with which that industry has of late been progressing. The commercial greatness of Britain dates not from yesterday. Her reputation, as the greatest commercial nation the world has ever seen, has, in fact, been the growth of centuries.



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Yet even if we go no farther back into the past than the commencement of the nineteenth century, and compare the foreign trade of Britain of that period with that of the present day, we shall find that, though at the former period her commerce was already the envy and admiration of the whole world, it was as yet but in its infancy. In 1805 the value of the British and Irish produce exported from the United Kingdom was declared to be about thirty-eight millions sterling. In 1871 the exports of home produce amounted in value to two hundred and twenty-three millions. The imports from abroad in 1805 were valued in the aggregate at not more than twenty-eight and a half millions sterling. In 1871 their value had reached three hundred and thirty-one millions. The total imports and exports in 1805 were estimated at sixty-six and a half millions. In 1871 the year's imports and exports reached the almost incredible total of five hundred and fifty-four millions, or more than eight times the value at which they stood near the commencement of the century.

The large increase of population in the United Kingdom during the present century has already been noticed, and we have now shown that that increase of population was concurrent with a still larger increase in the foreign trade of the country. While the population had only doubled itself in the interval, the foreign trade had advanced to eight and a half times its former value. As regards the general character and nature of the goods exchanged with the rest of the world, the imports consist in an overwhelming proportion of food, and of the raw materials of manufactures. The quantity of manufactured goods imported into the United Kingdom, compared with the imports of food and raw materials, appears altogether inconsiderable. The mere fact that the value of the food alone which was imported into the United Kingdom in the last few years amounted to more than one hundred and thirty millions sterling (£130,000,000) annually is highly significant. The exports of food, on the other hand, are now comparatively trifling. Even in the year 1871, when the quantity of corn, meat, and other provisions exported was vastly in excess of the average, owing to the prolonged siege of Paris, and other events in the Franco-German War which was then raging, and

when large quantities of provisions were dispatched from England to the relief of the starving population of the unfortunate capital and other localities in France—even in that most exceptional year, not more than ten millions' worth of food and drinks was sent out of the ports of the United Kingdom, the total value of the exports in that year being two hundred and thirty-three millions. But even ten millions sterling is a very high and unusual figure for the exports of food and drinks from the United Kingdom in the most recent times. The exports of corn and flour have not averaged more than £400,000 per annum since the year 1851, and they were still smaller for a long time previously to that date. But in the year 1871, principally owing to the extraordinary events referred to, corn and flour to the value of as much as £3,441,982 were exported from this country. Formerly agricultural produce was largely exported from Britain; but of late years the soil has not produced sufficient food even for the home population, necessitating the importation of food and drinks into the country in vast quantities. The value of the corn and wheat imported in 1871 was as much as £42,691,464, and in the following year it had risen to £51,228,816; and the total value of the food and drinks of every class imported in 1872 was, in round numbers, upwards of one hundred and forty millions sterling.

The extent to which, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the United Kingdom had become dependent on other countries for the supply of the necessaries of life, cannot indeed be better shown than by comparing the value of the food and drinks, and of ingredients of food and drinks, brought into the country from abroad in the most recent years, with that of the same articles imported in earlier years. To illustrate this fact we will compare the changes which have taken place within the fourteen years from 1858 to 1871. And first, as to animal food—the quantity of oxen, sheep, pork, bacon, beef, &c., which the United Kingdom drew from abroad, was, within the period in question, almost quadrupled, as will be seen from the following list:—

SALTAIRE.

VALUE OF ANIMAL FOOD IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1871 AND 1858.

	1871.	1858.
Oxen, Calves, &c. . .	£3,582,501	£962,080
Sheep and Lambs . .	1,789,826	410,631
Beef	1,635,353	326,819
Bacon and Hams . . .	2,725,909	480,330
Pork	693,096	202,453
Butter	6,939,049	1,892,755
Cheese	3,341,496	850,397
Eggs	1,263,612	393,617
Fish	711,295	292,217
Lard	1,310,012	324,181
Total . . .	£23,992,140	£5,934,880

From this table it appears that while the animal food imported into the United Kingdom in 1858 was worth less than six millions sterling, the quantity imported in the year 1871 was estimated to be of the value of nearly twenty-four millions, or within a trifle of four times as much as that of the same class of imports fourteen years earlier.

The imports of vegetable food from abroad have, how-

ever, always been much larger than those of animal food. Since the abolition of the Corn Laws, the quantity of grain imported into the United Kingdom has been constantly and rapidly increasing; and, next to cotton, the various kinds of corn form the most important class of all commodities brought into this country from abroad. The extent to which the importations of vegetable food have recently been increasing, may be seen by reference to the following list of the principal articles of that class imported:—

VALUE OF THE VEGETABLE FOOD IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1871 AND 1858.

	1871.	1858.
Corn (of all kinds)	£42,691,464	£20,164,811
Sugar	18,186,297	13,076,059
Molasses	310,281	391,387
Rice	2,438,126	1,676,232
Potatoes	225,068	337,821
Currants	1,472,391	765,195
Raisins	707,344	521,847
Oranges and Lemons	1,008,954	525,070
Spices	919,368	479,273
Dried Yeast	333,722	111,539
Total	£[illegible]	£38,050,134

Here it will be observed that while the value of the vegetable food imported in 1858 was little more than thirty-eight millions sterling, it had risen within fourteen years to upwards of sixty-eight millions, and was, therefore, less than eight millions short of doubling itself.

Putting the imported animal and vegetable food together, it appears that while their aggregate value in 1858 was nearly forty-four millions sterling, it had increased in 1871 to more than ninety-one millions; so that, in other words, the United Kingdom had, within a space of fourteen years, grown nearly twice as dependent on the rest of the world for its supplies of food as it was earlier.

Drinks, and commodities used in the preparation of beverages, form another and very important section of this class of imports, in which also a great increase has taken place in recent years. The most considerable of them are contained in the subjoined list:—

DRINKS, AND INGREDIENTS USED IN MAKING BEVERAGES, IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1871 AND 1858.

	1871.	1858.
Tea	£11,065,644	£5,206,618
Coffee	5,331,511	1,742,252
Cocoa	394,632	259,739
Spirits	2,952,148	1,358,191
Wine	7,072,099	2,040,552
Hops	895,895	36,618
Total	£28,344,929	£10,643,970

The value of this class of commodities, therefore, as appears from these figures, had nearly trebled itself in the course of the fourteen years under consideration.

From what has been hitherto stated, therefore, it appears that this class of imports has increased to the extent of more than 220 per cent. between the dates we have been considering. Before a final comparison can be drawn, however, there are certain additions yet to be made to the total, comprising a number of commodities either undistinguished by name or too numerous to be given in detail. With the addition of these minor articles, the grand total of food and drinks imported into the United Kingdom will be as follows:—

AGGREGATE VALUE OF FOOD AND DRINKS IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1871 AND 1858.

	1871.	1858.
Principal Articles of—		
Animal Food	£23,[illegible]2,149	£5,934,890
Vegetable Food	68,293,015	38,050,134
Drinks	28,344,929	10,643,970
Other Articles (estimated)	11,131,278	4,411,927
Total	£131,761,362	£59,040,921

It is therefore clear that, in the course of the fourteen years between the dates selected, the imports of food from abroad have more than doubled themselves, having risen from the value of fifty-nine millions sterling in 1858, to upwards of one hundred and thirty-one millions in 1871. The proportion of food and drinks imported rose from forty-one shillings' worth per head of the population at the earlier date, to eighty-two shillings' worth at the later period. The revenue of the Government exceeded the value of these imports in 1858 by ten millions sterling. In 1871 the importations of food and drinks had reached in value a sum nearly twice as great as the national revenue.

The relative extent to which the population of the United Kingdom was dependent for the most necessary articles of food on foreign nations, may perhaps be more clearly illustrated by showing not simply the value, but the average quantity of the principal articles of food imported in the most recent years. The annual average quantity of wheat and wheat-flour imported in the three years 1858 to 1860, was equal to twenty-five million hundredweights. Assuming the average annual consumption of wheat of each individual in the population at about four hundredweights, this quantity would furnish about six and a quarter millions of people with their year's supply of bread—that is, between one-fourth and one-fifth of the entire population of those years. In 1871 the quantity of wheat and flour imported was equivalent to thirty-nine and a quarter million hundredweights, which furnished bread enough for nearly ten millions of people—that is, for nearly one-third of the increased population of those years. The following tables show the average quantities of all the principal articles of food and drink imported in each of the three years 1858 to 1860, and in each of the three years 1868 to 1870, with the increase per cent. at the latter dates, as compared with the average ten years earlier:—

QUANTITIES OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF FOOD IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

		Yearly Average, [illegible]-60.	Yearly Average, 1[illegible]-70.	Increase per Cent.
Cattle	*head*	344,843	779,984	120
Meat—Beef	*cwts.*	216,790	230,030	6
Bacon	,,	210,014	648,495	208
Pork	,,	142,140	199,750	41
Fish	,,	390,814	625,459	107
Butter	,,	551,114	1,171,996	113
Lard	,,	137,635	236,974	72
Cheese	,,	434,306	934,616	113
Eggs	*number*	170,347,133	418,994,649	178
Corn—Wheat	*cwts.*	20,100,754	34,745,698	65
Wheat flour	,,	4,090,224	4,432,829	8
Other kinds	,,	18,913,672	31,873,465	68
Rice	*qrs.*	2,238,028	4,782,320	113
Potatoes	*cwt*	957,208	1,491,189	56

QUANTITIES OF COLONIAL AND FOREIGN PRODUCE (PRINCIPALLY DRINKS AND INGREDIENTS THEREOF) RETAINED FOR HOME CONSUMPTION.

	Yearly Average, 1858—60.	Yearly Average, 1868—70.	Increase per Cent.
Coffee . . . . . *lbs.*	35,011,923	29,808,830	—
Cocoa . . . . . ,,	3,034,957	5,657,209	86
Tea . . . . . ,,	75,438,580	112,054,302	48
Sugar . . . . . *cwts.*	9,481,453	12,849,160	35
Spirits . . . . *gallons*	5,012,295	8,337,006	66
Wine . . . . . ,,	6,587,751	14,958,534	127

Vast as are the supplies of food which the United Kingdom draws from the rest of the world, there is another class of imports, the raw materials of the manufactures, which is still vaster. The total value of this division of the imports in 1871 was upwards of one hundred and seventy-five millions sterling. In 1858 the value was less than a hundred millions, so that there was an increase of more than 75 per cent. in the fourteen years. By far the most important section of the class consists of the materials for the manufacture of textile fabrics, and one article alone—raw cotton—is not only the most important single article of the section itself, but stands at the head of imports of all classes. Its value in 1871 was little short of one-third of that of all the raw materials taken together, being nearly fifty-six million pounds sterling, out of a total of one hundred and seventy-five millions. In 1858 its value was thirty millions, the total of the whole class being ninety-nine millions. The imports of this article had, therefore, been nearly doubled in the fourteen years. The next in importance, as an article of import, is wool, the staple of one of the oldest and still one of the largest manufactures of the United Kingdom. The value of sheep, alpaca, and llama wools imported increased from less than nine millions in 1858 to nearly eighteen millions in 1871. Adding to this sum the value of the woollen rags, which are re-manufactured in the shoddy mills into cloth, and including also the value of the imports of goats' and other hair, we find that there was a total of more than nineteen millions and a half of this class of materials imported in 1871. The imports of flax, hemp, and jute—the materials of the linen, rope or cable, and sacking manufactures—increased in the fourteen years' interval from a value of less than five millions to nearly twelve millions sterling. The imports of silk, raw and thrown, rose in the same period from six and a third millions to nine and three-quarter millions, an increase of 50 per cent. Such, in brief, were the imports of the raw materials of the most important class of British manufactures, those of the textile fabrics. The grand total of the whole rose from a little more than fifty millions sterling in 1858 to more than ninety-seven millions in 1871, so that they had in that interval nearly doubled themselves. The remaining imports of raw materials present a very great variety, and do not admit, like the materials of the textile fabrics, of being classed in any considerable subdivisions. From the following table it will be seen that there are very few articles which do not show an increase more or less considerable:—

VALUE OF THE RAW MATERIALS OF MANUFACTURES IMPORTED IN 1871 AND IN 1858.

	1871.	1858.
Bones	£559,416	£496,760
Brimstone	303,633	493,049
Bristles	399,155	262,068
Caoutchouc	1,654,281	132,877
Raw Cotton	55,907,070	30,106,968
Drugs (Miscellaneous)	405,096	151,309
Dyeing and Tanning Stuffs, Indigo, &c.	5,687,153	4,413,202
Flax and Hemp	8,145,190	4,274,610
Jute	3,729,735	619,668
Guano	1,986,989	4,084,170
Gutta-percha	199,337	127,908
Hair, Goats'	1,055,248	572,361
Hides	5,035,613	2,487,113
Copper and Copper Ore	3,922,106	2,873,659
Iron	707,613	320,268
Lead	1,393,593	294,265
Silver Ore	953,956	209,154
Tin	1,088,755	351,924
Zinc	430,150	470,195
Oils	5,816,734	4,570,555
Petroleum	614,017	104,451
Iron and Copper Pyrites	1,164,247	—
Rags } (Paper-making Materials)	1,776,293	246,133
Esparto, &c. }		
Resin	330,994	314,715
Saltpetre	419,099	645,025
Cubic Nitre	1,131,700	386,893
Seeds (Clover and Grass)	927,061	574,308
,, Cotton	1,495,399	—
,, Flax and Linseed	3,687,092	2,710,078
,, Rape	1,908,474	571,931
Silk, Raw and Thrown	9,779,286	6,329,691
Sheep Skins, Undressed	934,126	190,194
Seal Skins, ,,	228,970	274,658
Goat Skins, ,,	133,297	63,046
Tallow and Stearine	3,134,531	3,062,932
Teeth (Elephants', &c.)	341,205	410,608
Tobacco, Unmanufactured	2,462,670	2,230,323
Wood and Timber	12,067,210	7,849,208
Wool (Sheep, Alpaca, Llama)	17,926,639	8,972,218
Woollen Rags	498,754	227,740
Other Articles (circa)	14,542,292	7,059,287
Total	£175,044,479	£99,505,522

Compared with these gigantic totals, the imports of commodities in a manufactured state appear very insignificant. Their total value, which in 1858 was about six millions and a quarter sterling, had, however, reached a sum of twenty-five millions and a quarter in the year 1871, showing an addition of three times the value at which they stood but fourteen years before. The principal class of articles in this division of the imports consists of textile fabrics, the silk manufactures being by far the most important. Their value in 1871 was nearly eight and a half millions sterling, as against rather more than two millions in 1858. Woollen goods stand next, and in 1871 their value, including that of Berlin wool and woollen yarn, was more than five and three-quarter millions sterling, as against rather less than one million in 1858. During the same interval the cotton manufactures imported increased in value from less than six hundred thousand pounds, to more than one million four hundred thousand. Such are the principal imports of textile fabrics. No other class of articles reached as much as one million sterling in value, with the single exception of leather gloves, which were imported principally from France, to the value of more than one million three hundred thousand pounds in 1871, as against three hundred and sixty thousand pounds in 1858, the value of this class of commodities having thus increased in the fourteen years nearly four-fold. In the following table the value of all the principal manufactures imported into

the United Kingdom in 1871 and 1858 is separately stated:—

VALUE OF MANUFACTURES IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1871 AND 1858.

	1871.	1858.
Candles	£287,611	£12,202
Chemical Manufactures and Products	851,757	232,454
Clocks	373,434	134,483
Cotton Manufactures	1,444,964	574,223
Flowers, Artificial	367,186	104,574
Glass of all kinds	994,888	148,106
Hair, Goats' Hair Manufactures	42,636	249,433
Leather Gloves	1,317,966	365,963
Iron and Steel Manufactures	678,312	19,959
Zinc Manufactures	207,667	138,798
Paper	406,915	—
Silk Manufactures, European	8,195,725	1,963,085
,, ,, Non-European	202,213	223,976
Sheep Skins, Tanned and Dressed	153,705	36,459
Goat Skins ,, ,,	443,101	118,617
Tobacco, Manufactured	862,236	300,516
Watches	469,414	211,441
Woollen Manufactures	4,637,625	845,168
Berlin Wool	81,883	28,841
Woollen Yarn	1,097,289	94,807
Other Articles (circa)	2,093,012	433,884
Total	£25,209,539	£6,236,989

To sum up the value of the three great divisions of the imports, it appears that in 1871, while the food and drinks imported were estimated at upwards of one hundred and thirty-one millions, and the raw materials at one hundred and seventy-five millions, making together more than three hundred and six millions, the manufactured goods brought from abroad were valued at less than twenty-five and a quarter millions. The food and raw materials, therefore, were of more than twelve times the value of the manufactures imported. In 1858 the manufactured goods imported were worth but six and a quarter millions, while the food and raw materials were of the value of more than one hundred and fifty-eight millions, the latter being accordingly more than twenty-five times the value of the former. These facts are collected together in the following table:—

VALUE OF THE THREE DIVISIONS OF THE IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1871 AND 1858.

	1871.	1858.
Food and Drinks	£131,761,362	£59,010,921
Raw Materials	175,044,479	99,505,522
Manufactures	25,209,539	6,236,989
Total	£332,015,380	£164,783,432

Such then was the increase and such the nature of the imports into the United Kingdom, in the early part of the second half of the nineteenth century.

We have now to compare the progress which the exports of the United Kingdom have made under the several heads between the years 1851 and 1871. A striking contrast is found between the nature of the goods imported and those exported. We have seen that, in the period we had under consideration, what the United Kingdom drew from foreign countries consisted in an overwhelming proportion of food and drinks, and of the raw materials of the manufactures. Of the same two great classes of commodities, it will presently be seen that the quantities which have left the United Kingdom have constantly been comparatively limited. On the other hand, we saw that the manufactured goods brought into the United Kingdom from abroad formed a very small proportion of her total imports. In the exports, however, it was precisely this class of commodities which constituted all but a small proportion of the whole. In fact, in the imports the relative importance of manufactures and of raw materials, including food and drinks, is precisely the reverse of what it is in the exports. In the exports the manufactures are all-important, the raw materials and food comparatively trifling; in the imports the raw materials and food are all-important, the manufactures being of slight moment in comparison.

The value of the food and drinks exported from the United Kingdom in the year 1851 was but little more than two millions sterling, and but little more than ten millions and a quarter sterling twenty years later, in the exceptional year 1871. It has already been mentioned that at the latter date, owing to the distress in France consequent upon the war between that country and Germany, the quantity of corn exported from the United Kingdom was unprecedentedly large. Its value, which was estimated to have been nearly three and a half millions sterling, was nearly eight times the average annual value of the grain and flour leaving the ports of the United Kingdom—that average having for many years been less than half a million sterling. In the year 1851 the value of the exports of corn and flour was less than eighty-one thousand pounds sterling. Apart from the abnormal circumstances of the year 1871, the particular items in the class under consideration in which the largest export trade was done, were those which have long held the first place among exports of food or drinks. In other words, they were beer and ale. The average annual value of these beverages exported has for a long series of years been upwards of a million and three-quarters sterling. It was less than six hundred thousand pounds sterling in 1851, but within two years of that date it rose to nearly thirteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. It was more than two millions in 1859, and the annual average ever since has been within a quarter of a million of that sum. The quantity of sugar exported, which in 1871 was also greatly in excess of the average in consequence of the Franco-German War, was estimated in that year to be of the value of upwards of twelve hundred thousand pounds, as against less than three hundred and seventy thousand in 1851, a sum which does not materially differ from the average for many years past. Next to beer and ale, the steadiest and most considerable of the articles of the same class exported from the United Kingdom consists of fish, principally herrings. The annual value of the exports of this kind of food has not more than once or twice during the twenty years been less than half a million sterling. In 1851 it was less than three hundred and fifty thousand sterling, but it has steadily increased ever since, and in 1871, as in several other years previously, it was more than a million sterling.

Among the remaining exports of this class of articles the most important are spirits, pickles, vinegar, and sauces, butter and cheese. We give the whole of the articles in this division, with the values in 1851 and twenty years later, in the following table:—

VALUE OF FOOD AND DRINKS EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1871 AND 1851.

	1871.	1851.
Beer and Ale	£1,853,733	£577,142
Butter	327,131	235,893
Cheese	[illegible]	32,963
Corn and Flour	3,411,982	80,309
Fish	1,168,408	344,339
Pickles, Vinegar, and Sauces	482,962	148,338
Provisions	873,174	35,754
Spirits (British)	200,570	47,768
Sugar, Refined	1,239,702	368,085
Other Articles	613,300	161,263
Total	£10,296,509	£2,031,824

Amongst the articles classified as raw materials, coal —to which the material prosperity of Britain is more indebted than to any other single item in the entire catalogue of commercial products—has long held the first place. The value of the coal exported in 1851 was, however, estimated at little more than a million and a quarter sterling (£1,302,473). In 1871 the value was six millions and a quarter, or four and a half times as great as twenty years before. And since 1871, owing to what has been called the "coal famine," the value of the coal exported has been nearly double what it was even at that recent date. From six and a quarter millions sterling in 1871, the value of the coals, cinders, and fuel exported rose in 1872 to very nearly ten and a half millions sterling. The quantity, however, had only increased from 12,747,989 tons in the former year to 13,198,174 tons in the latter.

The export of pig iron and of old iron for remanufacture has also greatly increased in recent years. It was less than half a million in 1851, but nearly four millions sterling in 1871, though in the latter year there was considerably more than the average sent abroad, principally on account of the events already referred to. Between 1851 and 1871 the annual exports of seed oil rose in value from less than half a million sterling to nearly a million and a half. Of unwrought leather there was exported, during the first-mentioned year, little more than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds' worth; in the latter year the value of the exports of this commodity was considerably more than a million. The exports of wool and of salt had each increased greatly in value in the interim, and there is a still greater increase in the value of the unwrought tin, and of the horses and cement, exported. The whole of this class of exports are gathered in one view in the annexed table:—

VALUE OF THE RAW MATERIALS AND SEMI-MANUFACTURED ARTICLES EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1871 AND 1851.

	1871.	1851.
Cement	£409,689	£36,452
Coals	6,246,133	1,302,473
Horses	273,913	63,733
Leather (unwrought)	1,136,784	152,124
Pig Iron	3,229,408	452,119
Old Iron	672,696	—
Salt	467,596	235,849
Oil, Seed	1,487,999	434,901
Tin (unwrought)	764,436	61,843
Wool	828,799	461,282
Other Articles	980,100	162,907
Total	£16,497,553	£3,363,683

If the classification we have adopted be accepted, it appears that the value of the entire exports of raw materials was less than sixteen and a half millions sterling in 1871, and not even three and a half millions in 1851. Though this branch of the exports had, therefore, more than quadrupled in the interval, their total value, as compared with the class we are about to enter into, was comparatively small, being, in fact, less than one-twelfth in 1851, as well as in 1871.

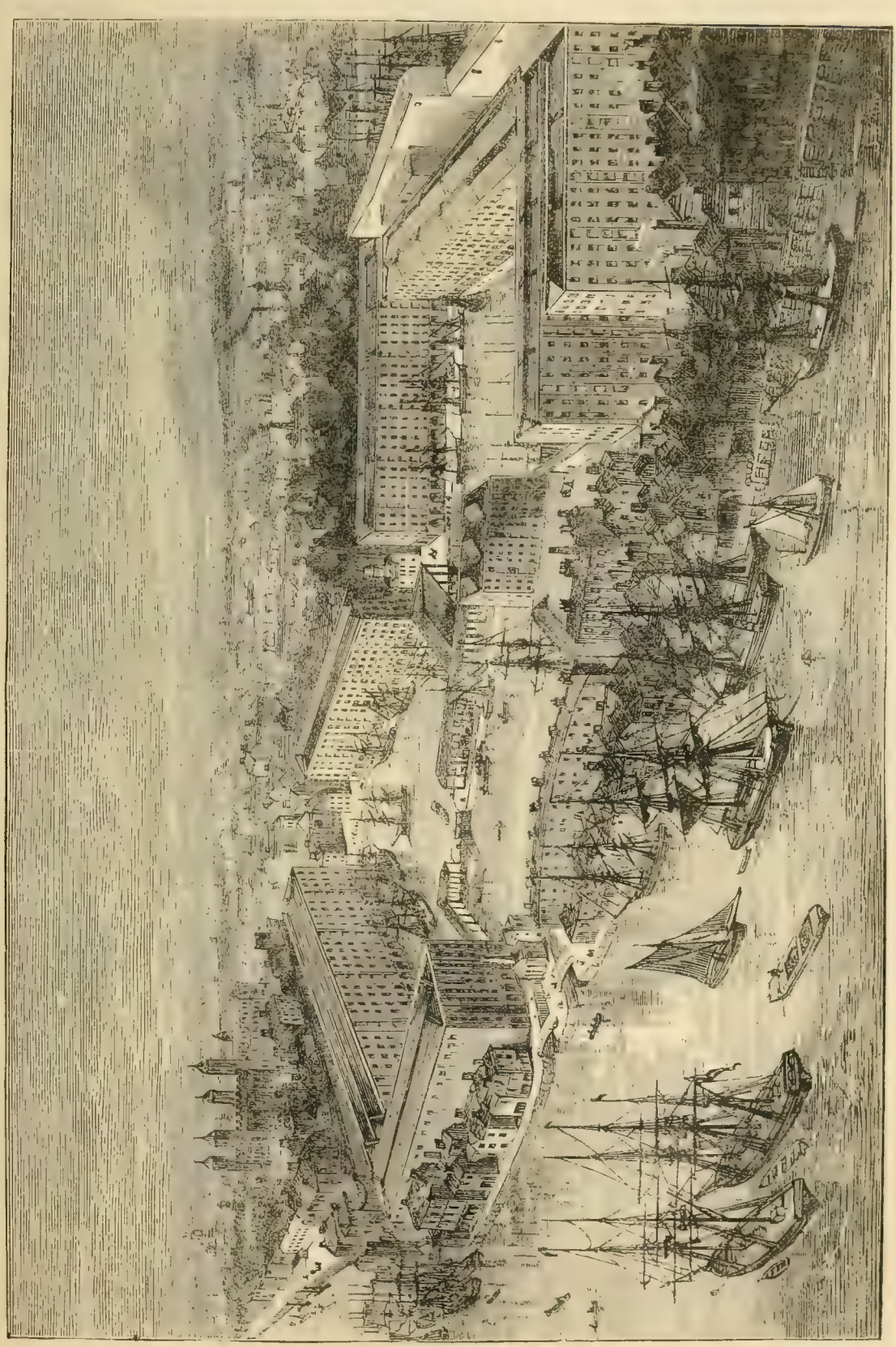
The total value of the food, drinks, and raw materials exported in the latter year was about twenty-six and three-quarter millions sterling. The total value of the manufactures exported in that year was upwards of one hundred and ninety-six millions. It will be convenient to consider the manufactured commodities exported under three heads: First, those belonging to the textile fabrics and clothing; secondly, hardware and other manufactures composed of the metals; and, thirdly, chemical and other miscellaneous products.

By far the most important of all articles, not only among the textile fabrics, but in the entire list of British exports, is that of cotton goods. In 1871 the value of the exports of cotton manufactures and yarn amounted together to upwards of seventy-two and three-quarter millions sterling; in 1851 the value stood at over thirty millions sterling; so that the increase in this single class of manufactures in the twenty years in question was one hundred and forty per cent.—in other words, it was little short of two and half times as great at the later as at the earlier date. Cotton yarn was exported to the value of more than six and a half millions sterling in 1851, and to the value of upwards of fifteen millions in 1871; while of cotton-cloth or piece goods the quantity exported in 1871 was valued at fifty-seven and three-quarter millions, as against twenty-three and a half millions in 1851. The cotton industry of Great Britain is the most important single manufacture in the world. The benefit it confers upon the country may be gathered from the fact that, while of the fifty-five millions' worth of raw cotton imported in the year 1871, one-fifth was exported again in its raw state, and only forty-four millions' worth retained for home consumption, the cotton-mills of Britain were enabled, out of the amount thus retained, not only to supply the enormous home demand for cotton goods, but to export upwards of seventy-two millions' worth of piece goods and yarns to the rest of the world in addition. The year's profits to the nation from this one manufacture alone are therefore represented, firstly, by a gain of twenty-eight millions sterling in the value of the manufactures exported over that of the imports of raw material; and, secondly, by the supply of nearly the whole of the home demand in addition.

Next in importance to the cotton manufacture is that of woollen and worsted fabrics—a manufacture of far longer standing, and indeed, until within the last century, still the principal of all the manufactures of Britain, but outstripped now by its younger rival, the cotton manufacture. In 1871 as much as thirty-three and a quarter millions' worth of woollen cloth and woollen yarn was exported from Britain, as against less than nine millions'

worth in 1861. In the most recent years a remarkable increase has taken place in the quantity of articles of dress or clothing exported from the United Kingdom. In 1851 the value of apparel and slops, haberdashery, millinery, hats, and boots and shoes exported was not much more than three millions sterling. In 1871 the value had risen to more than eleven millions sterling. There is little doubt that this large increase is in the main due to the more general introduction in later years of a labour-saving invention of the greatest ingenuity. We refer to the sewing-machine, of which we shall have to speak more in detail hereafter. The next most important among British textile fabrics is that of linen and jute. The total value of the exports of articles manufactured from flax and jute in 1851 was a little more than five millions sterling. By 1871 the exports were estimated at more than double the value—namely, eleven millions sterling. In the article of empty bags manufactured of coarser materials, such as hemp, the exports, which were not £150,000 in 1851, had risen to £1,206,621 in 1871; and the exports of cordage and twine rose, within the same interval, from £240,727 to £366,365. The silk manufactures and yarn exported rose in value, from one million three hundred thousand sterling, to three millions three hundred thousand, in the twenty years' interval. The total value of the exports of the textile fabrics and articles of dress or clothing rose, from rather less than fifty millions sterling in 1851, to nearly one hundred and thirty-three millions in 1871; showing an addition of no less than one hundred and sixty-five per cent. in twenty years. In the following table the above results are collected in one view:—

GEORGE STEPHENSON.



ST. KATHERINE'S DOCKS, LONDON.

VALUE OF THE EXPORTS OF TEXTILE FABRICS AND ARTICLES OF DRESS AND CLOTHING IN 1871 AND 1851.

	1871.	1851.
Cotton Manufactures	£57,739,297	£23,454,850
,, Yarn	15,031,294	6,631,926
Woollen Manufactures	27,182,335	8,377,183
,, Yarn	6,100,727	1,484,544
Clothing: Apparel or Slops	2,707,499	997,628
Haberdashery and Millinery	5,901,979	1,727,690
Boots and Shoes	1,513,771	308,507
Hats	668,681	155,927
Linen and Jute Manufactures	8,530,575	4,107,396
,, ,, Yarn	2,140,186	951,426
Silk Manufactures	2,053,086	1,130,393
,, Yarn	1,269,812	196,389
Rags	1,206,021	147,831
Cordage and Twine	366,365	240,727
Total	£132,803,098	£49,914,473

Another exceedingly important division of the manufactures exported from the United Kingdom consists of hardware, machinery, and other articles composed principally of the metals. The total value of the articles embraced in this section of the exports was about thirteen and a quarter millions in 1851, while in 1871 it was rather more than forty and three-quarter millions sterling. Iron holds, beyond comparison, the first place in the list. Of heavier goods made of this metal, including angle and bar iron, rails, wire, plates, castings, &c., the exports in 1851 were estimated at less than six and a half millions sterling. In 1871 their value was twenty-two and a quarter millions; so that they had increased nearly three and a half fold in the interval. The value of the steam and other engines exported went up from less than a million and a quarter in 1851 to nearly six millions in 1871. The exports of hardware and cutlery increased in the same period from less than three millions to more than four millions sterling. The value of the arms and ammunition exported was nearly quadrupled; that of implements and tools was increased in a still greater ratio: the brass goods exported were of treble the value; those consisting of copper and lead nearly doubled in value within the twenty years; while the quantity of telegraph-wire exported, which in 1851 was so small as not to be separately noted, was estimated to be of the value of more than a million and a half sterling in 1871. In the following list, the values of the different articles in this class at the two dates are compared:—

VALUE OF THE METALLIC MANUFACTURES (HARDWARE, MACHINERY, &c.) EXPORTED IN 1871 AND 1851.

	1871.	1851.
Arms and Ammunition	£2,366,993	£167,854
Brass	319,268	103,225
Copper	2,062,634	1,535,931
Hardware and Cutlery	4,096,785	2,827,011
Implements and Tools	27,928	58,655
Machinery and Mill Gearing	22,222,979	6,336,644
Lead	857,050	450,541
Plate	192,493	331,134
Steam Engines	2,961,904	463,037
Other ,,	3,902,837	761,974
Telegraph-wire	1,523,638	
Zinc	115,281	25,483
Total	£49,834,741	£13,285,049

In the remaining class—the chemical products and miscellaneous manufactures—the most considerable single item is alkali, of which nearly one and three-quarter million pounds' worth were exported in 1871, as against three hundred and sixty thousand pounds' worth in 1851. In the latter year earthenware and china to the value of more than eleven hundred thousand pounds were exported. In 1871 the value had risen to nearly a million and three-quarters. In that year, too, the miscellaneous chemical products exported were estimated at more than a million and a half, or four and a half times as much as twenty years before. The remaining articles in this class—painters' colours, candles, glass, furniture, leather goods, railway carriages, printed books, &c., all show a very large increase, the precise extent of which will be found in the annexed list:—

VALUE OF THE CHEMICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURES EXPORTED IN 1871 AND 1851.

	1871.	1851.
Alkali	£1,747,269	£360,521
Candles	180,548	48,800
Chemical Products	1,588,763	352,471
Painters' Colours	1,019,243	257,076
Soap	237,562	211,558
Earthen and China Ware	1,731,483	1,121,104
Glass of all sorts	877,773	327,950
Furniture	258,945	106,552
Railway Carriages	496,103	63,244
Leather (wrought), Saddlery	994,686	137,528
Paper	668,926	—
Printed Books	719,042	268,032
Stationery	531,644	—
Total	£10,961,927	£3,254,836

Taking the exports of manufactures altogether, it appears that their total value had within the twenty years nearly trebled itself, having risen from sixty-eight millions sterling in 1851, to one hundred and ninety-two and three-quarter millions in 1871.

VALUE OF MANUFACTURES EXPORTED IN 1871 AND 1851.

	1871.	1851.
Textile Fabrics and Dress	£132,803,098	£49,914,473
Metallic Manufactures	49,834,741	13,285,049
Chemical and Miscellaneous Manufactures	10,961,927	3,254,836
Other Articles, unclassified	11,672,343	2,514,145
Total Value of Manufactures	£196,272,109	£68,968,503

If we add to the above the value of the exports of food and raw materials, we find that the total value of all classes together had trebled in value in the twenty years:—

VALUE OF EXPORTS OF BRITISH AND IRISH PRODUCE IN 1871 AND 1851.

	1871.	1851.
Food and Drinks	£10,296,500	£2,031,824
Raw Materials	16,497,553	3,448,395
Manufactures	196,272,109	68,968,503
Total	£223,066,162	£74,448,722

Such, then, were the nature and extent of the changes which occurred in the exports of British produce in the course of the first twenty years in the second half of the present century. But the whole of the exports of Britain have not yet been included

in this review. In addition to the exports of home produce, there has always been a large trade in the exportation of colonial and foreign produce. Thus, in 1871, not less than sixty and a half millions' worth of goods, which had been brought from foreign countries and the colonies to the ports of the United Kingdom, were exported again to other nations, in the condition in which they arrived in the United Kingdom. In 1851 the value of this class of exports was only about a third of the above sum. Raw cotton has long been by far the most important article in this class of exports, its value being, in fact, from one-fourth to one-fifth of the whole. In 1871 the quantity of raw cotton exported was of the value of nearly twelve millions sterling, while in 1851 it was four millions. Every article, however, found in the lists of imports into the United Kingdom is also met with in the catalogue of this branch of the exports, those which figure most largely, next to raw cotton, being wool, coffee, silk, tea, rice, hides, and copper; the value of which varied, from seven and a half millions in the case of wool, down to rather more than a million in the case of copper.

The total value of the exports of the United Kingdom, including foreign as well as home produce, amounted in the year 1871 to no less than two hundred and eighty-three and a half millions sterling (£283,574,700), as against about ninety-five millions in 1851; and the value of the total foreign trade, including both imports and exports, had in 1871 reached the astonishing total of six hundred and fourteen and a half millions sterling (£614,590,180), as against less than three hundred and four and a half millions in 1858 (£304,366,611), and probably not more than two hundred millions in 1851.

Gigantic as these figures are, they do not even yet represent the whole of the foreign commerce of the United Kingdom. We have yet to mention another additional, though comparatively small, branch of trade carried on by British merchants with nations abroad, and this consists of the transhipments. In the year 1858 the foreign merchandise transhipped at British ports was estimated at the value of nearly four and a half millions (£4,493,641); in 1871 the same class of goods were valued at more than eleven millions and a quarter sterling (£11,358,234). These additional items bring the total value of the merchandise which passed through the ports of the United Kingdom to more than three hundred and eight and three-quarter millions in 1858, and to nearly six hundred and twenty-six millions in 1871.

Among those qualities in the character of Englishmen which have most materially contributed to England's greatness, the extraordinary capacity they possess for the transaction of common every-day business must be recognised as standing in the first rank. The ordinary pursuits of life are followed by Englishmen with an energy and intensity of purpose which, beyond the pale of the Anglo-Saxon world, would be sought in vain. To the possession and habitual exercise of these talents we must ascribe the fact that, though their every-day labours are confined within the shortest hours, the English are, nevertheless, the wealthiest nation in the civilised world, with, perhaps, the exception of those colonies and states which have sprung, and are still constantly being strengthened, from their own loins. The wealth of the population of the British Isles has been estimated at various periods with sufficient correctness to justify a brief recapitulation. From the review, a clearer notion will be gathered respecting the present condition of the country, and the rapidity with which its material welfare has advanced in the most recent period of its history.

In the year 1700 the total wealth of the United Kingdom, whose inhabitants at that time only numbered about 8,000,000, was estimated by Gregory King at £600,000,000, or £75 sterling per head of the population. In 1800 Dr. Beeke and Sir W. Pulteney estimated it at three times this amount (£1,800,000,000), or £112 per head, on the increased population of the latter date. In 1845 Mr. Porter estimated the value of personal property at about two thousand millions sterling, and that of real property at about the same sum; making altogether £4,000,000,000, or £150 per head. In 1860 the estimate was £6,000,000,000, or £200 per head. The annual income of the population of the United Kingdom in 1800 was computed to be about £230,000,000 sterling. In 1860 it was placed at £600,000,000, averaging about £20 per head of the population of the United Kingdom, which at that time numbered about thirty millions of souls. At the same period France, with a population of thirty-six millions, is estimated to have had an income of £500,000,000 annually, or about £14 a head. Russia, with a population of nearly 70,000,000, is estimated to have had an annual income at that period of not more than about £350,000,000 sterling, or £5 per head. After the year last mentioned the question, so far as it concerned the United Kingdom, was investigated more closely than before, and the results which were arrived at appear to be as near an approximation to the truth as it is possible, under the conditions of the case, to attain.

In a speech delivered at Liverpool in 1866, Mr. Gladstone placed the earnings of the working classes of the United Kingdom at about £250,000,000 sterling. The rough estimate thus casually mentioned once more turned the attention of economists to the subject. Mr. Michael Bass, after communicating with Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Milner Gibson, commissioned Professor Leone Levi to institute a methodical inquiry into the earnings of the working classes of the United Kingdom. In the following year that gentleman published the result of his labours. He estimated that, of the 6,000,000 men constituting the male portion of the working population of the United Kingdom in 1866, the half, or 3,000,000, were artisans or skilled labourers, the other half being unskilled labourers. 2,500,000 were engaged in occupations principally carried on in rural districts, including agriculture, mining, and quarrying; while 3,500,000 were employed in occupations mostly followed in towns. Of the 11,000,000 forming the working population, male and female, in 1866, the domestic servants, army and navy, and police—numbering altogether about 1,800,000—were classed as non-producers; so that about nine

and a quarter millions was the number of those who performed the manual operations by which the whole of the wealth of the country is produced. Their total earnings in the year were estimated by Professor Levi at about three hundred and forty-nine millions sterling. Mr. Dudley Baxter, who, rather later, made an independent investigation into the subject, does not differ materially from the preceding writer in the general results he arrived at. The total number of persons in the United Kingdom with income or wages he estimated to number rather more than thirteen and a half millions, while more than fifteen and a half millions of the population were in receipt of neither, but were entirely dependent for their subsistence on the former class. Out of every eleven persons, therefore, there were six persons not in receipt of income or wages to five that were. Of the persons receiving income or wages, nearly eleven millions (10,961,000) belonged to the classes who acquired them by manual labour. The upper and middle classes, including the principal merchants, manufacturers, and professional classes, as well as persons of independent property, numbered more than two and three-quarter millions. The classes living by manual labour therefore outnumbered the upper and middle classes in receipt of incomes in the proportion of four to one. Adding the dependent portions of the population to the earners and possessors of income, Mr. Baxter found that in 1867, "putting the result into round numbers, out of a total population of thirty millions, the upper and middle classes are seven millions, and the manual labour class twenty-three millions." The gross income of the upper and middle classes in England and Wales amounted to upwards of four hundred millions sterling per annum (£407,200,000), and that of the manual labour class to more than two hundred and fifty millions (£254,729,000). In Scotland the respective income of these classes was £42,516,000 and £31,747,000; and in Ireland £39,758,000 and £38,169,000. The total income of the upper and middle classes throughout the United Kingdom thus amounted to nearly four hundred and ninety millions (£489,474,000), and that of the manual labour class to more than three hundred and twenty-four and a half millions (£324,645,000).

Of the 13,720,000 persons in receipt of income or wages, 8,500 had incomes of £5,000 a year and upwards, and their aggregate income amounted to £126,157,000. Those in receipt of from £1,000 to £5,000 a year numbered 48,800, and received in the aggregate £83,324,000. Next we find 178,300 persons with incomes of from £300 to £1,000, and receiving altogether £87,723,000. Then follow 1,026,400 persons with incomes varying from £100 to £300, who were in receipt in the aggregate of £110,950,000. The next class consists of 1,497,000 persons, whose annual wages or incomes varied from £60 to £100, and who received among them a total of £81,320,000 annually. The manual labour class, which comes last, numbered, as above mentioned, 10,961,000 persons in its ranks, who received on the average less than £60 a year each, and who annually earned an aggregate sum of £324,645,000.

THE GROSS ANNUAL INCOME OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND ITS DISTRIBUTION.

(MR. DUDLEY BAXTER.)

Number of Persons.	Total Aggregate Income.	Annual Income of Each Person.
Upper Classes:—		
8,500	£126,157,000	£5,000 and upwards
48,800	83,324,000	1,000 to £5,000
Middle Classes:—		
178,300	87,723,000	300 to 1,000
1,026,400	110,950,000	100 to 300
1,497,000	81,320,000	60 to 100
Manual Labour Class:—		
10,961,000	324,645,000	Under 60
Grand Total, 13,720,000 Persons in Receipt of	£814,119,000	Aggregate Annual Income.

The total sum of the incomes under £100 a year Mr. Baxter computed to amount to about four hundred and six millions sterling, and the total number of persons receiving them at rather less than twelve and a half millions. The number of persons in receipt of incomes of more than £100 a year he computed to be 1,262,000, and their aggregate annual income at four hundred and eight millions sterling. Thus the gross aggregate income of the United Kingdom in the year 1867 he estimated to amount to rather more than eight hundred and fourteen millions sterling. Of this sum, he estimated that nearly one hundred and sixty-six millions were produced by the agricultural classes; while the manufacturing and mining industry of the country produced nearly three hundred and fourteen millions. The three hundred and thirty-four millions remaining included the earnings of the rest of the population, as well as the incomes of the non-productive classes. Such, then, are some of the principal results of recent inquiries into the total wealth and annual income of the United Kingdom.

The rapid progress which the nation has made in wealth in recent years may be further illustrated by comparing the principal points in its economic and commercial condition in the year 1870 with the position of affairs in 1860. In order to render the comparison more trustworthy, we will, as far as possible, take the average of three years in each case. We have seen that the annual average income of the nation was estimated in 1860 to be about six hundred millions sterling. The years later it was eight hundred millions. The average annual value of the imports at the earlier period was nearly one hundred and eighty-five millions; at the later, nearly two hundred and ninety-eight millions. At the same periods the average annual value of the exports was, respectively, one hundred and twenty-seven and a half millions, and one hundred and eighty-nine and three-quarter millions. The value of the coal and metals produced averaged thirty-one and a half millions in the former period, and more than forty-three and three-quarter millions in the latter. The working classes deposited, on the average, upwards of eight and three-quarter millions annually in the savings-banks in the former period, and more than thirteen millions and a half in the latter. Finally, the tonnage of registered

vessels increased from an annual average of four and three-quarter million tons in the three years 1858-60, to five and a half million tons in 1868-70.

The working classes, therefore, saved nearly thirteen pounds in 1870 for every eight pounds they saved in 1860, or more than half as much again at the later as at the earlier date. The nation imported considerably more than half as much again in 1870 as it did in 1860, and it exported half as much again at the later as it did at the earlier date. The vessels which carried its merchandise to foreign nations and brought their produce home could carry not far short of a third more in 1870 than in 1860. Nor does this adequately represent the increase of its merchant navy: for steam power, which has been increasingly adopted ever since it was adapted to the propulsion of ships, enables a vessel to do several times as much work as it would perform if dependent solely upon wind and sails. Again, for every hundred pounds' worth of mineral wealth brought from the bowels of the earth in 1860 there was a hundred and thirty-nine pounds' worth secured in 1870. And as regards the income of the nation at large, for every £100 it was in receipt of in 1860, it received £133 in 1870. In the following table the facts we have here adverted to are collected in a summary form:—

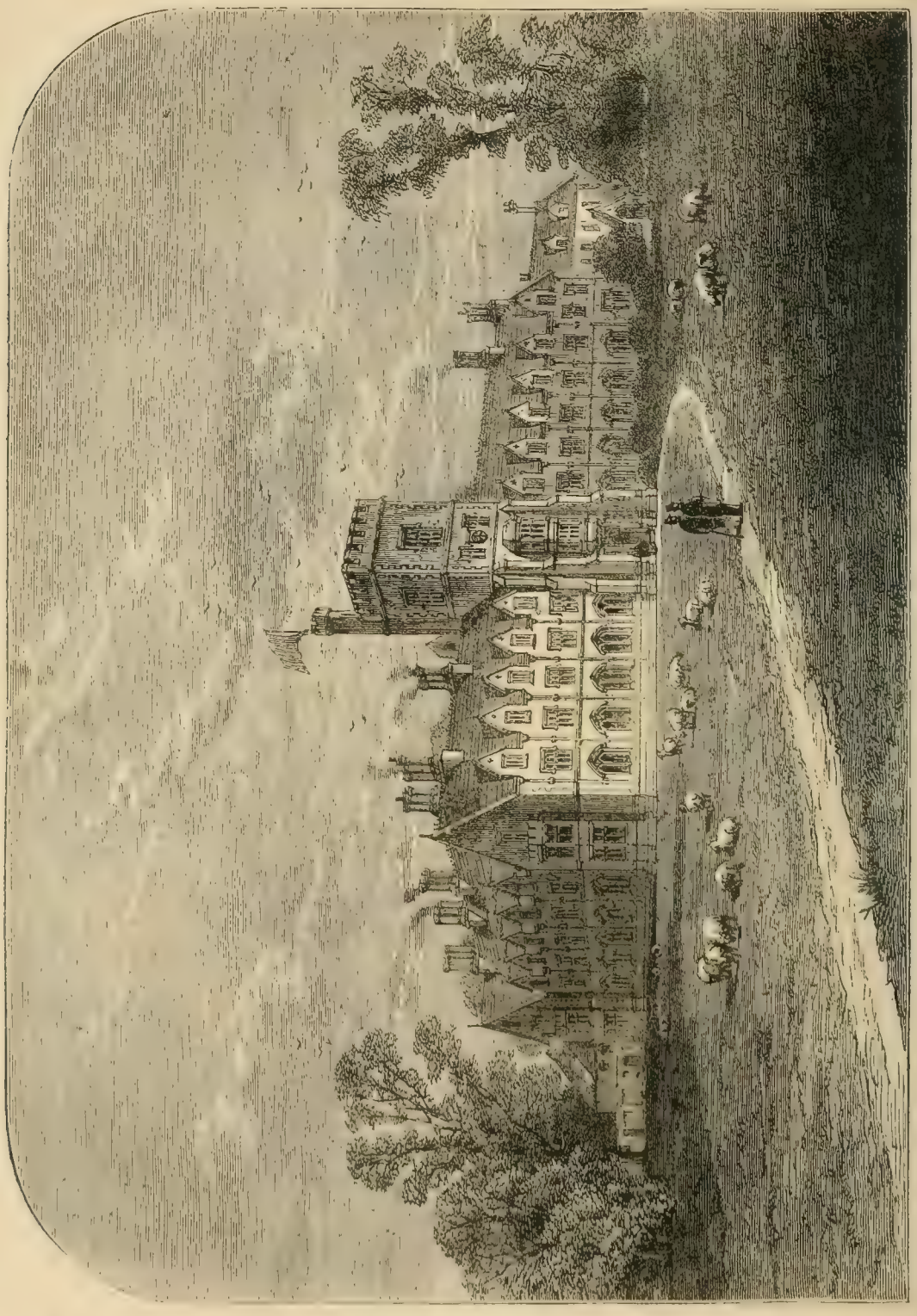
	Yearly Average, 1858-60.	Yearly Average, 1868-70.	Increase per Cent.
Total Value of Merchandise Imported into the United Kingdom . .	£184,705,687	£297,738,837	61
Total Value of British and Irish Produce exported	£127,637,171	£189,757,514	49
Total Tonnage of Registered Vessels employed in Home and Foreign Trade of United Kingdom	4,282,030 tons.	5,544,282 tons.	29
Total Value of Coal and Metals Produced in the United Kingdom . .	£31,595,784	£43,878,654	39
Total Amount received by Savings-banks (Post-Office and ordinary) in the United Kingdom .	£8,809,806	£13,558,655	54
Annual Income of the Nation (estimated) . .	£300,000,000	£400,000,000	33

Such, then, was the condition of the commerce, such the wealth and prosperity of Great Britain and Ireland, thirty years before the close of the nineteenth century. The figures and numbers in which the unexampled progress of the preceding twenty years is expressed, are not the result of mere conjecture. In almost all cases they are the records of the national business as taken down, checked, and revised with all the care which it was in the power of the most powerful of states to bestow upon them. How the wonderful prosperity they demonstrate has been brought about, what are the principal material agents which have helped to accelerate the vast and rapid progress of recent years—these are the questions we have now to consider.

CHAPTER LII.

Progress of the Arts subsidiary to Commerce—Engineering—Railways: Rapid Extension to all Civilised Countries: The Labour they Cost compared with the Pyramids—Bridges: Britannia and Conway: Saltash: The Victoria Bridge over the St. Lawrence—The Metropolitan Underground Line—Number of Railway Stations in London in 1871—Main Lines—Railroad Construction of Foreign Railways—Traffic, Miles Open, Passengers, Capital, and Returns of the United Kingdom, 1851 and 1871—Shipping and Shipbuilding—The Iron Mercantile Navy—Mechanical Seamen and Tonnage—Iron Screw Ships—The War Navy—The Battle of the Guns and Armour Plates—Screw Propellers—The *Great Britain*—The *Great Eastern*—The *Scanderia*—The Electric Telegraph: Export of Telegraphic Wire—Purchase of Land Telegraphs by the British Government—The First Submarine Telegraph between England and France—Ocean Telegraphy: The Atlantic Cable.

"Lords and Commons of England," says Milton, in his *Areopagitica*, "consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are governors; a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtile and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point, the highest that human capacity can soar to." This eloquent description of the genius of Englishmen in the seventeenth century applies with no less justice to their descendants of the nineteenth. In the arts and sciences, in literature, in politics, in public life and private life, in peace and war, Englishmen of the later generations have accomplished things which render them not unworthy to be placed by the side of those forefathers to whom Milton gave so high a character. But in few things has the truth of the great poet's words been more remarkably exemplified than in those great achievements of engineering skill of which the later generations of Englishmen can boast, and which, indeed, mark the present age with a character of its own. It is to British engineers that the world owes railways—the greatest of all modern inventions. To them it owes the fleets of iron which, propelled by screw and steam, and no longer dependent on the winds and waves, have, in a few years, doubled the wealth of nations. To them it owes the ocean telegraphs, whereby the remotest peoples can instantaneously communicate their thoughts and deeds, and man has been rendered virtually ubiquitous. The engineering art is not, indeed, a novel one. Centuries before the Christian era, it built the Egyptian Pyramids; it constructed the locked canals of China; it raised the aqueducts, and laid the *Cloaca Maxima* of ancient Rome. But in modern times it has appeared under quite new forms. It works with different agencies, if not for different ends. To erect the monuments of the Pharaohs there was no motive power available but the muscle and sinews of men and of animals; but the streams of the Tamar and of the St. Lawrence were spanned by the aid of new forces—the forces of coal, of iron, and of steam. And it is to these forces, applied in a thousand forms by the engineering art, that the nineteenth century mainly owes its unprecedented wealth and prosperity. It is not, however, our purpose here to write a history of modern engineering, or to trace the effects of the introduction of these new agents upon the progress of manufactures and commerce since the time when Watt perfected the steam-engine, and George Stephenson laid down his first railway on the banks of the Tees. We have the more limited task of sketching some of the most important developments of mechanical skill which have made their appearance since the close of the first



ROYAL AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, CIRENCESTER.

half of the nineteenth century. And in the first place, we have to notice some of those works, produced by the energy and invention of engineers, which are immediately subsidiary to commerce—that is, to the distribution and exchange of the products of manufacturing and agricultural industry. To the extended facilities afforded in recent years for the more rapid exchange of the products of various climes, it is that the vast development which has been shown to have taken place of late in the commerce and

industry of the United Kingdom is mainly due. But for the labours of the engineers, the vast additions which the United Kingdom has made to its population, as well as to its wealth, in the nineteenth century, would have been impossible. But for the benefits which their genius is every day conferring upon the world, the fruits of the tropics would be left to rot where they grow, the cotton-fields of India and Georgia would be again abandoned to the desert, the plains of Southern Russia and Hungary would smile with diminished harvests; while at home, on the other hand, the mills of Manchester and Leeds would stand still, the forges of Sheffield and Birmingham would be extinguished, and the docks of London and of Liverpool pay no more dividends. It is mainly owing to the several and united labours of the various classes of engineers—civil engineers, mechanical engineers, mining engineers, naval engineers, and naval architects—that the civilised nations of the world, each pursuing the line of industry in which it possesses the greatest relative advantage, have been enabled, by the mutual exchange of the results of their labour, to maintain an increased and rapidly increasing population in the enjoyment of a degree of comfort, and even of luxury, unknown to earlier times.

Few things more marvellous are to be found in history than the importance attained by railways, and by the kindred invention, steam-ships, within forty years of their introduction. Within that period, railways have extended to every continent, steam-ships to every sea. From their cradle in the north of England, railways had spread over the world with such rapidity, that in 1866—forty years from the date of their origin—they had an aggregate length of nearly a hundred thousand miles. They had, in that short interval of time, become the great arteries of land communication throughout the civilised globe.

ROBERT STEPHENSON.

It is, however, an error to suppose that this method of locomotion sprang into existence in a perfect form all at once. There were railways in England two centuries and a half ago. But then, and for long afterwards, the rails were of wood. Horses supplied the motive power, and the use of these primitive tramways was limited to

the conveyance of the produce of mines and quarries to wharves and furnaces situated at a distance of a few miles.

Some pig-iron was laid down at Coalbrook Dale, in Shropshire, some time after the middle of the eighteenth century, to serve as rails, in place of wood, which was found to wear out very rapidly. This was the first origin of the iron rail, and a great step in advance, though the improvement was not generally adopted at the time. In 1789 edge-rails and flanged wheels were first used, by Jessop, at Loughborough, the rails being laid on cast-iron chairs and sleepers. Such, in brief, was the origin of one of the indispensable elements of the modern railway—the iron road itself. But as yet the motive power was that of horses. As yet only tramways were in existence, confined principally to the districts where coal and iron mining and stone quarrying were carried on. In 1784 Watt patented his locomotive carriage; and this machine, though it was not itself adapted to travel on rails, suggested the modern steam locomotive. The first successful railway steam-engine was designed in 1813 by William Headley, the Wylam Colliery viewer, who, in his "Puffing Billy"—which has recently been deposited in the Patent Museum at South Kensington—conquered the difficulties which had hitherto prevented the use of steam power in locomotion from the slipping of the engine-wheels upon the smooth rails. A year later George Stephenson, working independently, constructed his Killingworth engine, which was also made to "bite" the rails. All the essential elements of the modern railway were now obtained, but it was some years before any further progress was made.

In the year 1825 the Stockton and Darlington railway, constructed by George Stephenson, who had advanced, from his humble beginning as a stoker, to the position of engineer, was opened to the public. It was the first of passenger lines, and with it the era of modern railways commenced. The speed of locomotives had hitherto been but four miles an hour; Stephenson, by his tubular boiler, raised it at an early period to thirty miles: since which time engines have been constructed which are capable of travelling, with enormous loads, at double the speed. In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester railway was opened. In its construction Stephenson had triumphed over engineering difficulties which not a few professional men pronounced insuperable. The next great work was the London and Birmingham railway, constructed by Robert Stephenson, in conjunction with his father—a work in which still more formidable difficulties were encountered and successfully overcome. With the completion of these lines, the adoption and the extension of the railway system—not only in the United Kingdom, but throughout the civilised world—were assured.

How vast was the labour involved in these great enterprises may be gathered from a comparison which has been drawn between the work spent in constructing the railway last mentioned and that spent in erecting one of the greatest monuments of antiquity. The Great Pyramid of Egypt was, according to Diodorus Siculus, constructed by 300,000 (according to Herodotus, by 100,000) men. It required for its execution twenty years, and the labour expended upon it has been estimated as equivalent to lifting 15,733,000,000 (fifteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-three millions) of cubic feet of stone one foot high: whereas, if the labour expended in constructing the London and Birmingham railway be in like manner reduced to one common denomination, the result is 25,000,000,000 (twenty-five thousand millions) of cubic feet *more* than was lifted for the Great Pyramid; and yet the English work was performed by about twenty thousand men in less than five years. And while the Egyptian work was executed by a powerful monarch, concentrating upon it the labour and capital of a great nation, the English railway was constructed, in the face of every conceivable obstruction and difficulty, by a company of private individuals out of their own resources, without the aid of Government or the contribution of one farthing of public money.*

Such was one of the earliest achievements, in an untried path, of the first great railway engineers—the self-educated Northumbrian collier and his son. It was an example to the world—an example soon followed in many lands, and often, indeed, in subsequent works surpassed.

Among other early railway works in the United Kingdom in which great engineering skill was displayed, must be mentioned the line connecting the Metropolis with the city of Bristol. Mr. Isambard Brunel, himself the son of a distinguished engineer, constructed this railway, which, with its tunnel carried for nearly two miles through the solid rock near Bath, and other remarkable works, is considered one of the finest examples of railway engineering in existence. No expense was spared, indeed, in making it a model railway. On this line, Mr. Brunel, departing from the practice followed by the Stephensons, introduced the broad gauge, in which the rails were placed at a distance of seven feet from each other, or more than two feet wider apart than those of the narrow gauge system. It was the expectation of the promoters of this line that it would greatly stimulate the somewhat languishing commerce of the western port, and thereby bring them a handsome return for their outlay; while the engineer himself, who, by his broad gauge, attained a higher speed and greater smoothness in travelling than had been reached on the narrow gauge, anticipated that the improvement would become general. The anticipations of the one and the expectations of the other were, however, equally disappointed; while the lavish expenditure on the original construction of the line involved those connected with it in difficulties from which they could not for many years see any escape.

Another novelty was introduced by Mr. Brunel into the working of railways. This was the propulsion of trains by atmospheric pressure in place of steam. The invention, which was elegant and ingenious, enjoyed the approval of many of the highest scientific authorities, including, besides Mr. Brunel, Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Vignolles, Dr. Lardner, and others. The names of the Stephensons, however, did not appear amongst the supporters of the

* Smiles, "Lives of the Engineers."

scheme. Companies were formed to carry the new invention into practice, and it was commonly supposed that atmospheric railways would soon supersede the locomotive altogether. George Stephenson was solicited to lend his support also to the new principle, but he hesitated to do so, preferring to "wait and see if it would pay." It was brought into operation on the South Devon railway, a line constructed by Brunel. The working expenses were found to swallow up all the profits, with a balance of more than £20,000 loss. Shortly afterwards it appears that the company reverted to the locomotive system, abandoning the atmospheric principle, with its ingenious and costly apparatus of tubing, altogether.

Of the engineer whose scientific enthusiasm betrayed him into these experiments, a writer in the *Times* remarked that, "Unlike Stephenson, who made everything pay, Brunel made nothing pay. As an engineer, he raised the mightiest works, and ruined the richest men. The Great Western railway and the *Great Eastern* steam-ship—the best line of railway in the world, and the noblest steam-ship afloat—both the most glorious growths of a scientific intellect—have had the same melancholy result of swamping the fortunes of all who invested in them. The engineer won renown, and the shareholders lost their money."

Disastrous as were the pecuniary results, to those immediately concerned, of most of Brunel's grandest works—his last, the *Great Eastern* steam-ship, when finished, could not be launched without an unexpected expenditure of £70,000; a calamity which, it is believed, tended to shorten his days—there can be little question that the art of engineering, and, through it, society generally, have benefited by his labours and experiments. Ever since original inventors and experimenters existed, it has been the unenviable fate of some amongst them to bring ruin on themselves and their friends, and to confer benefits on posterity alone. And, in the case of Brunel, it may be that some of the principles he upheld with such lamentable results to his supporters, and which for the time are discarded, are destined hereafter to play the part he anticipated.

It was not with all the educated members of the engineering art that the Stephensons were on as friendly terms as with Brunel. George Stephenson was entitled to be called the founder of modern railways and the father of railway engineering; but, what with professional etiquette and professional jealousy, he was never made a member of the "Institute of Civil Engineers." His genius, no doubt, had added enormously to the importance, the dignity, and the emoluments of the craft. Most of its members were, in one sense or other, his scholars. But it was his fate to possess no other training or education save what had been self-acquired; and to the day of his death, though he coveted the honour, he was never admitted into the ranks of the chief central society of the profession of which he was, in his own person, at once the greatest benefactor and the most distinguished ornament.

"The commercial results of the Liverpool and Manchester railway," writes Dr. Smiles, "were so satisfactory, and, indeed, so greatly exceeded the expectations of the projectors, that many abandoned projects were revived. An abundant crop of engineers sprang up ready to execute railways of any extent. Now that the Liverpool and Manchester line had been made, and the practicability of working it by locomotive power had been proved, it was as easy for engineers to make railways, and to work them, as it was for navigators to find America after Columbus had made the first voyage thither. George Stephenson had shown the way, and engineers forthwith crowded after him, full of great projects." A position like that in which Stephenson was placed, was one in which he was naturally exposed to temptations. He was, however, proof against them. The spectacle of men connected with the railway interest retiring, after a few years of activity, with handsome fortunes, was one which not unfrequently came under his notice. They were all necessarily younger in the field than himself. In many cases their contributions to the spread of railways extended little beyond the wording of a prospectus and the collection of shareholders' subscriptions. Yet George Stephenson remained content with the legitimate gains of a laborious profession. Up to the year 1844, respectable brokers in the City could not, without some difficulty, be induced to undertake the negotiation of railway shares. The new species of property was not in favour with the Stock Exchange. But in the course of a single year all was changed. When, by the payment of dividends, it had become evident that railways could really be worked at a profit—when it was discovered that the gloomy prophecies of their impending ruin in which old and experienced financiers had indulged were falsified by the result—then suddenly, with one consent, the whole financial world rushed into the opposite extreme, and on the 17th of November, 1845, there were six hundred and twenty new projects before the public, requiring for their execution an aggregate capital of more than five hundred and sixty-three million pounds sterling. In that year Parliament had actually granted powers for the construction of 2,883 miles of new railways, with a total capital of £44,000,000 sterling. But the nation was now fairly abandoned to its speculative frenzy; and in the following year bills conceding powers to raise three times as much money as was granted the previous year, for lines whose total mileage was not double as great, passed through the Legislature. This was the period of the railway mania of 1846. Throughout this period the conduct of Stephenson presented a remarkable resemblance, and an equally remarkable contrast, to that of a great English statesman during a similar crisis which occurred more than a century earlier. "When the South Sea Company were voting dividends of fifty per cent., when a hundred pounds of their stock was selling for eleven hundred pounds, when Threadneedle Street was daily crowded with the coaches of dukes and prelates, when divines and philosophers turned gamblers, when a thousand kindred bubbles were daily blown into existence—the Periwig Company, and the Spanish Jackass Company, and the Quicksilver Fixation Company—Walpole's calm good sense preserved him from the general infatuation.

He condemned the prevailing madness in public, and turned a considerable sum by taking advantage of it in private." The latter, however, is precisely what Stephenson did not stoop to do. In the railway mania of 1846, though "anxiously entreated to lend his name to prospectuses, he invariably refused. He held aloof from the headlong folly of the hour, and endeavoured to check it, but in vain. Had he been less scrupulous, he might, without trouble, have secured enormous gains."

In a speech delivered at Newcastle in 1850, Robert Stephenson said: "It seems to me but as yesterday that I was engaged as assistant in laying out the Stockton and Darlington railway. Since then the Liverpool and Manchester and a hundred other great works have sprung into existence. As I look back upon these stupendous undertakings, accomplished in so short a time, it seems as though we had realised in our generation the fabled powers of the magician's wand. Hills have been cut down and valleys filled up; high and magnificent viaducts have been raised; and if mountains stood in the way, tunnels of unexampled magnitude have pierced them through, bearing their triumphant attestation to the indomitable energy of the nation and the unrivalled skill of our artizans."

In the twenty years which have elapsed since Stephenson spoke these words, the extent of the railway system of the United Kingdom has been far more than doubled.

In 1851 the number of miles of railway open in the United Kingdom was 6,890; in 1841 it was less than 1,800; in 1871 it was 15,376. The 6,890 miles of railway in 1851 had cost two hundred and forty-eight and a quarter millions sterling (£248,240,896) in their construction. The 15,376 miles open in 1871 had cost more than five hundred and fifty-two and a half millions (£552,680,107), or more than two-thirds the amount of the National Debt. The number of passengers conveyed by railways in 1851 was 85,391,095; in 1871 it was 375,409,146. The net receipts on railways in 1851 were little more than nine millions sterling; they were but £11,009,519 in 1854; in 1871 they had reached to £25,739,920. On every mile of railway open in 1851 the average yearly receipts were £2,176; in 1871 every mile brought in £3,064. Thus, in the twenty years, the mileage of British railways had increased two and a half fold; the annual number of passengers was more than quadrupled. The capital had been considerably more than doubled, while the total receipts had been nearly trebled.

The history of railways in the United States is very remarkable. So rapidly did they spread in that country of great distances, after their introduction in 1830, that by the year 1855 the United States possessed 2,550 more miles of railway than all the other countries of the world put together. Since that date, however, Europe has again taken the lead. If we compare the railway accommodation of the northern part of the Western Hemisphere with that of the civilised portion of the Old World, we find the balance is considerably in favour of the former, in point of population, though not of area. At the end of 1866 there was one mile of railway to every 193 square miles of surface in North America, and to every seventy-two square miles in Europe. But North America had 39,414 miles of line to an aggregate population of only fifty-two millions, while Europe had but 50,117 miles to its population of two hundred and eighty-five millions. So that there was one mile of rail on the North American continent to every 1,309 inhabitants, while in Europe the population were 5,686 times as numerous as the total miles of its railways. In 1866 there were open in Asia 3,660 miles of railway, principally in the British possessions in the East Indies. In Africa the number of miles open in that year was only 375; in Australia 607; in the West Indies 410; and in South America 1,041.

Altogether, therefore, the aggregate length of all the railways in existence throughout the world in 1866 was 95,727 miles. Since that date the multiplication of railways has been going forward as rapidly as ever. This is more particularly the case with British India, and the great empire of Russia, where, in the course of a few years, many millions of British capital have been invested in assisting their development. Among the more remarkable achievements of railway engineering in the most recent years may be mentioned the railway across the continent of North America, joining the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The largest tunnel in the world—that which pierces through the Alps at Mont Cenis—is also the work of this period. It connects France and Italy, and its length is seven miles. Another difficult work of recent date is the Underground railway in the British metropolis. It had to be carried underneath the streets of the busiest of cities, down where the soil was honeycombed with other works—gas-pipes, water-mains, drains, and sewers. It had to undermine without damaging the foundations of houses and churches, and other public and private buildings. The cost was fabulous being upwards of £150,000 per mile. And, even when completed, another formidable difficulty had to be overcome. If the ordinary railway engines were used in the confined space of this tunnel, the atmosphere would soon become intolerable, and passengers would be deterred from travelling upon the line. The obstacle was, however, successfully surmounted. An improved engine was invented by Mr. Fowler which could be worked in the open air like an ordinary engine, but which, while in the tunnel, gave off neither steam nor smoke, being so constructed as to be able to condense the one and consume the other. The subterranean railway, though the most wonderful, was not the only remarkable addition to the railways of the metropolis in recent years. Three lines, connecting London with the counties south of the Thames, were brought over the river into the heart of the metropolis. Three great iron bridges were thrown across the Thames, and vast terminal stations erected in the centre of London. The great Midland system was likewise brought to the metropolis; and its terminus at St. Pancras, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, is the grandest work of the kind in the world. The growing population of the capital, which in 1871 numbered little short of four millions of

souls, was every day requiring increased facilities of locomotion. The old methods of conveyance had long since ceased to be adequate to its wants. There was a wide field for railway enterprise within the limits of the metropolis itself, and in the twenty years preceding the field was cultivated very assiduously. In fact, in the year 1871 there were no fewer than 177 railway stations in London, nearly all of which were either wholly or partially employed in the inter-metropolitan traffic alone. On the underground lines of the metropolis the trains are counted by hundreds, and the passengers by the hundred thousand daily.

Some of the bridges which the introduction of railways has called into existence are amongst the most stupendous works of engineering, whether of the present or of any age. In the Albert bridge over the Tamar near Saltash, which was built by Brunel, the central pier, measured from foundation to summit, rises to a height of 270 feet, or more than fifty feet higher than the Monument of London. This bridge consists of nineteen spans. The two central ones, resting on the central pier, cross the whole stream of the Tamar at a leap of 900 feet, which is wider than the Thames at Westminster. The foundations of the central pier of this bridge, as well as those of another of Mr. Brunel's bridges, that over the Wye at Chepstow, presented difficulties which it would have been hardly possible to overcome if the usual modes of operation had been followed. By a modification of the pneumatic process, applying what is called the coffer-dam system, Mr. Brunel succeeded in laying the foundations of the pier at Saltash at a greater depth below the water and soft mud than had ever before been accomplished.

The great bridges erected by Robert Stephenson are among the proudest monuments of his engineering skill. A quarter of a century after Telford had spanned the Menai Straits with his magnificent suspension bridge, Robert Stephenson raised a still more astonishing structure over the same arm of the sea. In the Britannia bridge, as also in the Conway bridge, Stephenson adopted a new and untried principle. These two structures may be described as consisting of two huge tubes or hollow beams of iron. The Britannia bridge tubes are in eight parts, resting on towers, the central tower rising up from a rock in the middle of the Straits to a height of 230 feet. The tubes themselves—of which the four central portions are 460 feet, and the four other portions 230 feet, long—are composed of enormous iron plates riveted together. The rivets alone weighed 900 tons, and would make an iron rod seven-eighths of an inch thick, and 126 miles long. The work of raising the vast tubes from the water to their position on the piers was effected by the help of Bramah hydraulic presses of unprecedented power. One of these engines was estimated to be capable of lifting as much as 30,000 men. The merit of the successful application of iron in the form of a tube for the construction of bridges, like those over the Menai Straits and the Conway, belongs in part to Sir William Fairbairn, whose knowledge of the strength and properties of that metal was unrivalled. It was in a high degree due to the labours of this celebrated engineer that the same principle was also successfully applied in iron-shipbuilding.

The Britannia bridge, which was completed in the year 1850, was followed by a still more marvellous work of the same kind—the tubular bridge over the St. Lawrence at Montreal. This was the last great work of Robert Stephenson, and, indeed, it is by many authorities considered to be his greatest. For gigantic strength, and the majesty of its proportions, no structure in ancient or modern times can compare with it. It consists of a series of twenty-five tubular bridges connected together by the piers on which they rest. These piers are of enormous strength, as, indeed, they were required to be. They not only have to support the weight of the iron tubes, which themselves are upwards of ten thousand tons, but to withstand the strain to which they are exposed from the stream itself. The usual rapidity of the current is ten miles an hour; and every season, on the break up of the frost, immense quantities of ice in vast blocks are brought down from the great lakes, and pass the bridge in their course towards the ocean. The piers each contain 8,000 feet of solid masonry. The Victoria bridge is five times as long as the Britannia, its length being but sixty yards short of two miles. The central span is 330 feet wide, each of the others being 242 feet. The cellular principle of construction, which had been followed in Stephenson's two former tubular bridges, was discarded in this structure. The Victoria bridge—which was carried out by Mr. Malcolm Ross, after Stephenson's designs—was commenced in 1854, and finished in 1860. Two other tubular bridges were also among Stephenson's later works. These were, the bridge over the Damietta branch of the Nile, the other over the large canal near Beaket-el-Saba. In these bridges the trains run, not inside the tubes, but outside, on the top or roof.

"Our strength, wealth, and commerce," said Mr. Cobden, in a speech delivered in the year 1862, "grow out of the skilled labour of the men working in metals. They are at the foundation of our manufacturing greatness."

We have seen how important a part the workers in metals have played in the development of railways. But for the iron rail, and the steam locomotive, also constructed of iron,—not to mention the iron bridges,—railways could never have attained the overwhelming importance in the world which the forty years since their general adoption have sufficed to give them. In another vast field of commercial industry, embracing shipping and the art of navigation, the services rendered by the workers in metals have in recent years produced a revolution, only second in importance to that which has followed the introduction of railways. By the substitution of steam power, and of the paddle and screw for the propulsion of vessels in place of sails spread before the wind, the whole aspect of navigation and maritime affairs has been changed; and the change has mainly taken place within the last twenty years. How vast has been the progress of the shipping interest of Britain within that period will appear from a brief review of the results of which we have official record.

Shipbuilding, of which we will first speak, has become

one of the most important branches of the mechanical industry of the United Kingdom. The progress made in recent years presents two remarkable features. Not only has the number and aggregate tonnage of the vessels constructed been rapidly increasing; but, what is even more important, there has been a very large increase in the number of iron steamers, and a large decrease in the number of sailing-vessels, constructed in later as compared with earlier years. In 1851 the total number of vessels built and registered in the United Kingdom was only 672, and their aggregate tonnage 149,637 tons. Of this number, 594 were sailing-vessels, with a total tonnage of 126,914 tons. Only seventy-eight were steamers, and their tonnage was 22,723 tons. In 1871 the total number of vessels built and registered in the United Kingdom had increased to 1,022, with an aggregate tonnage of 391,058 tons. The number of steam-vessels was 537, or nearly seven times as many as were built twenty years before. Their aggregate tonnage was 330,798 tons, or more than fourteen times the tonnage of the steamers built in 1871. The sailing-vessels, on the other hand, had decreased from 594 in 1851 to 485 in 1871—a decrease of twenty per cent. in number. Their tonnage had decreased from 126,914 to 60,260 tons—a decrease of more than fifty per cent. These numbers, however, do not indicate the whole of the additions which have been made in the carrying power of the British merchant navy. For a steamer engaged in the home and coasting trade can do four or five times as much work as a sailing-vessel, and for long voyages their value is three times that of sailing-vessels. The carrying power of the whole of the vessels built in 1871, when this difference between the value of steam and sailing vessels is allowed for, will, in fact, be found to amount to nearly eight times as much as that of the whole number built twenty years before. Another change observable in the class of steam-vessels constructed at the later period is their large increase in size or tonnage. The average tonnage of steamers built in 1851 was 291 tons; in 1871 it was 616 tons, or more than double the average tonnage of the steamers of the earlier date.

ISAMBARD K. BRUNEL.

The shipping built for and sold to foreign nations and

the colonies forms an important item in the exports* of the United Kingdom. In 1870 there were 102 vessels constructed in this country for foreigners, two of the number being war-vessels. In 1871 the total number built for the same class of customers was eighty, of which eight were war-vessels. The total tonnage of these vessels was 51,651 tons in 1870, and 36,703 tons in 1871.

In 1851 the mercantile navy of the United Kingdom, with the Channel Isles and the Isle of Man, comprised no fewer than 24,816 sailing-vessels of 3,475,657 tons burden, and 1,227 steamers of 186,687 tons burden; forming a grand total of 26,043 vessels, with a tonnage of 3,662,344 tons. In 1871 the merchant navy comprised 22,510 sailing-vessels with 4,374,511 tons, and 3,382

THE MONT CENIS RAILWAY.

Besides these vessels, there were, in the earlier year, 297 other vessels transferred from the British register as sold to foreign or colonial buyers; their tonnage was 102,916 tons. In 1871 there were 284 vessels so transferred and sold, their tonnage being 104,724 tons.

* It may here be pointed out that the value of the shipping sold to foreign nations and the colonies has never yet been included in the official returns of the exports of the United Kingdom, nor do the imports include the shipping bought from foreigners or the colonists. No reason is assigned for these omissions; nor can the returns of imports and exports be considered complete so long as these important items are excluded.

steam-vessels with 1,319,612 tons. The total number of vessels was therefore 25,892, or 151 fewer than in 1851; while the tonnage was 5,694,123, or 2,031,779 tons more than in 1851. The increase in the number of the steam-vessels in the twenty years was 2,155, and in their tonnage it was no less than 1,132,925 tons. While the number of steam-vessels had therefore increased nearly threefold, their tonnage had increased sevenfold. While the total tonnage of the mercantile navy has therefore only increased nominally by about fifty-five per cent., the real shipping power of the United Kingdom, when we take

into account the far higher value of steam-ships as compared with sailing-vessels, has been increased in the twenty years by more than 125 per cent.—that is, has been considerably more than doubled. The number of registered vessels employed in the home and foreign trade, exclusive of the river steamers, was 18,184, with a tonnage of 3,360,935, in 1851; and 22,207, with a tonnage of 5,633,561, in 1871. The steamers so employed numbered 520, with 144,741 tons, at the earlier date; and 2,557, with 1,290,003, at the more recent date—that is, five times as many vessels, with eight times the tonnage.

The number of merchant seamen employed in the coasting and foreign trade stood at 141,937, of whom 10,660 belonged to steamers, in 1851; while in 1871 they numbered 199,738, of whom 58,703 were employed on steam-vessels—that is, more than five times as many as in 1851

The increase which has taken place in the shipping trade of the United Kingdom is shown by the total tonnage of the vessels which entered and cleared at the various ports of the country. In 1851 this amounted to 15,980,198 tons; in 1871 it was 41,547,878 tons, or nearly three times the total at the earlier date. Of the total in 1851, 9,820,876 tons belonged to British vessels, and 6,159,322 tons to foreign or colonial vessels. In 1871 the proportion belonging to British vessels had increased to 28,034,748 tons; that belonging to foreign and colonial vessels was 13,513,130 tons. The British tonnage had therefore increased to nearly threefold the amount in the interval, while that of the rest of the world engaged in the same trade had little more than doubled. The tonnage of foreign and colonial steamers entered and cleared at British ports was only 331,694 tons in 1851, and 2,480,490 tons in 1871. That of British vessels, which amounted to 1,895,076 tons in 1851, had increased to 15,361,202 in 1871. The tonnage entered and cleared of British steam-vessels at both periods therefore was, roughly speaking, about six times as much as that of the foreign and colonial steamers trading at the ports of the United Kingdom.

The merit of establishing the value of iron in the construction of ships, as well as in bridges and in other novel applications, belongs mainly to Sir William Fairbairn. "The iron ship," he tells us, "in lightness, durability, and capacity of cargo, is infinitely superior to a vessel built of wood; and, if properly constructed and carefully looked after, will last more than double the time of vessels composed of the best teak and English oak. It is not, however, durability alone that constitutes the value of the iron ship; its superior strength insures greatly increased security to the owners, and, what is of much greater importance, to the crew and passengers. Again, as regards cargo, there is less risk from damage, as the iron ship is virtually without joints, perfectly water-tight, and free from bilge-water and that creaking motion observable in the joints of a wooden vessel plunging in a heavy sea. No such motion occurs with an iron-built vessel, as the sheathing plates, when carefully riveted, embody a principle of homogeneity sufficiently powerful to withstand the repeated shocks of the elements, to which a similar structure of wood would succumb. Another advantage of iron vessels is their superior lightness and increased area of space. In the iron ship this enlargement of the interior contents is so great as to enable the vessel to carry from one-eighth to one-tenth more cargo on the same draught of water than a vessel built of wood."*

"Even so recently as 1845," the same writer remarks, "iron ships were scarcely known; and it required another decade to convince the public that iron was a lighter, safer, and more durable material for shipbuilding than wood." And he has since added, prophetically, "I have no doubt that the iron ship of British origin will yet ride triumphant on every sea, as the harbinger of peace, the supporter of commerce, and the great and only security of national defence."

The earliest mention of iron in the construction of vessels is in connection with the navigation of canals. In the year 1812 or 1813 certain iron boats are spoken of as plying on canals in the county of Stafford. Ten years later the first iron steamer that went to sea was built. This was the *Aaron Manby*, which was navigated by Sir Charles Napier from London to Havre, and thence up the Seine to Paris. In 1824 a small iron steamer was constructed by Mr. Grantham, and sent to Ireland, where it was employed on the Shannon. About the same time Sir William Fairbairn built four iron vessels, two of which, the *Lord Dundas* and the *Manchester*, were in use for many years in Scottish waters.

Having convinced himself of the applicability of iron to the building of ships, Sir William Fairbairn came to London, and in 1835 founded the first great iron shipbuilding yard at Milwall, on the Thames. Within fourteen years from that date he had built more than a hundred and twenty iron ships, some of them of more than two thousand tons burden. In the meantime the new idea was taking root in other parts of the kingdom; and the foundations of the great establishments on the Clyde, on the Mersey, and on the Tyne, were laid by the Napiers, Lairds, and others. The steam riveting-machine devised by Sir W. Fairbairn materially contributed to the progress of this new branch of industry.

The first very large iron vessel was the *Great Britain*, built in 1845 by Mr. Brunel. She was of double the tonnage of any vessel previously afloat. She made her first voyage in 1845, and reached New York in fourteen days twenty-one hours, where her unusual proportions and novel character created much astonishment. As with so many of Brunel's great creations, this vessel was destined to meet with misfortune. She left Liverpool on the 22nd of September, 1846, and within ten hours struck on the Irish coast. The attempts to float her again involved a series of operations, attended with vast expense, and it was not until August, 1847, that she was at length got again into the water. But these misfortunes were not without their use. Indeed, a more satisfactory proof of the value of iron in the construction of ships could hardly be desired than that which was supplied by this accident. For a whole winter—indeed, for nearly a whole

* Sir William Fairbairn: "On Iron Ships and Shipbuilding."

year—the *Great Britain* was exposed to the action of heavy seas beating her upon the sands and rocks of Dundrum Bay, and she went through this ordeal without suffering any serious damage in her hull or in any other part. A vessel of wood could not have survived under similar circumstances, but would have quickly gone to pieces. The strength of iron and its value in shipbuilding was indeed triumphantly vindicated by this practical test, which only confirmed the scientific experiments made by Professor Hodgkinson, who showed that the comparative resistance of wrought iron to a direct crushing force is more than seven times as great as that of the best British oak.

Ten years after the construction of the *Great Britain* Mr. Brunel commenced the *Great Eastern*, by far the largest vessel ever built. Mr. Scott Russell was the naval architect, and the wave principle and lines he advocated were adopted in the construction of the vessel. It was built in the yard at Milwall, where Sir W. Fairbairn first applied iron on a large scale in shipbuilding. The dimensions of the vessel are extraordinary. Her length is 680 feet, her breadth 83 feet, her depth 58 feet. Mere numbers, however, fail to give an adequate idea of the vast proportions of the vessel. It has been well said that the *Great Eastern* is as big as a cathedral. The largest cathedral in the world, that of St. Peter at Rome, is only 613 feet long in external measurement, so that the *Great Eastern* is longer than St. Peter's by nearly seventy feet. The vessel could, in fact, be fitted up so as to carry comfortably the whole population of a town of 10,000 inhabitants. Her tonnage is 23,000, and she carries when loaded 18,000 tons of coals and cargo. Her paddle-wheel engines are of 1,000 nominal horse-power, and her screw-engines 1,600. The paddle-wheels are fifty-eight feet in diameter, and therefore advance sixty yards in a single revolution. Her screw is twenty-four feet in diameter, or four and a half times the average height of a man. This magnificent vessel, however, as a commercial speculation, proved a failure. After a vast sum of money had been spent on building her, it was found that the preparations made for launching her were quite inadequate, and it required months of labour and an additional expense of £70,000 before that object was attained. This, however, was only the beginning of her financial troubles. She was intended to carry the India and China mails on the long route, round the Cape, but the idea had to be abandoned. In 1859 a destructive explosion took place on board while she was in the Channel off Hastings. After this she encountered a hurricane in the Atlantic, which damaged her paddles and disabled her rudder. She afterwards ran upon a rock at New York, and broke her bottom plates for a length of eighty feet. Another proof of the value of iron in shipbuilding was, however, afforded by these accidents; for though they would have destroyed any wooden ship, the *Great Eastern* received no material injury either to her hull or machinery. The vast gap which was made in her by the accident near New York she was capable of repairing without going into dock, and while still afloat, since, as is usual in iron ships, she had an inner and an outer skin. She had, in fact, a system of water-tight compartments; and further, what is less general in vessels of iron, these compartments were longitudinally divided by fore and aft bulkheads. Thus the vessel might be pierced and rent open in several compartments at once, and yet she would not sink. A large portion of her hull is double, and the outer skin, which is two feet from the inner, is connected with the latter on the cellular or tubular principle. Thus, though an iron ship, the *Great Eastern*, from the mode of her construction, is not only the safest, but also the strongest vessel in the whole mercantile navy of the world.

Among the most stupendous products of the iron industry of Great Britain, the most recent vessels of the war navy, with their armour and equipment of guns and machinery, hold perhaps the highest place. The first use of vessels defended by iron armour was during the Crimean War, when some iron-plated gun-vessels were built by both the French and the English Governments. The achievements of the *Merrimac*, the *Monitor*, and other armoured vessels during the American Civil War at a later period, which were watched with the greatest interest by European Powers, were generally regarded as settling the question as to the comparative merits of armoured and unarmoured ships. The French Government, with its plated frigate *La Gloire*, opened a new era in naval armaments. The English Government quickly followed with the *Warrior*, a much stronger ship. The iron plates of the *Warrior* were four and a half inches thick, and it was supposed she was almost invulnerable. To decide the question, a large target was constructed, representing a section of the side of the vessel amidships. On the first trial it was only slightly cracked when fired at with a 68-pounder gun; but subsequently, when a 150-pounder cannon, fired with a charge of 50 lbs. of powder, was brought to play upon it, the target was penetrated. Henceforward a battle commenced, in which artillerists were ranged on one side, and naval architects on the other. Sir William Armstrong, Sir Joseph Whitworth, Captain Fraser, and Major Palliser were among the leading representatives of the first; Mr. E. J. Reed and Captain Cowper Coles of the second. The *Warrior* target, whose armour plate was four and a half inches thick, having been vanquished by the guns, the iron plates were increased in thickness. In the *Minotaur* the armour was five and a half inches thick, but this, too, soon succumbed completely to a steel shot from a 150-pounder gun. In the *Bellerophon* the armour was increased to six inches, while behind the wood of the vessel there was an iron inner skin of one and a half inches thick. The *Bellerophon* target successfully withstood a 150-pounder gun fired at a distance of only 200 yards, the effect of the shot being only to crack and bulge it to some extent. But a larger gun was now brought to bear on it by the artillerists. This threw a shot of 300 lbs., and before this tremendous missile the target gave way. The next step was to add again to the thickness of the armour, and in the *Hercules* the outer plates were eight and nine inches thick. A cylindrical 300 lb. shot was fired, with 45 lbs. of powder, at the nine-

inch *Hercules* target, from which it jumped back sixteen yards, making only a rather deep indentation in the plate. But now the artillerists had doubled the size of their gun, and had enabled it to throw a shot of nearly 600 lbs. A missile weighing 573 lbs., with a charge of 100 lbs. of powder, was next hurled at the target. The shot, which was of cylindrical form, and seventeen inches long, buried itself in the target so far that only three or four inches of it protruded from the plate. The target was, however, so far victorious over this prodigious weapon. It was not pierced, though the inner skin was bulged, one of the ribs broken, and some rivet heads forced off. Next, however, was tried one of Major Palliser's chilled iron shot, weighing 577 lbs. It was fired with 100 lbs. of powder, and, striking the target just above the previous shot, completely penetrated it, breaking one rib, bulging others, and tearing away the inner skin, the shot itself breaking up into small fragments. Armour-plating, after this, advanced again in dimensions till, at the most recent dates, it had attained a thickness of upwards of a foot. And the battle between naval architects and artillerists still rages, the question between them not yet being decided; the probability, however, being in favour of the former.

In recent years the application of the screw in place of paddle-wheels for the propulsion of steam-vessels has been rapidly gaining ground. Though paddle-wheels give a smoother motion to the vessel, they are more liable, particularly in ocean voyages, to injury than the screw. The screw-propeller—which is usually fixed in the "dead-wood," immediately in front of the sternpost of the vessel, and is turned by a shaft, running parallel to the keel, from the engine-room—is somewhat similar in construction to the common screw, the narrow thread of the latter being expanded into a broad thin plate, while the cylinder is reduced to a mere spindle. Many attempts were made to apply the principle of the screw to the propulsion of vessels in water before practical success was attained. In 1840 the performances of the *Archimedes* screw-steamer convinced the British Government of the value of the invention; and its obvious advantages over the paddle for war purposes have caused its adoption in all the most important vessels of the royal navy; while it possesses for ordinary purposes such advantages over the paddle, particularly for vessels intended to make long voyages, that it has been widely adopted in the merchant navy. The screw of the *Great Eastern* steam-ship, as already observed, is no less than twenty-four feet in diameter. Many attempts were made in the early days of steam navigation to introduce the principle of the screw-propeller, and there are numerous claimants to the honour of the invention. In a debate in the House of Commons in 1855, on the grant of £20,000 for rewarding the inventor of the screw-propeller, it was stated that no fewer than forty-four persons had sent in claims for the reward. The number, however, was, on examination, reduced to five, amongst whom the money was divided by arrangement. Mr. Pettit Smith, who shared in the reward, patented his invention in the year 1836. It was with Mr. Smith's screw that the *Archimedes* was fitted, whose performances induced the Government to adopt this mode of propulsion in the royal navy. Many of the most competent judges belonging to the engineering profession accorded to Mr. Smith the principal share, if not the whole, of the merit of having brought the screw into general use; as is evidenced by the fact that at a public dinner given in his honour in London, and presided over by Robert Stephenson, they presented Mr. Smith with a splendid and valuable testimonial. This was in the year 1858, at which time 174 vessels of the royal navy, including 52 line-of-battle ships, 23 frigates, 17 corvettes, 55 sloops, 8 floating batteries, and 19 troop and store ships, had already been fitted with screw-propellers.

The substitution of steam power, in place of sails and wind, for the propulsion of ships is now almost universal in the case of the war navies of the world, but in the mercantile navies it is still only partial. It has, however, been progressing rapidly in all the mercantile navies of the world, more especially of late years. Thus, in the three years between 1870 and 1873, sailing-vessels throughout the world had decreased nearly five and a half per cent. in number, and more than eleven and a half per cent. in tonnage. Steamers, on the other hand, had increased no less than twenty-four and a half per cent. in number, and nearly fifty-five per cent. in tonnage. This rapid revolution in the character of seafaring vessels is mainly due to the great intrinsic advantages possessed by steam-vessels over sailing-vessels, as shown by the fact already mentioned, that in short voyages a steamer can do four or five times as much work as a sailing-vessel.

The increase of steam-vessels, and the decrease of sailing-ships, have, as predicted by Mr. Samuda, been accelerated to some extent of late by the completion of the great undertaking by which the waters of the Mediterranean and Red Seas have been united. The Suez Canal was projected and executed, in spite of much opposition and many difficulties, by a French engineer, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps. Before the opening of the canal, which took place in the year 1869, the voyage from Liverpool to Bombay was longer by upwards of 5,500 miles, and to Hong Kong by 3,500 miles, than it was by the new route. When vessels could reach the Eastern seas only by a voyage round the Cape, sailing-ships were more economical than steamers, on account of the excessive quantity of coal required for the voyage by the latter. But the Suez Canal shortened the voyage to the nearest ports of India by nearly one-half, and that to China by one-fourth, and thereby removed the great obstacle to their employment in the Eastern trade. Of the vessels passing through the canal, those sailing under British colours considerably outnumber those of all other nations put together.

At the point selected for the canal, the Isthmus of Suez is not more than seventy-two miles wide, measured as the crow flies. The canal itself, however, is 100 miles in length. There are numerous lagoons and lakes in the neighbourhood, separated by a distance of a few miles from each other, and advantage was taken of several of these to abridge the work of excavation. The canal passes through the lagoons of Menzaleh and Ballah,

Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes, to the lagoon of Suez. Only thirty-seven miles of the canal were excavated from top to bottom; the rest, sixty-three miles, passing principally through the waters mentioned, which were dredged and deepened to the requisite depth. The depth of the canal is twenty-six and a quarter feet; its width at the bottom is seventy-two feet. At the water-level the width within the cutting is 198 feet, and within the embankments 328 feet. Though England was more interested in this work than any other nation, she gave it little encouragement. The influence of her Government was, in fact, used to discountenance the scheme, partly owing to political jealousies, which were—no doubt honestly, but mistakenly—shared in by Lord Palmerston, the most powerful political personage of the period. The Suez Canal, too, is one of the few great works, perhaps the only great work, in which the first of English engineers was at fault. Robert Stephenson surveyed the ground himself for a canal in 1847, but in the result he declared the scheme impracticable—an opinion which he never retracted. Over all his accumulated difficulties—political, financial, and technical—the indomitable energy and persistency of M. Lesseps triumphed. And after the completion of his great work, honours were showered upon him, not only by his own country, where he was raised to the peerage and received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, but also by other nations, and particularly by England, which had offered the most serious opposition to his enterprise. M. Lesseps received from the Queen the rare distinction of the Grand Cross of the Star of India, and the Corporation of London presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box.

Among the new branches of industry created by the progress of the arts and sciences in the second half of the nineteenth century, that of submarine telegraphy must be regarded as one of the most important. In the experiments and inventions which in the course of a few years have carried the art to so high a pitch of excellence, thinkers and workers of all civilised nations—more particularly Germans, Frenchmen, Americans, and Englishmen—have taken part; but the industry arising out of this new application of the electric telegraph belongs mainly to England. That Britain, surrounded on all sides by the sea, and America, cut off by vast oceans from the rest of the civilised world—that these, the two principal commercial nations of the globe, should have taken the lead in this new branch of the industrial arts was only natural; and the fact that the construction of the apparatus of ocean telegraphy, and the execution of the practical works connected with the submergence of submarine lines, and their maintenance in working order, should have fallen principally to the lot of Englishmen, is only a renewed proof that England still preserves that manufacturing supremacy for which she has long been renowned. Between the year 1850, when the first line was laid beneath the sea, and 1871, no fewer than 213 submarine and oceanic cables had been submerged in various parts of the world. The total length of these lines was 45,783½ miles—a length not far short of twice the entire circumference of the globe. A considerable number of the earlier of these cables, owing to the necessarily experimental nature of all first attempts in a new field of industry, proved failures; but the art of their construction and submergence so rapidly arrived at a high state of perfection, that failures soon became more and more exceptional.

The services which the products of this new industry have rendered to civilisation and commerce can hardly be exaggerated. Not only are all civilised nations every day made acquainted by this new agency with each other's doings, but a great impetus has been imparted by it to commerce throughout the globe.

An analysis which was recently made of the telegrams, sent by land lines at home shows that, while the despatches of Government and those of the newspapers, having reference to politics and the money market, form but eleven per cent. of the whole, telegrams concerning private family affairs form forty-four, and those concerning commercial transactions form forty-five per cent. of the aggregate. Of the despatches forwarded by oceanic or submarine cables, on the other hand, as many as fifty-six and a half per cent., or more than half, have to do with commercial transactions; those referring to Government business, private affairs, politics, and the money market, constituting together but forty-three and a half per cent., or less than half of the whole. In an earlier chapter the enormous strides which the foreign commerce of the United Kingdom had taken, in the twenty years from 1851 to 1871, were shown from the values of the exports and imports at those dates. And this unprecedented progress there can be no doubt is in a large measure attributable to the extended facilities provided by oceanic telegraphy for the more expeditious and advantageous conclusion of commercial transactions.

The manufacture of telegraph wire has, in a few years, become an established and important branch of British industry. So insignificant was it previously to the year 1853, that the exports of it from the United Kingdom were not separately returned. In that year, however, the value of the telegraph wire exported was found to be £72,584. Just eighteen years later, in 1870, the value had attained the enormous figure of £2,522,593, or thirty-five times as much as in 1853. This sum is, however, exceptional. The average annual value, for the ten years from 1861 to 1871, was, nevertheless, approaching seven hundred thousand pounds sterling (£692,269). In 1869 the value was £1,010,549, and in 1871 it was £1,523,638; and the quantity exported in 1871 was upwards of seven times as much as that exported in 1861.

The first practical attempt at submarine telegraphy was made in the year 1850, when it was endeavoured to bring England and the Continent into communication. Early in the morning of Wednesday, the 28th of August, in that year, Mr. Brett, the projector of the new enterprise, left Dover in the steamer *Goliath*, with thirty miles of electric line on board. At nine o'clock in the evening a message was received from Cape Grisnez, where the line had been landed, announcing that the task had been successfully accomplished. Thus was proved, for the

THE VICTORIA BRIDGE AT MONTREAL.

first time, the practicability of electrical communication across the waters of the deep. This the first submarine telegraph was, however, unfortunate. A day after its submergence it was cut asunder among the rocks near the French coast, and all communication was suspended. Short as was the life of this cable, its success was sufficient to stimulate to further attempts. The fault of the line was that it was too slight in construction,—a length of five miles weighed but one ton. But the question as to the possibility of perfectly insulating a wire at the

OPENING OF THE SUEZ CANAL.

bottom of the sea, which was the principal subject of doubt previously to the experiment, had received a favourable solution.

The next cable, which was constructed at Milwall in accordance with the experience now gained, was made far stronger,—a single mile of it weighed seven tons. It consisted of four copper wires, separately insulated with gutta-percha; these were then twisted with tarred hemp into the form of a rope, round which a strong sheath, consisting of ten galvanised iron wires, was placed. It was deposited in the Straits of Dover in October, 1851. This cable proved a perfect success; and, with the exception of a few interruptions caused by injuries which were never very serious, it has been in constant use ever since it was first laid down. The submarine telegraph between Dover and Calais, which had thus achieved a complete triumph, marked the opening of a new era in electric telegraphy. Submarine lines thenceforward began to multiply rapidly. In the following year, 1852, after a line of three miles had been laid across the mouth of Portsmouth Harbour, from Keyhaven to Hurst Castle, a much more considerable undertaking, that of a cable connecting England and Ireland, was attempted, and a line was laid down from Holyhead to Howth. Another line, running across the North Channel from Port Patrick to Donaghadee, was also submerged in the same year. Both these cables, however, proved failures; and other lines connecting Great Britain with Ireland had to be laid down before success was permanently attained. In 1853 a successful submarine line was laid down in the Belt; and in the same year a cable, seventy miles long, was carried across the German Ocean, connecting England and Belgium, and running from the South Foreland to Ostend. In the following year Sweden and Denmark were connected by submarine lines; as were also Corsica and Sardinia, England and Holland, and Italy and Corsica.

MR. BESSEMER.

Henceforth, as fast as manufacturers could supply the necessary apparatus, the straits and channels and narrower seas dividing the more civilised countries of the world were spanned by electric lines. In 1855, during the Russian War, a cable was laid down from Varna to Balaklava. This was 310 miles in length, and was the greatest that had been laid down up to that time. The same year saw Sardinia joined to Africa, and Italy to Sicily. Then followed a line from Crete to

Alexandria; another was laid across the Bosphorus, and a third across the mouth of the Amazons. While this activity prevailed in the development of submarine telegraphs, the land lines were spreading with prodigious rapidity over every portion of the globe, on the borders of civilisation and highways of commerce. Europe and North America were enveloped in a network of telegraphs, and even semi-civilised countries were soon provided with this now indispensable means of communicating intelligence. On the occasion of the death of the Czar Nicholas, the powers of the telegraph were thought to be strikingly exhibited. In the afternoon of the 2nd of March, the Earl of Clarendon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, went down to the House of Lords and announced, to the astonishment of all, that the Russian sovereign had died at one o'clock that day. Two messages to that effect—one *viâ* the Hague, the other over Ostend—had arrived in London within four hours of the occurrence of the event itself. Men wondered at this as a great feat of telegraphy. It was, however, very simple, compared with the achievements of telegraphists but three years subsequently.

The success attending so many of the submarine lines, across the narrower seas and channels, led within a few years to schemes conceived on a far grander scale; and a serious attempt was at length to be made to span the Atlantic Ocean, and thus connect the Old and New Worlds. In 1856, Mr. Brett, Mr. Cyrus Field, Sir Charles Bright, and others, formed a company for the purpose of laying a cable from Valentia, in the extreme west of Ireland, to St. John's, in Newfoundland, the nearest point of North America. This first oceanic cable was manufactured, half by Messrs. Newall, of Gateshead, and half by Messrs. Glass, Elliott, and Co., of Greenwich. It was more than two thousand miles long, but occupied no more than five months in the manufacture. It consisted of a strand of seven copper wires, with three coatings of gutta-percha. The core was enveloped in jute-yarn, soaked in a composition of tar and other materials, and the whole was covered with a protecting sheath, consisting of eighteen strands of iron-wire, each strand containing seven wires. This cable could bear a strain of three tons without parting, though it weighed no more than one ton per mile. The story of the laying of the cable by the *Niagara* and *Agamemnon*, of the transient success which attended the enterprise, and of the ensuing disappointment, has been told in a previous chapter (see page 179). In 1864 the undertaking was renewed; the *Great Eastern* was selected as the vessel best adapted for the work of laying out, and a new and improved cable was manufactured. This cable was 2,600 miles long, and was made by Messrs. Glass and Elliott at East Greenwich. "The central conductor," it was said at the time, "is composed of seven fine copper wires twisted into one complete strand, insulated with Chatterton's patent compound; outside this come four distinct layers of gutta-percha, each also insulated with the same material that encloses the conductor. Outside the gutta-percha again are wound eleven stout iron wires, each of which, before being twisted on, is itself carefully wound round with strands of hemp, soaked with tar. Thus, then, there are no less than twenty-five thousand miles of copper-wire in the conductor, about thirty-five thousand miles of iron-wire in the outside covering, and upwards of four hundred thousand miles of strands of hemp,—more than enough, in all, to go twenty-four times round the world. In strength the cable is equal to bearing a strain of seven and three-quarter tons, while its specific gravity is so low that it can with safety be depended on to support eleven miles of its length in water. It has been made mile by mile, joined up in long lengths of 700 and 800 miles, and shipped on board the *Great Eastern* into three enormous wrought-iron tanks,—the first holding a coil of 630 miles of cable, the second one of 840, and the third one of 830. The tanks themselves, with water and their contents of cable, weigh, in all, upwards of five thousand tons. To shore them up with cross-beams, struts, and braces, no less than 400 loads of timber were consumed. The mere cable was but an item in the mass of heavy weights the *Great Eastern* had to carry on this occasion. Her draught of water was rather over than under thirty feet; and, all told, her weights, when starting from Valentia, came near the stupendous mass of eighteen thousand tons." The various efforts of the *Great Eastern*, and the complete success with which they were eventually crowned, have been treated of in a former portion of this History.

One of the most recent acts of the English Government has been the purchase of the land telegraph lines for the state. The extent of these lines is very great. The wires used for public purposes alone formed, in 1873, a system of 99,842 miles; while the wires leased by the Government to private firms or individuals, for their own special use, made a system of 5,730 miles. The total length of the land telegraphs belonging to the British Government was therefore 105,572 miles, of which 79,845 were in England and Wales, 12,284 in Scotland, and 13,803 in Ireland. Besides this, however, there was a considerable additional length of wires belonging to railway companies, and used principally in the transaction of railway business, but which were also employed secondarily for public purposes. In the same year there were 3,791 postal telegraph offices—2,744 in England and Wales, 447 in Scotland, and 600 in Ireland. Of submarine lines, the national telegraph department worked 420 knots, comprising wires of a total length of 1,258 knots; while there were 459 knots of cable, with 1,837 knots of wire, belonging to the department, but leased to and worked by a private company, employing itself in submarine telegraphy.

The art of submarine and ocean telegraphy, which has been dwelt on here at some length, forms the most striking of the industrial arts which have come into being in the second half of the nineteenth century; and, in conjunction with the extension of railways and the multiplication of steam-vessels, it has done more to add to the general material welfare of mankind than any other of the practical applications of scientific discoveries that can be mentioned.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century, Lord Bacon proclaimed the principles of modern science, the end and aim of which he declared to be "the dominion of man over Nature." Science, if real, should, according to Bacon, be fruitful. Fruitful, because real, science has become since Bacon's day. "The dominion of man over Nature" has advanced in the nineteenth century with a rapidity beyond all parallel or precedent. Thirty to forty years ago it was thought a great feat that a royal messenger should be able to reach Rome in twelve days after leaving Whitehall. The distance is between thirteen hundred and fourteen hundred miles, and it is now regularly accomplished in two days and a half. The voyage from Liverpool to New York, till within the present generation, required a month to perform it in. It is now done by numerous fleets of steam-vessels in nine or ten days, with a regularity formerly impossible of attainment. These are striking instances of the rapidity with which man has extended his "dominion over Nature" within a single generation. But the most striking of all is the more recent achievement of Bacon's fellow-countrymen, that by which they have overcome the obstacles of space and time, brought together the remotest regions of the earth, and enabled the most distant nations instantaneously to exchange their thoughts beneath the depths of the wide ocean itself.

Thus far we have pointed out some of the more important facts in the recent progress of the arts immediately connected with distributive industry, with commerce, locomotion, and communication: we now pass on to review, very briefly, some of the more striking among the latest improvements in productive industry—in the manufactures connected with minerals, metals, and organic materials, chemical products, textile fabrics, and the cultivation of the earth.

CHAPTER LIII.

The Iron and Steel Manufactures—The Bessemer Process—Professor Roscoe's application of the Spectroscope—Strength of Bessemer Iron and Steel—Bessemer Steel Rails—Rise of Barrow-in-Furness—Middlesborough and the Cleveland District—The Iron produced in the United Kingdom, 1855 and 1871, and at Earlier Periods—Mechanical Engineering—Nasmyth's Steam Hammer; Maudslay's Slide-rest—Sir Joseph Whitworth's Improvements in Planing-Machines, Screws, and Measurements: His Rifled Firearms—Sir W. Fairbairn's Girders—Steam-Engines—High Pressure Steam—The "Iron Duke" Locomotive—Steam Power of the United Kingdom—The Nail Manufacture.

In the manufacture of iron numerous improvements have been introduced in recent years. New processes almost without number have been devised, whereby a more or less considerable saving in time and expense is effected, or by which the quality of the material produced is improved. But of all these improvements none can compare in importance with the process invented by Mr. Bessemer, and bearing his name. "The discoveries and experiments of Bessemer," says Sir W. Fairbairn, "have effected a total change in the manufacture of iron." To convert iron from the cast into the malleable state, either by the Bloomeney furnace or the puddling process, was a work which could not be done without a large outlay of time and expense, in both of which the Bessemer process has effected a very large saving. There is also another advantage secured by Mr. Bessemer's invention. The quality of the metal produced can be controlled with an ease and accuracy previously unattainable. From the most perfect cast steel down to wrought iron with the faintest character of steel about it, any variety may by this process be obtained without difficulty.

Mr. Bessemer first made known his process at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Cheltenham, in 1856; and the importance of the invention, which was at once communicated through the newspapers to the whole country, was immediately recognised. Great expectations as to the value of the new method were formed by scientific and practical men. So eagerly, indeed, did the practical men receive the new invention, that, within twenty-five days of the announcement of it at Cheltenham, licences were purchased to the extent of £25,000 by ironmasters authorising them to manufacture malleable iron under Mr. Bessemer's patent. A rapid reaction, however, in the feeling of the iron trade and public generally soon followed. Several rough trials were made by ironmasters, and turned out so badly, that the invention was pronounced valueless. The press; teemed with letters on the subject, their general burden being that the Bessemer process was impracticable, and the hopes with which it had been regarded fallacious. Certain imperfections had been, no doubt, discovered in the process; and these the inventor, instead of arguing against the fallacious reasoning and false representations of his detractors, set himself to remedy. Confident of the soundness of the principle his method of operation was founded on, he proceeded to prosecute his experiments, and resolved to observe silence until he had made the process a commercial success. After three years of incessant labour and an expenditure of £10,000, he once more brought the invention before the public. But the iron trade now manifested no interest in it, and the public had almost forgotten it; and Mr. Bessemer, now really on the eve of a vast success, everywhere found his scheme regarded as a total failure. "One of two things," says Mr. Bessemer, "became imperative; either the invention must be abandoned or the inventor must become a steel manufacturer." And a steel manufacturer accordingly he became. Sheffield was the centre of the steel manufacture in England, and it was there that the new firm of Henry Bessemer and Co. established their first steel works. From the first moment the enterprise was a success. The works at Sheffield became the resort of practical steel-makers anxious to initiate themselves into the mysteries of the new art, and from the place of its origin it soon spread into every state of Europe, and was even carried to India and America. In the course of a few years the Bessemer process had risen again from undeserved discredit to the highest popularity, the inventor reaping the just reward of his ingenuity and indomitable perseverance by rapidly amassing a large fortune.

The process, briefly described, is as follows. Pig-iron, which contains generally about five per cent. of carbon, is

melted in a reverberatory furnace and then poured into a vessel lined with refractory clay. This vessel, which is capable of holding from five tons and upwards, is called the converter. The converter is fixed on a pivot, and through the latter passes a tube leading from a powerful blowing apparatus. The air passing along the tube is blown into the converter through tuyeres or blow-holes fixed in the bottom of the vessel, and is thus forced to pass through the body or mass of the molten metal. In its passage through the metal the air burns off the carbon, as well as silicon and small quantities of other bodies. At a certain point the blast of air is stopped, and the operation is finished, the whole process occupying about twenty minutes.

After the crude molten iron has been run into the converter, the blast is turned on, "when the process instantly commences, the jets of air rushing upwards, expanding in volume, and dividing into an infinite number of globules, which become dispersed throughout the fluid mass. The silicium is first attacked, neither the iron nor carbon being operated upon to any extent while any silicium remains. When the crude iron contains about one and a quarter per cent. of silicium, it requires about twelve minutes' blowing to remove it, during which time only a few sparks make their appearance; but as soon as the silicium is nearly all eliminated, the carbon and iron are more and more acted upon. At about this period, two minutes suffice to change entirely the outward indications of the process; for in that short space of time the bright sparks previously seen issuing from the vessel have almost wholly disappeared, and a voluminous flame rushes out of the mouth of the vessel, gradually passing from orange colour to a brilliant white. The light is so intense as to project shadows of every object on the wall of the building, even at midday. In about twenty-five minutes from the commencement of the process, the flame is observed to drop off suddenly, thus indicating the complete decarbonisation of the metal. Combustion can therefore no longer go on. The vessel is then immediately turned again into the horizontal position, and a small quantity of carburet of manganese, mixed with carburet of iron and silicium, added, when the vessel is again turned up, and the blast driven through it as before; the manganese almost wholly disappearing in a few seconds, whilst the carbon is retained. The steel may thus be carbonised to any desired extent, entirely depending on the known quantity of carbon thus added to the converted metal; while the carburet of manganese effects precisely the same chemical change as it does in the thousand other steel-pots in which it is daily employed in Sheffield—that is, it confers on it the property of welding and working more soundly under the hammer."

"By means of the various mechanical appliances which Mr. Bessemer has engrafted on his original process, the amount of labour and the exposure of the workmen to heat, when dealing with five tons of fluid steel, is found to be far less than has to be encountered in the manipulations of an 80-lb. puddle ball, or the removal from the furnace of a set of 30-lb. crucibles of cast-steel; but while the exposure of the workman to severe temperatures has been diminished, and the reduction of manual labour, by a series of almost self-acting hydraulic apparatus, has been effected, improvements of equal importance have been made in the converting process, by which the degree of carburation and toughness of the metal are put under the most perfect control of the workman, who, by weight and measure, can insure a thousand consecutive charges of precisely the same quality, or he can vary it by almost imperceptible gradations, from the hardest steel to the softest malleable iron." *

In the manufacture of Bessemer steel Professor Roscoe has utilised the powers of the spectroscope, an instrument which is, beyond dispute, one of the most wonderful which the progress of science has bestowed upon mankind in the recent times. This ingenious instrument has revealed the fact that bodies in an incandescent or burning state have definite spectra—a fact which has not only led to the discovery of a number of elementary substances whose existence on the earth had previously escaped the researches of chemists, but which has also enabled astronomical chemists to elucidate to a considerable extent the composition of the sun and the planets, and even that of nebulæ, comets, and fixed stars. In order to explain the use of the spectroscope in the Bessemer process, it is important to remember that steel differs from cast-iron in containing a smaller quantity of carbon, and that in the process of Mr. Bessemer, the carbon of cast-iron is burnt out of the molten white-hot metal by a blast of atmospheric air. The chemical changes occurring during the process are, speaking generally, as follows:—"In the first place, the graphite which is contained in the pig-iron is converted into combined carbon; and in the second place, we find that the silicon begins to burn off, and that afterwards the combined carbon is oxidised." The oxygen of the air blown through the molten metal combines with the carbon and silicon contained in it—in other words, burns them off, and the burning gases issue in the form of a flame from the mouth of the converter. The appearance of this flame is changed in the course of the process; and to the success of the operation it is absolutely necessary that, at a certain stage, the blast of air should be stopped. If for ten seconds after this stage has been reached the blast is continued, or if it be stopped ten seconds before the proper point has arrived, then the operation will have failed, and Bessemer steel will not be produced. The metal contained in the converter is either too viscid to admit of being poured off, or it contains too much carbon, and will crumble up under the hammer like cast-iron. Experience had enabled those conducting the operation to tell, by the appearance of the flame, with tolerable accuracy, when the proper time had arrived for turning off the blast of air; but they naturally often made mistakes. Indeed, to an inexperienced eye no difference can be detected in the flame when the critical moment has arrived. By help of the spectrum analysis, the point can now be determined with the greatest certainty and accuracy; and that which formerly depended on the quickness of vision of a skilled eye has now become

* Sir W. Fairbairn: "Iron Manufacture."

a matter of exact scientific observation. "By a simultaneous comparison of the lines in the Bessemer spectrum with those of well-known substances," writes Professor Roscoe,* "I was able, in the year 1863, to detect the following substances in the Bessemer flame—sodium, potassium, lithium, iron, carbon, hydrogen, and nitrogen. At a certain stage of the operation I found that all at once the lines supposed to be due to carbon disappeared, and we got a continuous spectrum. The workmen, by experience, had learned that this is the moment at which the air must be shut off; but it is only by means of the spectroscope that this point can be exactly determined."

In the Bessemer process the molten metal attains a temperature or heat far more intense than had ever before been attained in metallurgical operations, and this it does without the addition of a particle of fuel, but simply from the combustion of the carbon in the crude iron by the blast of air forced through the molten metal. The metal thus decarbonised retains its fluidity long enough to admit of its being cast in ingots, capable of extension by being passed through rollers or under the hammer.

The iron and steel produced by this process are not only obtained at a very great economy of time and expense, but they possess the further advantage of being of better quality than iron or steel produced by the old methods. This has been conclusively established by numerous experiments. The tensile strength of Bessemer unhammered cast-iron is more than twice as great as that of common cast-iron, and about twenty per cent. greater than the Swedish, which is the best of all the old varieties of cast-iron. The weight required to break a rod of ordinary cast-iron, of a square inch, was found to be 18,500 lbs.; for Swedish cast-iron it is 33,000 lbs.; while in the case of Bessemer cast-iron it is 41,000 lbs. The breaking weight of Yorkshire wrought-iron plates, the best of all English wrought-iron, is 59,500 lbs. per square inch; while that of Bessemer wrought-iron plates is, for soft iron, 68,000 lbs., and that for Bessemer soft cast-steel is 110,000 lbs. per square inch. The breaking weight of the best Sheffield cast-steel is 130,000 lbs. to the square inch, while that of the best Bessemer cast-steel is 152,000 lbs. to the square inch.

A practical illustration of the strength and powers of endurance of Bessemer steel was given in 1862, when one of the earliest experiments with steel rails was made. Near the bridge at the Chalk Farm station on the London and North-Western Railway—a point where it was believed that there was more traffic than on any other rails in the world—two new rails of Bessemer steel were laid down, and opposite to them two new rails of iron, so that no engine or carriage which passed over the one could fail to go over the other also. As soon as the iron rails were too much worn to be safe any longer they were, as usual, reversed, and the other surface exposed to the traffic. When worn out, the iron rails were taken up, and another pair laid down in their place. These, also, after a time, had to be reversed, and afterwards to give place to a third pair. This process went on until eight pairs of iron rails, or sixteen faces, had been worn out, while the steel rails had not yet even been reversed. When the steel rails were taken up for examination, the ninth pair of iron rails had already been worn out on their upper surface. The steel rails were found to have been worn much thinner, but it was the opinion of the platelayers that their first surfaces would still have worn as long as six more surfaces of iron rails, showing that the strength or endurance of the steel rail was equal to that of twenty-two or twenty-three iron rails. The success of the experiment led to the rapid adoption of steel rails, particularly for those parts of railway lines where the traffic is greater than the average. On an average, 8,000 goods trucks passed daily over the steel rails at Chalk Farm station; and it is estimated that between the time of their being laid down and their examination in September, 1864, no fewer than 7,000,000 wagons had passed over them. The earliest trial with rails of Bessemer steel, however, was at the railway station at Crewe, where the traffic is also very great. In November, 1864, or three years after the rails had been laid down, they had not even been reversed, and the upper face still showed very little of the effects of wear and tear.

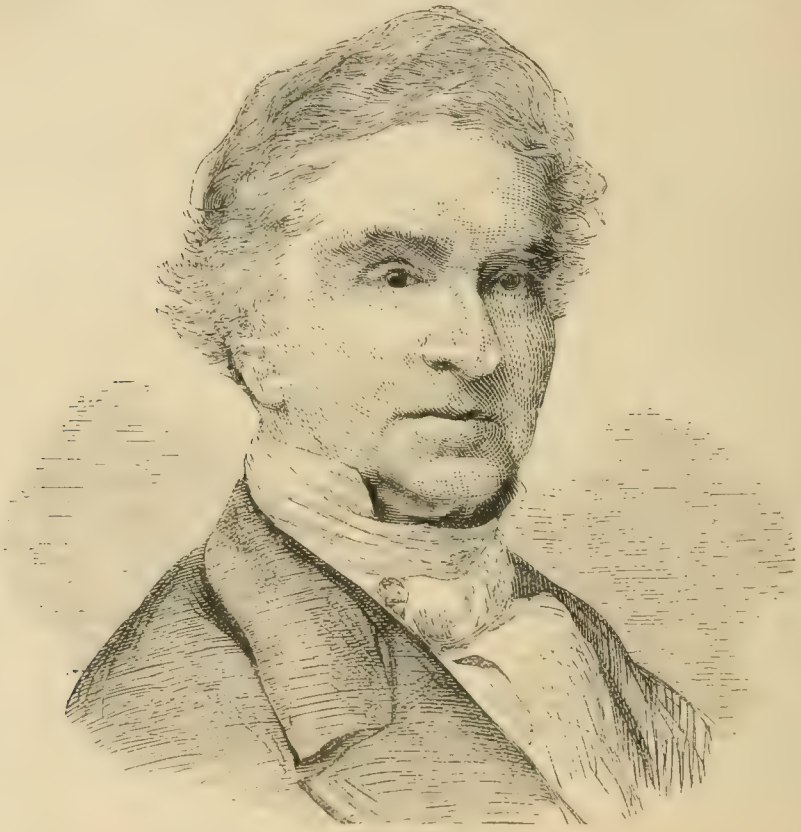
The largest works for the manufacture of Bessemer steel are situated at Barrow-in-Furness. This town, situated in the north of Lancashire, is, indeed, itself the most striking practical illustration of the rapidity with which British industry and commerce have progressed in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1861 Barrow-in-Furness was still so insignificant, that it was not noticed as a separate place in the report of the census of that year. It is only from local chronicles that we learn that in 1850 Barrow was a small hamlet consisting "of three or four farmhouses, eight or ten low-roofed cottages, and two public-houses." Its population in 1861 numbered but a few hundreds; but in 1871 the census showed that the hamlet had grown into a borough of more than 18,000 inhabitants, enjoying the dignity of self-government under a mayor and corporation. Railways radiate from it in all directions on the land side, while wharves and quays and docks are constantly extending along the shores. The principal cause of this sudden growth of Barrow is to be found in the development of the iron manufacture. "To the north and east it is surrounded by rich deposits of hematite ores, which in ancient times had been worked by charcoal, the wood having been obtained from adjoining forests. Even as late as 1840 charcoal iron was made from hematite ores, and some of the oldest ironmasters of that part of the country still continue to manufacture it." In the year 1859, however, new works were erected, where more modern processes were adopted. The blast-furnaces, commenced in 1859 at Hindpool, and the steel-works established in the neighbourhood by Mr. Ramsden in 1864, were in 1866 amalgamated under the Barrow Hematite Iron and Steel Company, and from this time forth the progress of the town was most rapid. The company in question produce nearly a quarter of a million tons of pig-iron annually. The mines of iron ore in the neighbourhood are of great richness. About one hundred and

* "Lectures on Spectrum Analysis."

twenty thousand tons of ore are annually shipped for South Wales and Staffordshire, while of four hundred and eighty thousand tons more, part is sent to other districts by rail, and the remainder is smelted on the spot. In 1868 it was estimated that the eleven blast-furnaces at Hindpool would yield 55,000 tons of railway iron weekly, or 286,000 tons annually, which, at only £4 a ton, would be worth £1,444,806. "The steel-works, when in full operation, could convert weekly about a thousand tons of pig-iron into Bessemer steel;" and the 52,000 tons of Bessemer steel thus annually produced, selling at £12 to £14 per ton, would be worth more than three-quarters of a million sterling. The quantity of pig-iron manufactured by the Barrow company was only 22,592 tons in 1860. It was 167,584 tons in 1867, and was, as above stated, estimated at 286,000 tons in 1868. It was considered that at that time the firm, if not already, would soon become the largest iron-manufacturing company in the world.

Such was the description given, as it were but yesterday, of this youngest of the more notable manufacturing towns of England. But so rapid is its progress, that every day makes the description more and more inadequate. On a recent occasion, Sir John Ramsden, to whose intelligence, energy, and enterprise the town is greatly indebted for its marvellous growth and prosperity, stated that the works in process of erection would, in the course of a few years, bring the population of the town and district up to between fifty and sixty thousand souls.

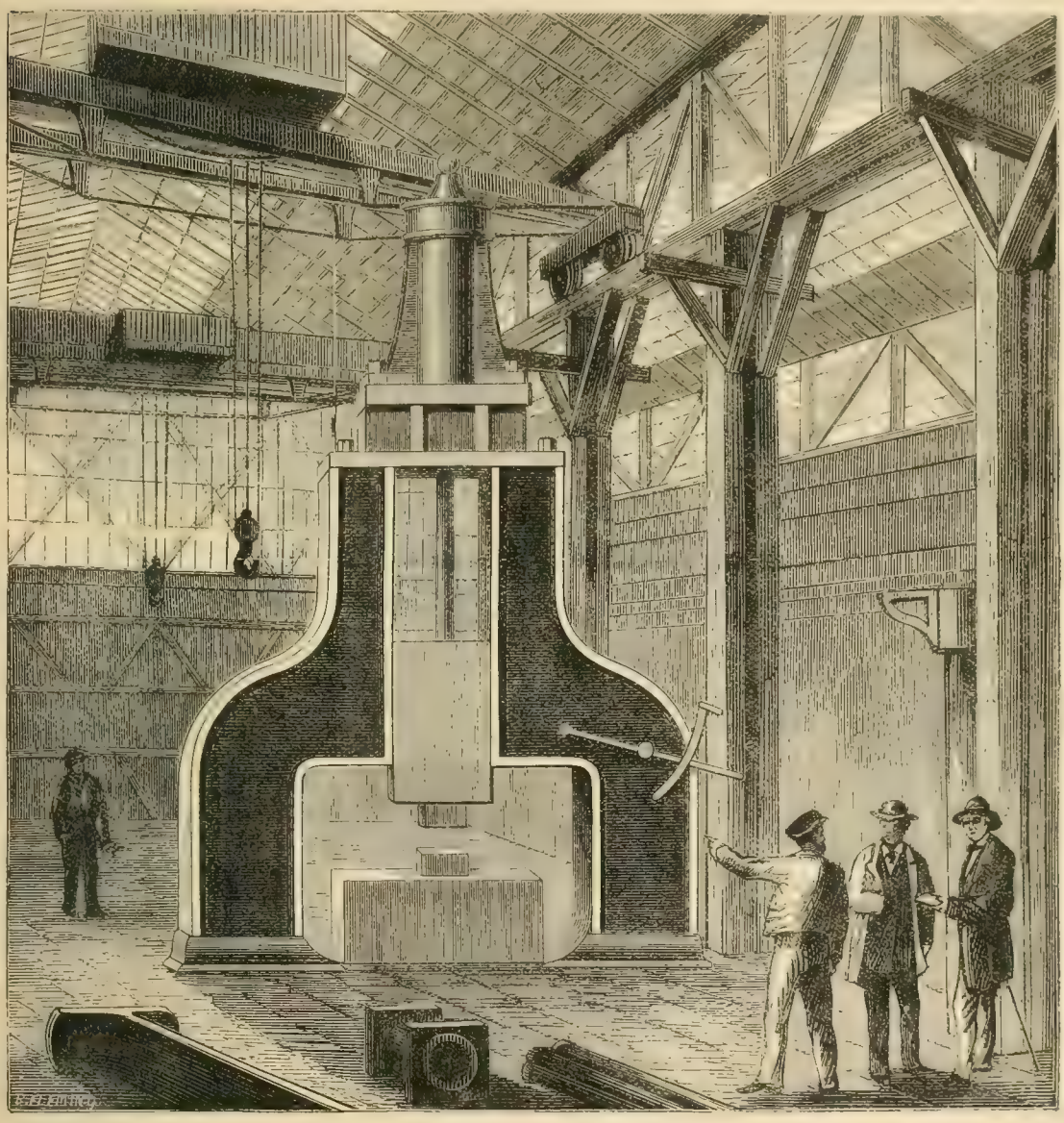
Another town which has been recently called into existence by the development of the iron manufactures is Middlesborough, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The enormous iron trade of the Cleveland district dates only from the year 1851—that is, about ten years earlier than that of Barrow. In 1829 there was but a single farm-house where Middlesborough now stands. A shipping trade sprang up after that date, and by 1851 the town had a population of between seven and eight thousand (7,431).



BARON LIEBIG

Then commenced the new industry; and in the course of the next twenty years the population had multiplied itself fivefold, the inhabitants in 1871 numbering no fewer than 39,563. The discovery of iron ore in the Cleveland district, of which Middlesborough is the centre, took place a little before 1851, in which year the first blast-furnace was erected in the district. In 1871 there were seventy blast-furnaces within four miles of the centre of Middlesborough, some of them producing each from four to five hundred tons of pig-iron weekly. The Cleveland district, in fact, in 1871 produced nearly as much pig-iron as all Scotland or the whole of South Wales; the produce in each case being more than a million tons per annum. The iron, however, is not of such quality as that of South Wales or Scotland. Some of the works in this new district are on an immense scale—at one of them there being as many as seven thousand men employed.

The quantity of ore raised from the mines of the United Kingdom in 1871 was 16,334,889 tons, from which there were more than six and a half million tons of pig-iron produced. In 1855 Mr. Touran estimated the total producing power of the country at less than four and a half million tons annually, and the actual produce of that year was only 3,218,154 tons. The value of the latter was £8,045,385, while the value of the pig-iron produced in 1871 was £16,667,947 sterling. The quantity produced had, therefore, increased in the sixteen years by 3,409,025 tons, and the value by £8,622,562 sterling. Our total exports of all classes of iron and iron manufactures was not more than 919,479 tons in 1851; the value of which was less than eight millions sterling. In 1871 our iron exports were not less than 3,169,219 tons in weight, and their value was £27,647,772. In fact, Great Britain produces now about half the iron annually obtained throughout the world. The rapid progress the manufacture has made in the United Kingdom is apparent when it is stated that it rose from 124,879 tons in 1796 to 1,512,000 tons in 1839, or to rather more than twelve times the quantity in this interval of forty-three years. In 1871 the quantity produced was 6,627,179 tons, or more than four times as much as in 1839.



NASMYTH'S STEAM HAMMER.

The great establishments of English mechanical engineers and workers in iron are among the modern wonders of the world. Here, to use the words of Mr. Sime, the spectator may see "iron blocks squeezed between rollers or compressed in the jaws of an iron alligator,—two or three welded into one, or formed into

a sheet, and squeezed out to greater thinness; huge shears working with marvellous rapidity, clipping three-quarter-inch (iron) plates at the rate of ten feet each stroke; circular saws, moving with greater speed than the fastest railway trains, cutting railway bars in two with a precision otherwise unattainable; heavy hammers uniting ponderous bars of iron; slight ones, striking a thousand times a minute, assisting in manufacturing the smallest articles required with the utmost rapidity and accuracy; holes punched through masses of iron almost a foot thick as easily as if they were pieces of wood or cheese; and sheets nailed together with a firmness that gives to hundreds of united plates the stiffness of one."

Without some invention similar to the steam hammer of Mr. Nasmyth, many modern forgings in iron could not have been executed. That gentleman patented this remarkable and powerful machine originally in the year 1842, since which time it has been variously improved. The merit of the original invention, however, belongs to Mr. Nasmyth, who, like his contemporaries, Sir Joseph Whitworth and Sir W. Fairbairn, was a mechanical engineer, of Manchester. A steam hammer may be described as consisting of a ponderous hammer carrying with it the engine which works it. The steam cylinder is fixed in a vertical position high above the anvil. The steam acts directly on the hammer-rod, without the intervention of flywheels, cranks, or levers. The hammer moves up and down in the grooves of the frame. The power of steam until recently was applied only in raising the hammer. In this arrangement it is the weight of the hammer alone which brings it down, and which is applied in the process of hammering. The force, however, with which the hammer falls, is nevertheless placed under the control of the self-acting apparatus, which is, indeed, one of the most admirable parts of the machine. This portion of the machine is so fitted as to modify the degree in which the steam is allowed to act on the piston, whereby it is possible to cause the hammer at one moment to fall with sufficient force to crush a huge mass of iron, and yet the next moment to give a tap so light as to crack a nutshell without crushing the kernel. In the words of Mr. Sime, "The heaviest work is forged under the blows of this ponderous hammer, which acts with an energy that the strength of iron cannot withstand, and yet is kept in such control that a nutshell may be cracked or an egg chipped as easily as iron beams are welded or shaped." Within the last few years steam hammers of enormous size have been coming into use. Their weight, but ten years ago, was generally stated in hundredweights, but they have so grown apace that they are now commonly estimated in tons. Steam hammers whose heads weigh twenty tons are not uncommon in the larger iron and steel works. In the arsenal at Woolwich is a steam hammer of thirty tons; and a still more ponderous example, in which steam is used in depressing as well as elevating the hammer, is being fitted up at the time this is written.

Another invention, which has greatly contributed to accuracy in iron work, is an instrument invented by Mr. Henry Maudslay, and which is known as the slide-rest. In the manufacture of the cylinders of steam-engines, for instance, the workman formerly had only his eye to depend on in making them of uniform diameter, as it is requisite they should be, from top to bottom. The same was the case also in the planing of the valve faces, or turning the piston-rods, and in all the most critical operations of machine making. In using the cutting tool, the workman held one end of it against his chest, and a certain want of uniformity in the workmanship was inevitable. Now, by the use of the slide-rest, the planing-machine takes off the shavings to a uniform depth, and secures a uniform thickness. The machine slides the cutting tool along of itself, and the workman has nothing to do, except at the commencement and conclusion of the operation. "This principle, so simple in its nature, has been applied to the turning of rods, the planing of surfaces, the boring of cylinders, the formation of cones, the cutting of screws, and other purposes; and nine-tenths of all the fine mechanism is through the agency of the slide-rest and the planing-machine."

This latter machine owes its perfection to Sir Joseph Whitworth; and, indeed, the accuracy of workmanship which has of late years become general in the productions of mechanical engineering is largely to be attributed to the improvements introduced at various times by this celebrated engineer. As early as 1840 he described before the British Association a method he had devised for giving to plates of metal a greater perfection of surface than it had before been possible to attain. His mode of preparing plane metallic surfaces has since then been generally adopted, and by enabling greater accuracy to be attained in fittings, and by diminishing friction, this improvement has greatly added to the excellence and utility of all the most important and delicate kinds of mechanism.

Another valuable result of Sir J. Whitworth's labours was the introduction of a uniform and accurate system of cutting the threads of screws. The importance of the screw as an element in accurate mechanical construction can hardly be exaggerated, as any one may convince himself, by observing the number of screws employed in holding together the parts of a steam-engine. Some improvements had been introduced by Mr. Henry Maudslay; but it was not until Whitworth turned his attention to the subject, and had drawn up a methodical scale, that a uniform system was generally adopted. Previously to this period, every manufacturer followed his own ideas. The bolts and nuts coming from different quarters never fitted each other, and the want of uniformity caused constant trouble, confusion, and expense.

Sir Joseph Whitworth remedied the evil by collecting screw bolts from all the principal manufacturers in England. He then took the average of the pitch and depth of the threads of each dimension, and thereon founded a systematic scale. The uniformity of thread he introduced has since then been adopted by all the leading railway and private engineering establishments, as well as at the arsenals, dockyards, and other works belonging to the Government; and it has even extended to the best engineering works abroad.

It was with the same purpose of improving the quality of workmanship that Sir Joseph Whitworth invented his measuring machine. In describing this exquisite piece of apparatus before the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, the inventor said: "I have brought with me for your inspection a small machine by which a difference in length of one-millionth part of an inch is at once detected. The principle is that of employing the sense of touch instead of sight. If any object be placed between two parallel true planes, adjusted so that the hand can just feel them in contact, you will find, on moving the planes only one fifty-thousandth of an inch nearer together, that the object is distinctly tighter, requiring greater force to move it between them. In the machine the object to be measured is the standard inch, in the form of a small square bar, both ends being true planes; and in this case, in order to measure with the utmost accuracy, a thin, flat piece or bar is also introduced, having its two sides also made perfect planes.

"This is placed between the inch bar to be measured and one of the end surfaces of the machine. If this thin bar is brought into closer contact by even the one-millionth of an inch, it will be suspended, friction overcoming its gravity. This machine and a larger one are used for making standards of length. When the standard yard, which is a square bar of steel, is placed in the larger machine, and the thin, flat piece is adjusted so as just to fall by its weight, the heat imparted by the slightest touch of the finger instantly prevents its fall, thus showing the lengthening of the bar by so small an amount of heat as that I have indicated. We have, therefore, in this mode of measurement, all the accuracy we can desire; and we find, in practice in the workshop, that it is easier to work to the ten-thousandth of an inch from standard of end measure—that is, by help of the new machine—than to the one-hundredth of an inch from the lines on a two-foot rule." With the help of the new machine, it is therefore possible, with less trouble, to attain workmanship a hundred times as accurate as could be accomplished without it.

When, in 1855, Sir Joseph Whitworth turned his attention to the best mode of rifling firearms, it is not surprising that he succeeded in attaining results which surpassed all former achievements. His hexagonal-bored rifle shot farther and more accurately than had ever before been known. His rifled 68-pounder gun was the first to penetrate the four and a half inch iron armour with which the vessels of the royal navy were being plated; and in 1862, in a trial for long range, his nine-inch 310-pounder sent a ball to the unprecedented distance of 11,343 yards, or nearly seven miles.

In regard to the application of wrought-iron to the construction of bridges, buildings, &c., Sir William Fairbairn says that "it was not until some examples had been achieved on a colossal scale that the engineering profession would believe in the possibility of tubular girders and bridges. The investigations and experiments which led to the design and construction of the Britannia and Conway tubular bridges were, however, too convincing to be resisted by the most sceptical. It soon became manifest that an entirely new sphere of action was open to the engineer and the architect." Wrought-iron bridges and girders, though of recent invention, are already amongst the commonest of engineering works; and since the execution of the gigantic works of Stephenson and Fairbairn in wrought-iron, a knowledge of those properties of this metal, which they were the first to utilise, has become one of the most important parts of the education of the civil as well as the mechanical engineer. Of the Britannia bridge it has been said that chains were as unnecessary to support it as intermediate piers (even if the latter could have been built). Its strength is derived from a different source from either. The roof of the bridge consists of two iron platforms, one foot nine inches apart, and fourteen feet broad. The intervening space between the platforms is divided into eight equal parts, by partitions of iron running from end to end of the bridge; and the cells thus formed keep the tube from giving way to compression in the top, where the material is most liable to be injured. Such, in fact, is the cellular or tubular principle of construction which was devised by Sir William Fairbairn, and which was adopted in the construction, not only of the Britannia bridge, but also of the *Great Eastern* steam-ship, and of numberless other important works. The *Great Eastern*, the deck of which, built on the principle advocated by Mr. Bourne, is strong enough to balance the bottom, is virtually nothing more or less than a huge hollow iron girder.

"It is now more than thirty years," wrote Sir W. Fairbairn, in 1861, "since it was found desirable to increase the power of steam-engines employed in manufactures; and instead of engines of from 20 to 50 nominal horse-power, as much as 100, and in some cases 200-horse-power, were required to meet the demand. To keep pace with the rapid extension of our manufactures, not only was the power itself doubled, and in some cases quadrupled, but a new class of men was brought into existence as mechanical engineers; and these, with the facilities afforded by new constructions and improvements of tools, gave to the manufacture of machinery of every description an impetus that in a few years—among other things—produced steam-engines in the accelerated ratio of ten to one."

For some years previous to the great demand for enhanced power, mills were driven by single engines, some of as much as 50 or 60-horse-power; but these had soon to give place to others of still greater force, or what was found to answer much better, two were employed coupled together as one engine. Working thus in pairs, they were found to afford greater uniformity of action, from the cranks being placed at right angles. Again, it was found that the speed of 240 feet per minute, considered as the maximum by Watt, was insufficient with the increasing demand for power, and speeds from 350 to 400 feet per minute are now become general. This increase of speed, however, was again soon found inadequate to satisfy the ever-growing requirements for power; and engineers, led by Fairbairn and others,

proceeded to utilise still further the expansive force of watery vapour, and to increase the pressure of steam. With the application of steam at increased high-pressure, and an improved principle in the construction of boilers, steam-engines are now made to perform the same amount of work at a cost of only half the amount of fuel that was necessary a few years ago.

"In steam-engines," says Mr. Bourne,* in his latest work on this subject, "the tendency is now towards higher piston speeds and higher pressures of steam: and high piston speeds require superior workmanship, especially in the bearings, to prevent heating; and the momentum also of the reciprocating parts should be balanced by counterweights. Unless the bearings of engines are very accurately formed, the oil is forced out of the protuberant or touching parts, and the surfaces heat; whereas, when the rubbing surfaces are very true, the oil is spread over them in a thin film, and metallic contact is prevented. In the engines of the *Hercules*, which are of 1,200 nominal horse-power, the speed of the piston is 648 feet per minute. In many steam-vessels a pressure of steam of 60 lbs. and upwards is now employed. These engines are fitted with surface condensers; and the steam, after acting by high-pressure in one cylinder, is dismissed into the other, where it acts as low-pressure steam. The consumption of coal is reduced by this arrangement to about 2 lbs. per actual horse-power per hour."

As an instance of the most powerful locomotive engines, the "Iron Duke," used upon the Great Western Railway, may be mentioned. In this engine the cylinders are eighteen inches in diameter, and twenty-four inches stroke. The grate contains twenty-one square feet of area, and there are 305 tubes of two inches diameter in the boiler. The total heating surface is 1,952 square feet, and a cubic foot of water may be evaporated every hour by each five square feet of heating surface. An engine like this, therefore, will exert the power of 750 horses.

In 1868 it was computed by Sir W. Fairbairn that the steam-engines employed in the manufacturing and mining industries of the United Kingdom had an aggregate working capacity of 3,600,000 horse-power; that those employed in steam navigation were equal to 2,420,000 horse-power; and those on railways, consisting of 8,000 locomotives averaging 500 horse-power each, were equal to 4,000,000 horse-power. If this estimate be correct, the total steam-power of the United Kingdom at the date in question was equal to the powers of ten millions and twenty thousand horses. One-fifth of this enormous force was, in the opinion of the same eminent engineer, employed in the manufactures, mills, mines, railways, and shipping of the two counties which are the seat of the cotton industry—the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire—alone.

It would not be easy to enumerate many commodities of greater apparent insignificance than that unpretentious product of the iron industry, the common nail; and yet there are few things of more universal utility. How much is added to the convenience of life by the existence of a cheap and abundant supply of common nails, can only be realised if we would once imagine ourselves without them.

Hutton, in his "History of Birmingham," speaking of the manufacture of these invaluable little articles in the last century, says: "When I first approached Birmingham, in 1741, I was surprised at the prodigious number of blacksmiths' shops upon the road, and could not conceive how the country, though populous, could support so many people of the same occupation. In some of these shops I observed one or more females, stripped of their upper garments, and not overcharged with their lower, wielding the hammer with all the grace of their sex. The beauties of their faces were rather eclipsed by the smut of the anvil. Struck with the novelty, I inquired whether the ladies of this country shoed horses, but was answered, with a smile, 'They are nailers!'"

Since that time, when each separate nail had to be made by hand with the help of the most primitive tools, machinery has been introduced whereby the power of production has been incalculably increased. Among the most recent improvements in nail-making machinery may be mentioned an apparatus shown by an English firm at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, which is capable of turning out upwards of half a million nails each working day. The shaft of the machine revolves 120 times per minute, producing eight nails, with head, shank, and point complete, at each revolution, and therefore turning out 960 nails per minute, or 57,600 per hour. Robinson's machine, patented in 1866, instead of operating on a single slip of sheet iron of the width required by the length of the nail, cuts out four rows at once; and one workman is able to manage two of these machines. A new kind of nail, which has been recently introduced from the Continent, and is much used by shoemakers, saddlers, joiners, and others, is made of round wire. The advantage they offer is that they do not cut or split the fibre of the wood so much as square-edged nails, while, at the same time, they are found to hold with greater firmness.

The nails used in shoeing horses are a special class, in which a superior quality of metal and a peculiar shape are requisite. An experienced workman cannot, it is said, as a rule, make more than 1,000 horse-shoe nails a day. It is estimated that of this special kind of nails about one thousand millions are annually produced in England, weighing 5,580 tons, of which about 2,000 tons are exported. An ingenious machine has been patented by Mr. Huggett, by which this class of nails is produced of uniform excellence and quality, and with far greater rapidity than by hand. It was first brought into operation in London. The great centre for the manufacture of nails is still Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire; and now, as in the last century, a very large number of women are employed in the trade. At the census of 1871 there were 10,864 women and 12,367 men returned as nail-makers, making a total of 23,231 persons employed in this manufacture in England and Wales alone.

* "[illegible] Improvements of the Steam-Engine."

CHAPTER LIV.

Coal: Its Value and Power—Rapidly increasing Consumption in Nineteenth Century—How Consumed—Coal used in the Iron Manufacture, &c.—Value of Coal produced in 1861 and 1871 compared with value of Metals produced in those Years—Enormous Waste in Consumption—Fuel-saving Apparatus—Waste in Production of Steam Power—Mr. Hull and Sir W. Armstrong on the Duration of British Coal—Professor Jevons's Work on the Coal Question—Appointment of Royal Commission on Coal—Aggregate Coal Produce 1781-1853, and 1854-1863; also 1781-1861, and 1861-1871—Professor Jevons's Estimate of Future Consumption of Coal at Rate of Increase up to 1864—Inference therefrom—Contents of British Coal-Beds—Estimates by Royal Commissioners of Future Coal Consumption—Their Concluding Remarks on the Coal Question—Area of European and American Coal-Fields.

"Day by day it becomes more evident," says Professor Jevons, "that the coal we happily possess in excellent quality and abundance is the mainspring of modern material civilisation. As the source of fire, it is the source at once of mechanical motion and of chemical change. Accordingly, it is the chief agent in almost every improvement or discovery in the arts which the present age brings forth. It is to us indispensable for domestic purposes, and it has of late years been found to yield a series of organic substances which puzzle us by their complexity, please us by their beautiful colours, and serve us by their various utility.

"As the source especially of steam and iron, coal is all-powerful. This age has been called the Iron Age, and it is true that iron is the material of most great novelties. By its strength, endurance, and wide range of qualities, this metal is fitted to be the fulcrum and lever of great works, while steam is the motive power. But coal alone can command in sufficient abundance either the iron or the steam; and coal, therefore, commands this age—the Age of Coal.

"Coal, in truth, stands not beside, but entirely above, all other commodities. It is the material energy of the country, the universal aid, the factor in everything we do. With coal, almost any feat is possible; without it, we are thrown back into the laborious poverty of early times."*

A rough idea of the inherent powers of coal may be formed by comparing it with the average amount of labour a man performs in the course of his life. Estimating a lifetime of work at twenty years, with 300 working days in each year, we find that the life labour of a man consists, on the average, of 6,000 days. It is estimated that the same amount of power as is put forth by a man in his 6,000 days' work could be obtained from no more than three tons of coal. Every acre of a coal-seam, yielding throughout a yard net of pure coal, is capable of exerting as much power as is equivalent to the life work of 1,667 men, or to the labour of more than thirty-three thousand men working for a whole year. In the year 1871 there were 117,352,028 tons of coal produced in the United Kingdom, or about forty square miles of coal a yard thick. In that single year, therefore, the coal that was raised was capable of performing as much mechanical labour as almost forty millions of men working for twenty years. In other words, it was equivalent to the work of nearly eight hundred millions of able-bodied men working for a whole year; and this is more than twice as many able-bodied men as there are in the entire population of the globe. It is to the possession and use of this vast source of power that the manufacturing supremacy of Britain is due, and to this she owes that unparalleled prosperity which, as has been shown in former chapters, she has enjoyed in the most recent times.

What it is for a people to be without coal is admirably illustrated by the contrast between the material progress of England and Ireland. For practical purposes, Ireland may be said to be without coal. In spite of the large area of the Irish coal-measures, there are only seventy-three collieries, of which barely two-thirds are at work. In 1864 the total produce was 125,000 tons, and was on the decrease; a fact attributable to the inferior quality of the Irish coal, and, in addition, to the great cost of raising it, as compared with English or Scotch coal. It is not so much legislation, but rather the coal and steam-engines of England which have abolished the manufactures of Ireland. To increase her manufactures, Ireland would have to purchase coal, the principal requisite in modern manufacturing industry, from England. Hence she cannot compete with the latter, and remains, therefore, dependent chiefly on agriculture, and condemned to comparative poverty.

As it is in the nineteenth century that the wealth of the United Kingdom has increased more rapidly than at any previous time, so we find that it is in the same period that the coal industry has risen from comparative insignificance to the rank of one of the first industries of the country. And just as it is in the first twenty years of the second half of the century that this increase of wealth has been most rapid, so again it is in the same years that the production of coal, its vital source and cause, has likewise been most abundant.

In 1660 the amount of coal produced in the United Kingdom, according to the best authorities,* was 2,250,000 tons, and in 1700 it had increased by only 364,000 tons. In 1750 the amount had advanced to 4,773,828 tons. In 1800 the quantity raised exceeded eight million tons, after which period the production, owing to the facilities of carriage presented by the development of the canal system, rapidly increased. In 1816 the quantity produced was, according to the most moderate estimate, 16,000,000 tons, or double the amount produced but sixteen years before. It was not, however, till 1854 that adequate provisions existed for ascertaining with some approach to accuracy the actual amount of coal extracted in the United Kingdom. By that year the country was intersected with railways, and the quantity produced in 1854 was, according to official records, not less than 64,661,401 tons. In 1861 the quantity was 83,635,214 tons; in 1859, 107,427,557 tons; and in 1871, 117,352,028 tons. Railways, themselves the offspring of coal,—for coal was their material as well as "final" cause,—have stimulated enormously the production of the mineral. The quantity carried by a single company—the North-Eastern—from the Northumberland and Durham coal-field rose from 2,718,599 tons in 1859

* "On the Coal Question."

* "Report of the Commissioners upon Matters relating to Coal."

to 8,280,310 tons in 1869—a threefold increase in the course of the ten years.

To show in detail how the vast mass of British coal is employed would be to show how the principal portion of the mechanical work of all branches of trade and manufactures in the United Kingdom is performed. The Coal Commissioners have, in fact, pursued the inquiry as far as was practicable for the coal raised in the year 1869, and they give the following interesting summary of the result:—

	Tons.
Total Quantity of Coal Produced in 1869	107,427,557
„ „ Exported „	9,775,470
Left for Home Consumption	97,652,087
Coal Used in Iron Manufacture	32,446,606
„ Metallurgies other than Iron ...	859,231
„ Mines and Collieries	7,225,423
„ Gas and Water Works	7,811,980
„ Steam-ships	3,277,562
„ on Railways	2,027,500
„ in General Manufactures, Steam Power, &c.	25,327,213
Domestic Consumption...	18,481,527
Miscellaneous	195,045
	97,652,087

From this table, it is seen that the amount used for domestic purposes is by no means the most considerable item. On the other hand, the consumption in the iron manufacture forms nearly one-third of the entire quantity produced, and the use of coal for that purpose is a rapidly growing one. In 1855 the quantity employed in the iron manufacture was 19,500,000 tons; it was 23,000,000 in 1860; 28,750,000 in 1865; and 32,250,000 in 1869. The amount applied to all other purposes was not quite 40,000,000 in 1855; 49,500,000 in 1860; 60,000,000 in 1865; and not quite 65,000,000 in 1869. The coal exported, though not a very large proportion of the whole, has, nevertheless, rapidly increased. From 5,000,000 tons in 1855 it rose to 7,250,000 in 1860, upwards of 9,000,000 in 1865, and 10,250,000 in 1869.

In regard to the use of coal in the manufacture of iron, Mr. Leifchild states that in Staffordshire about twenty-four hundredweights of coal are consumed in producing from pig-iron one ton of puddled iron, the rate of consumption being about four pounds per minute, or two hundred and forty pounds per hour. In the case of the finer qualities, however, as much as five tons of coal are requisite to obtain a ton of the metal from the crude pig-iron. In 1869, when it was estimated that not less than 32,207,706 tons of coal were used in the iron manufacture alone, there were 16,337,271 tons consumed in the production of pig-iron from the ore, and 15,859,335 tons in the conversion of pig-iron into the malleable state. Dr. Percy estimates that from thirteen to eighteen tons of coal are consumed in producing a ton of copper from the ore, and in 1869 it was calculated that the total amount of coal used in copper-smelting in Britain was 149,238 tons. In the same year, the lead ore raised was 966,868 tons, which, together with the lead ore imported, consumed 177,577 tons of coal in smelting and desilvering. The coal used in the smelting of zinc ores raised and imported amounted in the same year to 231,176 tons. About two and a half millions of tons were consumed in the cotton manufacture, and one and a quarter in the woollen manufactures. Manufactures and steam navigation together are estimated to have consumed upwards of thirty millions of tons of coal in the production of steam power in the year 1871.

Mr. I. Lowthian Bell, the President of the Iron and Steel Institute, in an address to that body, stated that in 1872 the coal raised in the United Kingdom was, speaking roughly, disposed of as follows:—Of every 1,000 tons of coal produced, six tons were employed in the paper manufacture; eight tons in smelting copper, lead, tin and zinc; fourteen in water works; eighteen in breweries and distilleries; nineteen in chemical manufactures; twenty in railway works; thirty in steam navigation; thirty-one in clay and glass works and lime-kilns; forty-two in textile manufactures, wool cotton, silk, flax, and jute; sixty in gas works; sixty-seven in mining operations; ninety-two in exports to foreign countries; 121 in miscellaneous purposes, chiefly for steam-engines; 172 for domestic purposes; and 300 in the manufacture of iron and steel. Hence it appears that the last-mentioned manufacture continues to consume nearly one-third of the whole of the coal raised. In that year there were 123,000,000 tons produced in the United Kingdom, and the total number of persons occupied in coal-mining was estimated at 412,634.

The estimated value at the mines of the 83,635,214 tons of coal raised in 1861 was £20,908,803. The 117,352,028 tons produced in 1871 were estimated to be of the value of £35,205,608. The value of the pig-iron produced in 1861 was £9,280,975, and in 1871 it was £16,667,947; so that the coal raised at both periods was of more than double the value of the pig-iron obtained. The total value of coal and all the metals produced in 1861 was £34,602,863, and in 1871, £55,385,378; so that the coal produce was of greater value at each period than all the metals put together, including iron, copper lead, tin, zinc, silver, and gold.

THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF THE COAL AND METALS PRODUCED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1861 AND 1871.

	1861.		1871.	
Coal . . .	83,635,214 tons	£20,908,803	117,352,028 tons	£35,205,608
Pig-Iron. .	3,712,390 „	9,280,975	6,627,179 „	16,667,947
Copper (Fine). .	15,331 „	1,572,480	6,280 „	475,143
Lead (Metallic) . .	65,634 „	1,445,255	69,056 „	1,251,815
Tin . . .	7,450 „	910,762	10,900 „	1,498,750
Zinc . . .	4,415 „	79,101	4,966 „	92,743
Silver from Lead . .	569,530 oz.	144,161	761,490 oz.	190,373
Gold and other Metals. . .	—	250,500	—	3,300
Total Value.	—	£34,602,863	—	£55,385,378

THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF THE BRITISH GOLD OBTAINED IN RECENT YEARS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

Year.	Quantity.	Value.	Year.	Quantity.	Value.
1861	2,784 oz.	£10,816	1866	743 oz.	£2,656
1862	5,209 „	20,390	1867	1,520 „	5,890
1863	552 „	1,747	1868	1,012 „	3,522
1864	2,887 „	9,991	1869	18 „	63
1865	1,664 „	5,824	1870	191 „	750

The waste that takes place under all existing ways of using coal is enormous. If the full power of a pound of coal were obtained from it, it would be capable of lifting 10,800,000 lbs. weight a foot high. But in "practice" the highest result hitherto attained is equivalent to the lifting no more than 1,200,000 lbs. a foot high. And it is reported "that, with arrangements acknowledged to be most economical for burning coal, so that as little heat as is possible shall be wasted, the highest practical result is still below one-tenth of the theoretical duty," or power; but as even this is a very exceptional case, "it becomes certain that not more than one-thirtieth of the whole theoretical value of the coal is at present realised in power."* In the manufacture of iron in the blast-furnace, nearly two-thirds of the amount of heat produced by the coal still escapes from the mouth of the furnace without performing any useful work; and this although a saving of 10 per cent. had been made in the course of the last ten years in the operation of smelting. The waste in the production of steam power is very great.

SIR W. FAIRBAIRN.

Sir W. Armstrong shows that, in the best steam-engines made, not much more than one-tenth of the real power of coal is utilised, while in the common high-pressure engines twenty-nine parts out of the thirty are thrown away. There have been numerous devices introduced for effecting economy, but none of them have yet become general; and Sir W. Fairbairn states that it will be necessary to introduce engines of far higher pressure than those hitherto in use before any large economy will be effected. The ordin-

* "Report of Coal Commissioners, 1871."

consumption of coal in common engines is from 7 to 11 lbs. per horse-power per hour, while in the most improved engines it is not more than from 2 to 2½ lbs. Sir Daniel Gooch states, that the average consumption per horse-power each hour in the engines of Great Britain is about 8 lbs., while in good railway locomotive engines it is not more than 3 lbs. The ordinary open fireplaces in English houses are exceedingly wasteful, as well as wrong in principle as a means of warming houses. Dr. Arnott's stove, in which the fuel is lighted at the top, and very little smoke is produced, would, if generally adopted, effect a saving of 50 per cent., or one half of the fuel used for domestic purposes. The increased price of coal in the most recent years has caused much attention to be paid to the problem of economising the domestic consumption of fuel, and numerous devices have been proposed for that purpose.

The rapidly increasing consumption of coal in the United Kingdom in the present century was a phenomenon which had, from time to time, arrested the attention of practical and scientific men; amongst whom Robert Bald, a Scotch writer, and Dr. Buckland, in his Bridgwater Treatise, clearly perceived the national importance of the question of the limits and probable duration of the future coal supply. But it was only in the second half of this century that the question received the attention it deserved. In 1860 Mr. E. Hull estimated the total available contents of the known coal-beds of Britain at about seventy-nine thousand eight hundred and forty-three millions of tons, and showed that at the rate of consumption prevailing in the year 1859, the whole of this store would be exhausted in 1,100 years. "Yet," he added, "we have no right to assume that such will be the actual duration, for the history of coal-mining during the last half century has been one of rapid advance." Between 1840 and 1860 the consumption had doubled, and if it went on doubling itself every twenty years in future, he anticipated that "our total available supply would be exhausted before the lapse of the year 2,034, so that if we had reason to expect that the consumption of future years was to progress in the same ratio, we might well tremble for the result, for that would be nothing less than the utter exhaustion of our coal-fields (with its concomitant influence on our population and on our commercial and national prosperity) in the short space of 172 years." Mr. Hull, however, did not anticipate so rapid a rate of consumption, and added, "I am inclined to place the possible maximum of production at one hundred millions of tons a year; and yet it has been shown that with this enormous output there is enough coal to last eight centuries."

In an address delivered before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1864, Sir William Armstrong fairly brought the question before the public. "The greatness of England," he said, "much depends on the superiority of her coal in cheapness and quality over that of other nations; but we have already drawn from our coal-mines a far larger quantity of coal than has been raised in all other parts of the world put together, and the time is not remote when we shall have to encounter the disadvantage of increased cost of working and diminished value of produce. Estimates have been made at various periods of the time which would be required to produce complete exhaustion of all the accessible coal in the British Islands. The estimates are certainly discordant, but the discrepancies arise not from any important disagreement as to the available quantity of coal, but in the enormous difference in the rate of consumption at the various dates when the estimates were made, and also from the different views which have been entertained as to the probable increase of consumption in future years." And then, estimating the future increase at the rate prevailing during the eight years up to 1861, which was 2,750,000 tons annually, Sir William computed that, with their total contents of eighty thousand million tons, the coal-beds of Britain would only supply the country for 212 years. "It is clear," he continued, "that long before complete exhaustion takes place, England will have ceased to be a coal-producing country on an extensive scale; and other nations, and especially the United States of America, which possess coal-fields thirty-seven times more extensive than ours, will then be working more accessible beds at a smaller cost, and will be able to displace the English coal from every market. The question is not how long our coal will endure before absolute exhaustion is effected, but how long will those particular coal-seams last which yield coal of a quality and at a price to enable this country to maintain her present supremacy in manufacturing industry. So far as the Newcastle coal-field is concerned, it is generally admitted that 200 years will be sufficient to exhaust the principal seams, even at the present rate of working. If the production should continue to increase as it is now doing, the duration of these seams will not reach half that period." And he added, that in regard to other districts, he found that the same rapid exhaustion of the most valuable seams was everywhere taking place.

At this point the subject was taken up by Mr. W. Stanley Jevons, a young writer, up to that time unknown, who, in 1865, published his memorable treatise on "The Coal Question." This work—whose author soon afterwards became a professor at Owen's College, Manchester—at once arrested the attention of the leading thinkers of the time. In the House of Commons Mr. John Stuart Mill and Mr. W. E. Gladstone acknowledged the deep impression the book had made upon their minds, and the result was the appointment, in 1866, of a royal commission, "to inquire into the several matters relating to coal in the United Kingdom." The principal points which the arguments of Professor Jevons went to prove were—that coal was the foundation of the manufacturing and commercial supremacy, and, therefore, of the prosperity of the country; that there was no probability of any efficient substitute being discovered for it when exhausted; that neither the discovery of a substitute nor greater economy in the consumption of coal would avail to maintain the manufacturing and commercial preponderance of Britain over other nations; that the increase in the consumption of coal was progressing in a geometrical ratio, like compound interest, and that if this

rate be maintained, the whole of the available contents of the ascertained coal-fields would be exhausted in 110 years; that a reduction in the ratio of increase of the consumption meant a check to the manufactures and prosperity of the country; that this reduction must inevitably come within a comparatively short period, and that, therefore, probably within a lifetime, England must be prepared to enter on a future of comparatively diminished prosperity, and to see the manufacturing and commercial pre-eminence she had hitherto enjoyed in the world pass to other nations—probably the United States of America. It was to ascertain, as far as could possibly be done by the examination of all available authorities, how far these positions were well founded that the Coal Commission was appointed. The report of the commissioners was published in 1871, and, in the most essential particulars, bore out the positions advanced by Professor Jevons.

"In coal," writes Professor Jevons, "we pre-eminently have, as the partner of Watt said, 'what all the world wants —Power.' All things considered, it is not reasonable to suppose or expect that the power of coal will ever be superseded by anything better. It is the naturally best source of power, as air and water, and iron and gold, are, each for its own purposes, the most useful substances, and such as will never be superseded. If our coal were gone, or nearly so, and of high price, we might find wind and water and tidal mills a profitable substitute for coal. But this would only be on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread. It would not enable us to keep up our old efficiency, or to compete with nations enjoying yet undiminished stores of fuel.

"Comparative cheapness of fuel, moreover, cannot be produced or retained by inventions and modes of economy which are as open to our commercial competitors as to ourselves, and which have in many cases been introduced by them and are more readily adopted by versatile foreigners than by English manufacturers, bound by custom and routine. Even our superior capital will not avail us against dear fuel, because nothing more readily flows abroad in search of profitable employment than capital.

"Among the residual possibilities of unforeseen events it is just possible that some day the sunbeams may be collected, or that some source of force now unknown may be detected. But such a discovery would (in all probability) simply destroy our peculiar industrial supremacy."

These views of Professor Jevons are supported by the highest scientific authorities. Thus Professor Tyndall says, "I see no prospect of any substitute being found for coal as a source of motive power. We have, it is true, our winds and streams and tides, and we have the beams of the sun. But these are common to all the world. We cannot make head against a nation which, in addition to these sources of power, possesses the power of coal. We may enjoy more than their physical and intellectual energy, and still be unable to hold our own against a people which possesses abundance of coal; and we should have, in my opinion, no chance whatever in a race with a nation which, in addition to abundant coal, has energy and intelligence approximately equal to our own. It is no new thing for me to affirm in my public lectures that the destiny of this nation is not in the hands of its statesmen, but in those of its coalowners; that while the orators of St. Stephen's are unconscious of the fact, the very life-blood of this country is flowing away."

The amount of coal produced in the seventy-two years from 1781 to 1853 was, according to Professor Jevons, estimated to have been 1,436,991,000 tons. But in the ten years alone from 1854 to 1863 it was more than half this amount, namely, 726,751,516 tons. In the ten years from 1862 to 1871, as is now known, there were more than a thousand millions of tons produced (1,603,351,971 tons); while the previous eighty years, from 1781 to 1861, there were but 1,995,811,963 tons raised; so that in the ten years, 1862 to 1871, there was more than half as much coal used as in the whole of the eighty previous years.

Comparing the increase which had taken place in the most recent years before he wrote, Professor Jevons found that each year's production of coal was greater by about 3½ per cent. than each preceding year. Calculating our future consumption upon the basis of this geometric rate of increase, he arrived at the startling result that the whole of our coal under the ascertained coal-fields would be gone in little more than a century.

Assuming, he said, the present rate of growth, 3½ per cent. per annum, to hold, it is easy to calculate the amounts of coal to be consumed in the undermentioned years, starting from the actual consumption of 1861:—

1861	actual consumption	83,650,063	tons.
1871	*estimated	117,900,000	,,
1881	,, ,,	166,300,000	,,
1891	,, ,,	234,700,000	,,
1901	,, ,,	331,000,000	,,
1911	,, ,,	466,900,000	,,
1921	,, ,,	658,600,000	,,
1931	,, ,,	929,000,000	,,
1941	,, ,,	1,310,500,000	,,
1951	,, ,,	1,848,600,000	,,
1961	,, ,,	2,607,500,000	,,

And on this supposition the total aggregate consumption for the period of 110 years (1861—1970) would be 102,704 millions of tons, which would more than exhaust all the available coal under the ascertained coal-fields of the kingdom, the most recent estimate of which places it at 90,207 millions of tons.

It was in view of such results as these that Professor Jevons said, "We cannot long continue our present rate of increase of consumption. We cannot advance to the higher amounts of consumption supposed. But this only means that the check to our progress must be perceptible within a century from the present time (1865); that the cost of fuel must rise, perhaps within a lifetime, to a rate injurious to our manufacturing and commercial supremacy, and the conclusion is inevitable that our present happy progressive condition is a thing of limited duration."

The Coal Commissioners found that the rate of increase between 1859 and 1869 was even higher than that taken by Professor Jevons; that it was, in fact, 4 per cent. per

* This estimate was published by Professor Jevons in 1865. As already mentioned, the actual produce of coal in 1871 was 117,352,028 tons, and, therefore, differs only fractionally from Professor Jevons' prediction.

annum: and that, therefore, the period when, on the supposition of the continuance of that rate in the future, the available coal in question would be exhausted was even less than that estimated by that writer. The commissioners, however—as Professor Jevons had expressly laid down before them—held that this rate could not be maintained, and admitted that diminished prosperity would probably be the result to the nation at large.

One of the most interesting and valuable results of the inquiries instituted by the Coal Commissioners refers to the probable quantity of the mineral contained in the coal-beds of the United Kingdom, and the quantity of it which may be expected to prove available. In order to determine the quantity of coal we may expect to obtain from the coal-measures of the United Kingdom, it is not sufficient simply to calculate the contents of the coal-measures; we must distinguish how much of those contents is accessible and how much is beyond human reach. For there is no question that a vast quantity of coal lies at depths from which it appears with our present knowledge impossible to extract it. The lowest depth at which it would be possible or profitable to extract coal is generally assumed to be 4,000 feet. The temperature of the earth at that depth is so great that labour is all but impossible. In our coal mines the heat is found to increase one degree Fahrenheit for every sixty feet of depth. At 3,000 feet from the surface the temperature of the earth would be about 98°. The air under the long-wall system of working is, however, some 7° cooler than the earth, so that at a depth of 3,420 feet the air would have a temperature of about 98°. This is the normal heat of the blood of a healthy person. At 100° to 112° we have what is called fever heat. And according to Dr. Thudicum, who experimented on himself in order to satisfy himself on the matter, no man can perform labour at all in an atmosphere of 149°, and can do only a small quantity of work at a heat of between 130° and 140°. There is a mine in Cornwall where the atmosphere is heated by a hot spring to 114½° Fahrenheit, and there it is found impossible for the workmen to do more than three hours' work in the twenty-four.

Within the extreme working limit of 4,000 feet from the surface it is estimated that beneath the known coal-fields of the United Kingdom there are 90,207 millions of tons, while the quantity conjectured to exist outside the area of these coal-fields within the same depth is 55,273 millions of tons. Thus the quantity of workable coal in the United Kingdom is computed to amount in the aggregate to 146,480 millions of tons. Such, according to the judgment of the royal commission, founded as it was upon data supplied by the highest practical and scientific authorities, is the whole store of available coal which existed in 1869 within the limits of the British Isles.

It is, however, possible that means may in the future be found of working coal at depths below 4,000 feet. With this possibility in view, the commissioners inquired into the probable contents of the coal-measures at upwards of 4,000 feet beneath the ground. Within the area of known coal-fields they estimated the quantity at 7,320 millions of tons, 5,922 millions of which are between 4,000 and 6,000 feet below the surface, and the remainder, 1,398 millions, at depths of 6,000 to 10,000 feet. Besides this, they estimated that beyond the known coal-fields below and between the Permian and other newer strata, there exist 41,144 millions of tons of coal at more than 4,000 feet from the surface. Of this, 25,841 millions are computed to lie at between 4,000 and 6,000 feet deep, and 15,303 at between 6,000 feet and 10,000 feet. At 6,000 feet below the surface the temperature of the earth is computed to be 150° Fahrenheit, while at 10,000 feet down it is estimated to be not less than 215° Fahrenheit, or three degrees higher than the temperature of boiling water—a sufficient proof of the impossibility of the strata at that depth ever being approached by man, unless the progress of science should enlarge his powers in a manner at present unknown and impossible. And, indeed, it is not impossible that the heat may be even greater than has here been stated. The deepest mine in Great Britain is that at Rosebridge, where at the latest reports the shaft had already reached 2,376 feet below the surface, and was still being carried lower. There it was found that after a depth of 1,800 feet had been reached, the heat increased at a considerably more rapid rate than the standard of 1° Fahr. for 60 feet of descent. At the bottom of the pit, at the depth indicated, the thermometer already stood at 92°. This, however, may possibly prove to be due to local and special causes.

The result of the inquiry into the contents of the British coal-fields, therefore, showed that there were altogether probably not far short of 200,000 millions of tons within 10,000 feet of the surface, of which 148,460 millions were within 4,000 feet from the surface. As this is all that can reasonably be expected to be available, it would last 1,273 years if the consumption remained at 115 millions of tons a year—the amount estimated by the commission to have been consumed in 1869.* It would, however, only last 276 years on the supposition of an annual increase of three millions of tons in the consumption—this being the average increase of the fourteen years preceding that when the commissioners made their estimate. According to another method of calculation, suggested by Mr. Price Williams, it would last 360 years. These are, after all, mere estimates. How long it will be before the coal-fields of England are practically exhausted, is a matter which science is unable to reveal, and which history alone will be able to tell. One thing, however, follows clearly from the report of the commissioners, and that is the negative conclusion already arrived at by Professor Jevons, that the present rate of increase in the consumption of coal cannot long endure, and that as it diminishes so the material prosperity of the country must suffer.

To this result the commissioners themselves arrived. The concluding words of their report are as follow:—

* Professor Jevons' estimate, made in 1865, was 117,000,000. The actual production was 117,352,028 tons, so that the writer in question was more accurate than the commissioners, whose estimate was made in the course of the year 1869 itself.

"It is certain that if the present rate of increase in the consumption of coal be indefinitely continued even in an approximate degree, the progress towards the exhaustion of our coal will be very rapid.

"In all the foregoing estimates of duration we have, for the sake of simplicity, excluded from view the impossibility of supposing that the production of coal could continue in full operation until the last remnant was used, and then suddenly cease. In reality a period of scarcity and dearness would first be reached. This would diminish consumption and prolong duration; but only by checking the prosperity of the country.

"The absolute exhaustion of coal is a stage which will probably never be reached. In the natural order of events, the best and most accessible coal is that which is the first to be worked, and nearly all the coal which has hitherto been raised in this country has been taken from the most valuable seams, many of which have in consequence suffered great diminution. Vast deposits of excellent and highly available coal still remain; but a preference will continue to be given to the best and the cheapest beds; and as we approach exhaustion the country will by slow degrees lose the advantageous position it now enjoys in regard to its coal supply. Much of the coal included in the returns could never be worked except under conditions of scarcity and high price. A time must even be anticipated when it will be more economical to import part of our coal than to raise the whole of it from our residual coal-beds; and before complete exhaustion is reached, the importation of coal will become the rule and not the exception of our practice. Other countries would undoubtedly be in a position to supply our deficiencies, for North America alone possesses tracts of coal-bearing strata, as yet almost untouched, of seventy times the area of our own. But it may be doubted whether the manufacturing supremacy of this kingdom can be maintained after the importation of coal has become a necessity."

The vast stores of coal possessed by America may be gathered from the following table, which also includes the coal areas of the British Islands, and of other countries in Europe, as estimated by the best authorities:—

AREA OF COAL IN THE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

	Sq. Miles.
United States	196,650
British North America	7,530
Total Square Miles of Coal Area in America	204,180
Great Britain	5,400
France	984
Belgium	510
Rhenish Prussia	960
Westphalia	380
Bohemia	400
Saxony	30
Spain	200
Russia	100
Total Square Miles of Coal Area in Europe	8,964

The average thickness of the seams in Belgium is estimated at sixty feet, and the coal contained in all the seams together in that country amounts to 36,000 millions of tons. The quantity in France, where the thickness is also estimated at sixty feet, is computed at 59,000 millions of tons. In the British Islands the average thickness is taken at thirty-five feet, and the total contents of the coal-beds are estimated at 190,000 millions of tons. The quantity in the British Islands is, therefore, twice as much as that in France and Belgium together. But compared with the contents of the North American coal-beds, those of Europe sink into comparative insignificance. The total quantity contained in the coal-measures of North America is estimated at four millions of millions of tons (4,000,000,000,000), or more than twenty times as much as that contained in the coal-measures of the United Kingdom. But the production of coal in America is on the other hand very small compared with that of Great Britain. The total produce of America for the whole thirty-five years from 1820 to 1855 was no more than was produced by the single coal-field of Northumberland and Durham in the four years from 1851 to 1855. The total amount produced in the United States in 1855 was only 7,600,000 tons, a quantity no greater than was produced in that year by Scotland alone. Great Britain has, in fact, become the great coal-producing country of the world. She raises indeed considerably more than all the other countries of the world put together. In 1866 it was computed that there were 170 millions of tons produced in the whole world. Of that quantity 101,630,544 were raised in the United Kingdom alone. It is clear, however, from these very facts that Britain is using her coal more rapidly than any other nation, and that the more quickly she proceeds in the process of exhausting the contents of her coal-measures, the sooner the day will come when the advantages derived from coal will lie with those countries whose stores are comparatively intact.

CHAPTER LV.

Paraffin and Petroleum—Mr James Young's Invention: His Paraffin Works at Bathgate and West Calder—Paraffin Oils and Wax—Naphtha—Products of Coal Tar—Discovery of Mauve by Mr. W. H. Perkin, in 1856—The Aniline Dyes—Hofmann's Violets, &c.—Naphthalin Dyes—The Salt Manufacture—Chemical Manures and the Progress of Agriculture—Photography—The Jute Manufacture and Dundee—The Alpaca and Mohair Manufacture, Saltaire—The Shoddy and Mungo Manufacture—The Sewing-Machine: Elias Howe, its Inventor: Effects of its Introduction on the Manufacture of Apparel, Millinery and Dressmaking, Tailoring, and Boots and Shoes, and in providing increased Employment for Women.

IT is not simply as fuel that coal is valuable to man. Many useful and beautiful products have in recent times been extracted from it, principally by reason of the rapid advance of chemical science.

In the year 1847 Dr. Lyon Playfair had his attention drawn to a thick, dark oily fluid trickling from the roof of a colliery at Alfreton in Derbyshire. He suggested to Mr. James Young to examine the liquid with a view to ascertain its chemical qualities. An investigation was accordingly made, and it was found to contain, among other substances, the oil called paraffin. For two years afterwards the crude liquid was distilled and its products utilised, but after that time the supply failed. Mr.

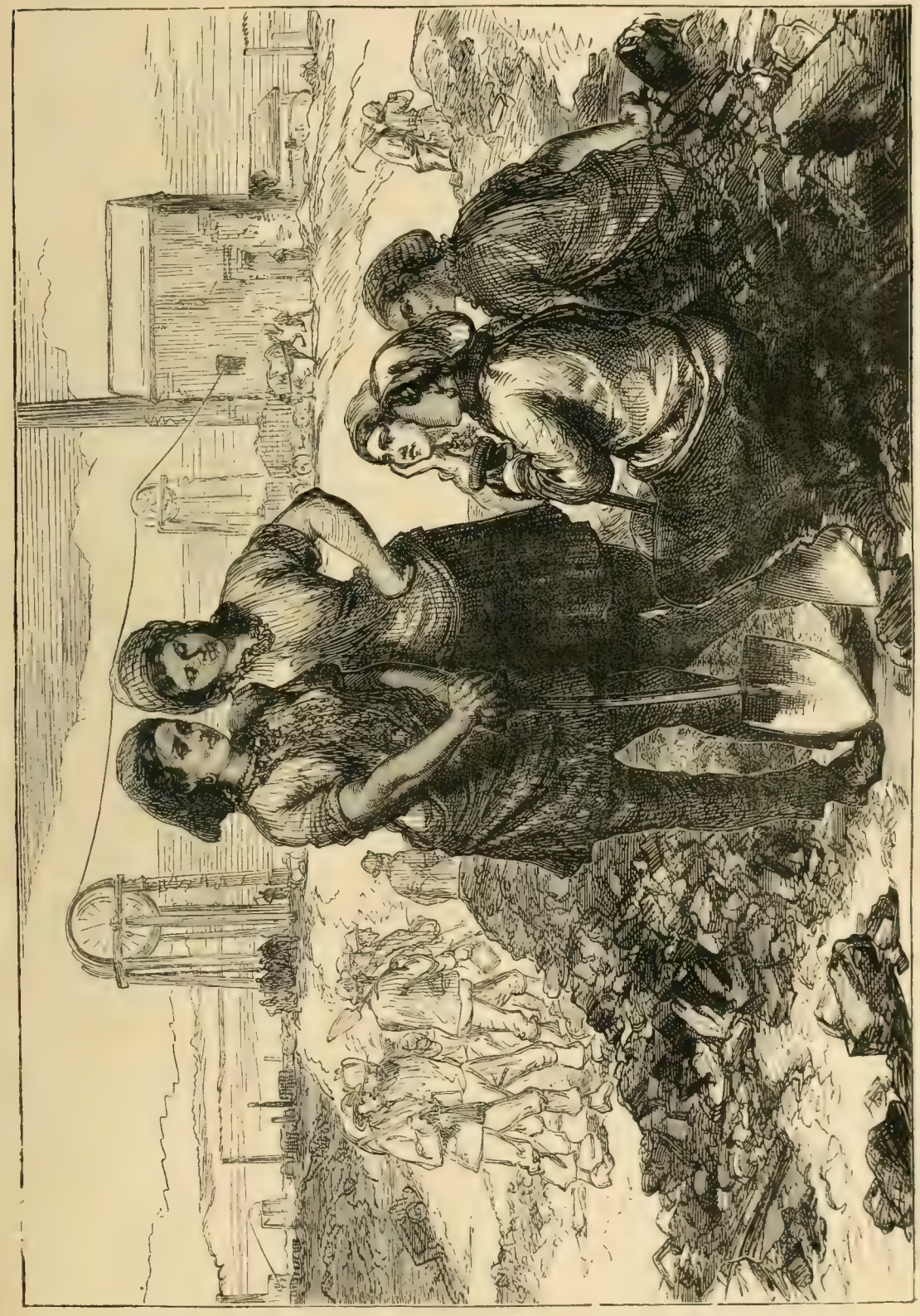
Young came to the conclusion, after some subsequent experiments, that the Alfreton petroleum was the result of coal being distilled by subterranean heat, and he found by distilling coal he could obtain a liquid of similar qualities. The best coal for this purpose he found was cannel coal. "Some bituminous coal obtained from Boghead, near Bathgate, in the county of Linlithgow," says Mr. Bremner,* "was tried by Mr. Young in 1850, and found to be peculiarly rich in oil. As the supply was abundant, Mr. Young, after taking out a patent for 'treating bituminous coal to obtain paraffin and oil containing paraffin,' was joined by Messrs. Meldrum and Binney; they selected a site near the town of Bathgate, and erected thereon an extensive establishment for extracting oil from coal and converting it into a variety of useful products. Such was the beginning of a branch of trade which speedily assumed great importance, and converted the quiet town of Bathgate, together with the adjacent villages, into a great centre of industrial activity. A proof of the remarkable success that attended Mr. Young's enterprise, and the deep hold that it took on the district, is afforded by the fact that though the population of the parish and town of Bathgate had increased only from 2,513 to 3,341 between the years 1801 and 1851, the ten succeeding years witnessed an increase to 10,000. The manufactory was extended until it covered a great space of ground, and the value of its products was recognised throughout the world."

The crude oil obtained from the distillation of the coal is subjected to several subsequent processes, under which it yields four different products—namely, paraffin oil for burning, paraffin oil for lubricating machinery, a light volatile fluid called naphtha, and solid paraffin.

The first product taken off is naphtha, for the separation of which only a gentle heat is required. Naphtha is a valuable liquid extensively employed in the arts and as an illuminator. By raising the temperature of the stills after the naphtha vapour has passed off, paraffin oil is obtained. Before being ready for market, both the naphtha and the oil are distilled separately in order to make them perfectly pure. The oil is the most valuable and important of all the articles manufactured at Bathgate, and is extensively known for its illuminating qualities. One gallon of paraffin oil is equal in illuminating power to one and a quarter of American petroleum; and it can be produced at a price which gives light cheaper than English coal-gas. When all the finer oil has been distilled over, the heat is increased and a heavier vapour is driven off. This last produces a thick oil, which, when thoroughly cooled, assumes the consistency of grease. It is in reality a mixture of oil and solid paraffin. When the paraffin has been crystallised by cooling the liquid, it is separated from the oil by a

VIEW OF DUNDEE.

* "Industries of Scotland."



WORK-GIRLS AT THE WIGAN COLLIERIES.

process of filtration under pressure. The oil extracted in this way is an excellent fluid for lubricating machinery, and is largely used in cotton mills and other establishments in which machinery of a delicate kind is employed. The solid paraffin left behind after the extraction of this oil is of a dirty yellow colour, and requires to be purified before it assumes the beautiful wax-like appearance by which it is distinguished. It is placed in iron vessels and dissolved by heated naphtha, which carries off part of the impurities. It is then cooled and filtered in canvas bags. The whole process is again repeated until the solid paraffin comes out a perfectly white and pure wax. The odour of naphtha is removed by the action of steam, and the paraffin in a melted state is run into circular iron moulds, in which it solidifies. The tapers or candles made of this beautiful substance are known and admired in all parts of the world. It was some time before Mr. Young invented them that the celebrated chemist, Baron Liebig, said, "It would certainly be esteemed one of the greatest discoveries of the age, if any one could succeed in condensing coal-gas into a white, dry, solid, odourless substance, portable, and capable of being placed in a candlestick." "This very problem," remark the jury of the 1851 Exhibition, "Mr. Young appears to have accomplished by distilling coal at a low temperature;" and at the Exhibition of 1862, Dr. Hofmann, reporting for the jury, describes "Mr. Young as the founder of this industry," and speaks of the specimens exhibited "as realising the great problem which the rare sagacity of Liebig pointed out ten years ago." Mr. Young's patent expired in 1864, and since that time fresh works have been opened. The largest of these is in the parish of West Calder, at Addiewell, which cover no less than seventy acres of ground, fully one-third of this area being covered by buildings, tanks, condensers, &c., while a large portion of the remainder is taken up by railways and roads which give access to all parts of the vast establishment. The paraffin is manufactured from coal shale obtained close to the works. Among the subsidiary products of the manufacture there is a large quantity of gas produced, which is used to light up the works at night. More recently traces of ammonia were discovered, and this is now treated with sulphuric acid, and secured in the form of sulphate of ammonia. Altogether, upwards of 3,000 persons are employed in the mineral oil works of Scotland. The trade recently experienced a period of depression owing to the extensive importation of the low-priced petroleum from North America; but the greater purity of the paraffin produced at home has enabled it to recover its ground, and the trade is again flourishing. In 1872, from 800,000 tons of shale as much as 10,000,000 gallons of paraffin oil were estimated to have been produced, besides 5,000 tons of solid paraffin, and large quantities of naphtha lubricating oil, gas, and sulphate of ammonia. There are several new uses to which paraffin has recently been applied, as, for instance, as a substitute for brimstone in lucifer matches, as a waterproofing agent for woollen fabrics, as a preservative of beer casks from fouling, and as an antiseptic covering for various articles.

Mr. Young's little factory at Alfreton, it has been remarked, was the parent not only of the Scotch mineral oil trade, but also of that of America. Petroleum is now produced in the United States and Canada in immense quantities; but until Mr. Young had commenced operations, the mineral oils of America could never be distilled so as to make them articles of commerce. The oil trade of Scotland is now worth a million sterling annually, and that of America cannot be estimated at less than from ten to fifteen times that amount.

Half a century before paraffin was first extracted from the coal-measures, coal was employed to produce the ordinary gas for the purpose of illumination; and in the process of dry distillation through which the coal is put in the manufacture of gas, a product was formed, for which little or no use could be found. Of the product in question—common coal-tar—about 3 cwt. is produced from 100 cwt. of coal. Until the year 1856, this gas-tar, which is a mixture of some fifty chemical substances, remained almost valueless. But in that year Mr. W. H. Perkin, of Manchester, accidentally made a discovery, which has raised the very refuse of gas-works into one of the most interesting and wonderful of all the products of chemical industry. He was trying an experiment, in which his object was to produce a certain colourless liquid, instead of which he found that he had obtained a reddish sediment. Further examination and experiment with the same materials led him to the discovery of one of the most beautiful of colours, to which was given the name of *mauve*. The attention of scientific and practical chemists was soon turned to the new branch of investigation. Dr. Hofmann, who produced a whole series of colours, varying from a very red purple to nearly pure blue, and known as Hofmann's violets, identified the substance at the foundation of the new colour with a material called crystalline, which had been obtained by Dr. Unverdorben from indigo, and it is from anil, the Portuguese name of indigo, that the new colouring material received its name of aniline. In 1859, M. Verguin, of Lyons, obtained and commenced the manufacture of another beautiful coal-tar dye, known as magenta, and since that time a multitude of new colours, including aniline green, yellow, orange, black, and brown, have been discovered, and made articles of commerce. Before the production of these materials, various dyes—the secret of whose manufacture was unknown in Europe—were imported from China; but the importation of Chinese dyes has since then rapidly decreased, and, on the other hand, European manufacturers export aniline dyes to China. Coal-tar contains only from one-third to one-half per cent. of aniline, and the latter is not extracted directly from the tar, but from an intermediate compound, termed nitrobenzol, by help of iron filings and acetic acid, according to a process introduced by Mr. Nicholson. It is estimated that three and a half million pounds of aniline dyes were produced in Europe in 1871. Besides the aniline colours, there are also the naphthalin colours, known as Manchester yellow (*jaune d'or*), Magdala red, naphthalin violet, and naphthalin blue, which are likewise all derived from coal-tar.

Common salt, of which a considerable quantity is used in the alkali manufacture, is produced principally in Cheshire and Worcestershire, partly in the form of rock salt, and partly by evaporation from salt springs, which issue from a depth of from thirty to sixty yards beneath the surface of the earth. Up to 1823 there was an enormous duty—ten shillings a bushel—on salt, but since 1825, when the salt-tax was abolished, the production has greatly increased. Salt supplies the Liverpool merchants to some extent with outward cargo, where otherwise ships would have to go out in ballast, and large quantities sent down the Weaver from the Cheshire salt-works are shipped at that port. The total quantity exported from the United Kingdom in 1871 was upwards of 890,000 tons, of which a large quantity went to the United States, the East Indies, and other countries. In 1852 it was estimated that 1,000,000 tons were produced in England, of which 300,000 were used for domestic purposes, 200,000 for manufactures, and the rest exported. In 1853 the production had risen to 1,400,000 tons, and since that date has considerably increased.

It is not in these branches of industry only, however, that the influence of the advancing knowledge of chemistry has been felt; but in many others, and amongst these particularly in that of agriculture. "Perfect agriculture," says Baron Liebig, "is the true foundation of all trade and industry—it is the foundation of the riches of states. But a national system of agriculture cannot be formed without the application of scientific principles; for such a system must be based on an exact acquaintance with the means of nutrition of vegetables, and with the influence of soils and actions of manure upon them. This knowledge we must seek from chemistry, which teaches the mode of investigating the composition, and of studying the characters of the different substances from which plants derive their nourishment." It is, indeed, in a large measure due to the researches of Liebig in animal and vegetable chemistry, and the application he made of the results to agriculture, that the practice of farming has, within the past thirty years, been almost revolutionised. The most successful agriculturists proceed no longer by rule of thumb, but in accordance with scientific principles. The science and art of the proper treatment of soils, of the proper manures for the several kinds of crops, &c., have been rapidly advancing since the great German chemist, at the instance of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, wrote his celebrated treatise on the subject. Since that period, too, the production of artificial manures has been constantly increasing. The manufacture of bone manure, of phosphates, of nitrate of soda, the use of coprolites and other minerals, the importation of guano, bones, phosphorite, are all examples of the activity of this new branch of industry, which in practice owes much of its success to Mr. J. B. Lawes, of Rothampsted, the father of the chemical manure trade. The sewage of towns has also been the subject of numerous experiments, but, though these have been partially successful, the problem of the application of the vast quantities of sewage produced in large towns still remains to be solved.

While chemistry has rendered its powerful aid to agriculture,* the latter also owes much in recent times to improved machinery. It is to the use of the steam-plough and various other labour-saving implements, combined with the increasing substitution of pastures and meadows for arable land, that the decrease in the agricultural population, which was pointed out in an earlier chapter, is attributable. The value of agricultural produce, owing to the rapid general growth of population on the limited area of Britain, has, on the other hand, considerably increased. The introduction of improved machinery has not only led to a reduction in the number of farm-labourers, but to an enlargement of farms, by the amalgamation of two or more small holdings into one. The extent to which this practice of swallowing up small farms in large ones has progressed in recent years may readily be shown. In seventeen of the principal agricultural counties of England the total number of farms fell from 68,635 in 1851 to 59,870 in 1871. The number of farms of 2,000 acres and upwards rose in those counties from 64 in 1851 to 90 in 1871; those of 1,000 acres and upwards rose from 492 in 1851 to 582 in 1871; those of 500 acres and upwards from 2,755 in 1851 to 3,194 in 1871; those of 300 acres and upwards from 7,771 in 1851 to 8,410 in 1871.† But the holdings below 300 acres decreased, those between 200 and 300 acres from 6,930 in 1851 to 6,251 in 1871; those between 100 and 200 acres from 14,795 in 1851 to 12,047 in 1871; and those below 100 acres from 39,139 in 1851 to 33,162 in 1871. Between the same years the number of agricultural labourers, together with shepherds and indoor farm-servants, also fell from 1,110,311 in 1851 to 922,054 in 1871. This change in the mode of agriculture, and reduction of the number of persons directly engaged in it, is due to the introduction of machinery. In manufactures the employment of labour-saving machinery generally, after no long time, instead of causing a reduction in the number of persons employed, leads to a more or less considerable increase in their numbers. In agriculture, even including the labour expended on the manufacture of agricultural machinery, this has hitherto not been the case. The production of a given amount of food at a smaller expenditure of labour is an undoubted advantage; but the changes hitherto occasioned by the introduction of machinery, tending to the depletion of rural districts and the overcrowding of large towns, have by no means been an unmixed good; and if the views

* The application of chemistry to agriculture has great[illegible] the scientific studies connected with that important [illegible] dustry. In the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester a complete technical education, including both a scientific and [illegible] ing, is given to young farmers. The college was established in 1845, and originated in a paper read by Mr. Robert J. Brown before a local farmers' club at Cirencester. It has proved a complete success. Numerous other important societies, having for their object the encouragement of agricultural industry, have also sprung into existence or attained greater importance in recent times, such as the Royal Agricultural Society of England and the Smithfield Cattle Club, and several other similar societies, in Scotland and Ireland as well as England.

† There were 163,875 acres held in farms of less than [illegible] 1851 which formed farms of 300 acres and upwards [illegible] seventeen counties in question.

held by scientific agriculturists like Mr. Mechi, under whose system of farming the produce of the soil is multiplied many fold, and the views of economists like Mr. W. T. Thornton, who advocates the principle of small holdings, should prevail, then British agriculture is destined soon to undergo another fundamental revolution, and there might even be seen a migration of labourers from the towns to the rural districts, where they might escape the unwholesome confinement and overcrowding of the one without exposing themselves to the abject poverty and degradation which have too long attached to the other. With this short paragraph we must dismiss the subject of agriculture. To discuss with anything like completeness the varied improvements which have recently been made in the art would require a volume in itself.

One of the most beautiful applications of science which have been made in recent years is that by which men have been enabled to avail themselves of the agency of light to take impressions of objects. In this, chemical and optical science are united. The first step in this art was due to the Frenchmen, MM. Niepce and Daguerre, who, in 1839, introduced their process of light-printing, known as Daguerreotype. Wonderful as this process was, it was very imperfect to the process which came before the world some years afterwards, and which bears the name of photography. This art, which is due to the researches of an Englishman, Mr. Fox Talbot, has, in a few years, become a considerable branch of industry. In 1851 there were only forty-five photographers in England. They increased in the next ten years to 2,534, and in 1871 numbered 4,715, of whom 694 were females. The principal improvement in recent years is the carbon, or autotype, process, invented by Mr. Joseph Swan, of Newcastle, in 1864. Previously, the multiplication of copies was a great difficulty, which Mr. Swan, by his process, improved as it has been by Mr. J. R. Johnson and Mr. E. Edwards, has removed. By the Albert-type, the invention of M. Albert, of Munich, the photo-lithography has been brought to a high state of perfection; but the history of invention in this art has not yet been brought to a close. New and ingenious applications are being made almost every day. Not only in common life, but in astronomical science, meteorology, ethnography, and topography, this art has proved of inestimable value.

In the textile fabrics, one of the most important novelties is the rapid rise and growth of the jute manufacture. Jute fibre, which is derived from two nearly allied plants, growing in great abundance in the East Indies, had long been employed there in making coarse materials, such as gunny cloths and bags. Its first noticeable use in Britain dates from about 1832, when it was employed in Dundee to mix with flax and tow. Three years afterwards useful sacking was manufactured of pure jute. In 1838 there were 1,133 tons imported into Dundee alone, and the quantity rose to 8,905 tons in 1848, since which time the progress of the manufacture has been most rapid. In the year 1857 Dundee used as much jute as flax, tow, hemp, and hemp-cuttings put together. At first it was used only for the coarsest materials, but it is now mixed with cotton, flax, tow, and hemp, in making better kinds of goods. For still better kinds of fabric, second only to those made of pure flax, jute is also employed alone. Among the principal products of this industry, are sheetings, pack-sheets, baggings, sackings, sacks, woolpack cloths, twine, and fishing-nets, of which immense quantities are manufactured from jute fibre. The goods have even a better appearance than those made of flax, though they are cheaper than those made from any other raw material of equal quality. A considerable quantity of carpeting has also been made of jute of late years, the principal failing in which is that the colours, though brilliant at first, readily fade. Costing only from £16 to £25 per ton, while flax is worth double the price, it is used with flax in the manufacture of almost all fabrics except the very finest linens. The jute trade is now enormous: 904,092 cwts., of the value of £792,961, were imported in 1861. In 1871 the quantity imported was 3,454,386 cwts., of the value of £4,103,736. The exports of jute manufactures in 1871 included 13,710,957 lbs. of yarn, and 62,310,463 yards of piece goods, against 7,047,217 lbs., and 6,519,252 yards in 1861; while of the linen manufactures exported in 1871, including 36,235,625 lbs. of yarn, 2,902,376 lbs. of thread, and 216,337,944 yards of piece goods, a certain proportion contained a not inconsiderable admixture of jute fibre. Dundee, the great seat of the jute manufacture, has rapidly risen to the third place in the great towns of Scotland, having a population of upwards of one hundred thousand inhabitants.

When Pizarro and his companions invaded Peru, the native inhabitants manufactured a species of woollen cloth of much delicacy and beauty. The wool they employed was that of a race of animals previously unknown to Europeans, and now generally described as the llama tribe; there are several varieties of the race,—including the guanaco and vicuna, which are wild varieties, dwelling in the mountainous districts of South America,—and the llama proper, and the pacos or alpaca, which are domesticated, and from the last of which the fabrics manufactured from the wool of all or any of the four species take their name. The manufacture had probably been one of long standing among the subjects of the Incas, as on opening the most ancient tombs of the Peruvians, the corpses they contain have been found enveloped in cloths made of the wool of the alpaca. In recent times the manufacture has sprung up in England, of whose textile industries it is the youngest branch. The first person who succeeded in producing a marketable fabric from alpaca wool was Mr. Outram of Greetland, near Halifax. The articles he produced in 1830 sold as novelties for a high price. But it was not till 1836 that the alpaca manufacture became firmly established, and this result was mainly due to the enterprise of some of the manufacturers of Bradford, and especially of Sir Titus Salt. The manufacture did not begin to assume very large proportions, however, until the introduction of cotton and other fibres for the warp. In Bradford and the neighbourhood there are now annually produced large quantities of numerous varieties of alpaca stuffs,

in which the wool of the llama tribe, though forming the principal or characteristic ingredient, is not used alone, but in combination with cotton, silk, goats' hair, sheeps' wool, rhea fibre, and other materials.

As an illustration of the energy and intelligence which have been expended on the youngest branch of the woollen industry, the great establishment created at Saltaire may be cited. Sir W. Fairbairn tells us that:—

"The Saltaire mills are situated in one of the most beautiful parts of the romantic valley of the Aire. The site has been selected with uncommon judgment as regards its fitness for the economical working of a great manufacturing establishment. The estate is bounded by highways and railways which penetrate to the very centre of the buildings, and is intersected by both canal and river. Admirable water is obtained for the use of the steam-engines and for the different processes of the manufacture. By the distance of the mills from the smoky and cloudy atmosphere of a large town an unobstructed and good light is secured; whilst, both by land and water, direct communication is gained for the importation of coal and all other raw produce, on the one hand, and for the exportation and delivery of manufactured goods, on the other. Both porterage and cartage are entirely superseded; and every other circumstance which could tend to economise production has been carefully considered. The estate on which Saltaire is built will gradually develop itself to a considerable extent; and the part appropriated to the works, which is literally covered with the buildings, is not less than six and a half acres. Here the heavy operations of the manufacture are carried on: but the superficies given to the several processes and to the storage of goods, or in other words, the floor area of the establishment, is in all about twelve acres.

"The main range of buildings, or the mill proper, runs from east to west, nearly parallel with the lines of railway running from Shipley to Skipton and Lancaster. This pile is six stories high, 550 feet in length, 50 feet in width, and about 72 feet in height, and the architectural features, to avoid monotony, have been most skilfully treated by the architects. A bold Italian style has been adopted; and the beautiful quality of the stone of which the whole is massively built displays its features to great advantage. Immediately behind the centre of the main mill, and at right angles with it, runs another six-story building devoted to warehouse purposes, such as the reception and examination of the newly-manufactured goods; and on either side of this, again, lie the combing-shed (or apartment where the fibres of the alpaca, mohair, wool, &c., are combed by machinery), the handsome range of building devoted to offices, and the great shed for weaving by power-looms. [It was in the combing-shed that, in September, 1868, three thousand five hundred of Sir Titus Salt's guests sat down to dinner, without confusion or crowding, and with perfect ventilation. The great loom-shed, we are told, would have accommodated under its single roof a party twice as numerous as this.] Arranged in convenient situations are washing-rooms, packing-rooms, drying-rooms, and mechanics' shops. In the formation of the new roads which were requisite to secure free and easy access to the different parts of the mills, Sir Titus Salt availed himself of the most recent experience, therefore we find bridges of the most durable and solid construction, both in cast and wrought iron, one of these viaducts on the tubular girder system, crossing the canal and river Aire, being not less than 450 feet in length.

"More than three thousand persons are employed in these works, and immediately surrounding this palace of industry is a new town, containing double that number of inhabitants, with all the conveniences of churches, chapels, schools, mechanics' institute, baths and wash-house, all of which have been established by the same spirited proprietor."

Among the other novelties recently introduced in the woollen manufacture, the use of woollen rags and tailors' cuttings is of some interest. More than half a century ago, manufacturers began to employ small quantities of these materials, but it is only in recent times that they have employed them on a large scale. These refuse materials now form the basis of an important and distinct branch of the woollen manufacture, which is carried on in Dewsbury, Batley, Heckmondwike, and the neighbouring towns and villages of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and is commonly known as the shoddy and mungo manufacture. Old woollen rags, old blankets, carpets, flannel, worsted stockings, &c., after being sorted and prepared, are torn up by a machine called a swift into a fibrous condition, and the product is called shoddy. The better qualities of woollen rags, tailors' cuttings and worn-out garments of woollen cloth, are torn up by a variety of the same machine into mungo. The shoddy and mungo fibre are then used over again in the manufacture of woollen cloth, a larger or smaller quantity of new wool being mixed with them to add to their strength and improve the quality of the material. In 1860 it was estimated that in Batley, and within four miles of that town, about forty million pounds of mungo and shoddy were annually produced, the average value of the shoddy being fourpence, and that of mungo sixpence, per pound. Mungo, made from the best woollen materials, is said to be superior to some new wools of inferior quality. The employment of old worsted and woollen materials as shoddy and mungo has caused an appreciable reduction in the price of woollen goods in recent years. As the materials used in the manufacture were of little or no value before this application was found for them, and, as by their employment really strong, warm, and serviceable garments are produced, which in appearance are little inferior to those made of new wool, while in price they are considerably lower, the shoddy manufacture does not altogether deserve the ill name it bears in ordinary language.

The only other important novelty in the recent history of British industry which we have space to mention is the sewing-machine. The inventor of the sewing-machine was Elias Howe, an American, born in 1819 at Spencer, in Massachusetts. In 1835 he was employed by a mechanical firm manufacturing cotton machinery at

Lowell, and afterwards worked in a machine shop at Cambridge, and at a nautical instrument maker's at Boston in his native state. In 1839 a conversation in the workshop where he was employed first turned his thoughts to the problem of inventing a contrivance which should perform the mechanical operation of sewing. For some years, however, he made no serious attempt to realise the idea. In 1843 he first earnestly bent his attention to the subject, and after various unsuccessful experiments, he at length hit upon the correct principle.

The first sewing-machine was produced in 1845, but some years elapsed before the merits of the new invention were generally recognised. Within the last twenty years, however, the sewing-machine has effected a complete revolution in all trades which are dependent upon the sewing-needle. A large number of sewing-machines are now used, not only in England and the United States, but on the continent of Europe, in the stitching of boots, shoes, knickerbockers, gaiters, &c. In some places the machines are owned by females, who use them at home. The demand for female labour in connection with all kinds of sewing has been on the increase; the wages of women have at the same time been considerably raised, and many women, who could earn nothing by hand-sewing from want of skill, are enabled to make a tolerable living with the sewing-machine. The ladies' cloak and mantle manufacture has greatly increased since the general introduction of the machine, one of which is able to turn out as much work as six females by hand-sewing. In this branch of industry, as in others, not only are the articles better made, but the sewing hands are both more numerous and better paid. A vast development has been given to the ready-made clothing trade by the use of the machine in tailoring. The introduction of the factory system in the manufacture of wearing apparel is entirely due to the machine, and in the case of certain classes of articles of male attire, as shirts and tailoring, steam power is now employed in driving whole rows of sewing-machines at once. The application of the machine to the shoe manufacture has almost revolutionised that branch of trade. Workmen and manufacturers alike rebelled against its introduction at first. In 1859 a great struggle took place at Northampton, the head-quarters of the wholesale boot and shoe manufacture, which resulted in the transference of a considerable portion of the trade to Leicester, and causing the population of that town to increase nearly 50 per cent. in the ten years between the census of 1861 and 1871.

But the greatest benefit which this admirable invention has conferred upon mankind is the amelioration it has caused in the condition of a vast number of women. In every civilised country sewing is that form of labour which occupies a larger number of females than can be found in any other employment. In the United Kingdom the number who pursue sewing as a profession is larger than that found in any other branch of industry. The number thus occupied professionally in England in 1851 and in 1871 was 471,159 and 510,475 respectively. The details appear in the following table:—

WOMEN PROFESSIONALLY OCCUPIED IN SEWING.

	1871.	1851.
Milliners and Dressmakers	299,668	267,425
Seamstresses or Shirtmakers	80,038	72,940
Tailoresses	38,021	17,644
Shoemakers	25,909	31,418
Machinists	20,971	—
Leather Glove Makers	15,217	25,345
Stay and Corset Makers	8,679	12,769
Hat Makers	8,238	28,166
Glove Makers, &c.	5,105	—
Parasol and Umbrella Makers	2,804	1,797
Trimming Makers	2,739	1,093
Sack-bag Makers	1,515	665
Embroideresses	1,075	4,597
Accoutrement Makers	193	132
Crinoline Makers	132	—
Tent Makers	90	27
Theatrical Property Makers	53	7
Robe Makers	15	36
Hammock Makers	10	—
Gaiter Makers (Cloth)	7	—
,, ,, (Leather)	5	—
Others	—	7,098
Total	510,475	471,159
	471,159	
Increase in Ten Years	39,316	

But besides these, every housewife and every female member of all but the wealthiest families must perforce ply the needle, so that not to the professional operatives in needlework alone, but to almost every living woman the sewing-machine has been a boon of the first importance. How terrible the poverty and wretchedness of the poor seamstress and dressmaker in the years immediately preceding Howe's great invention, every reader of history will know. The dressmaker's hard fate it was too long and in too many cases to have to choose between vice and starvation. In the very year when Howe first seriously set himself to work out his great task, the woes of the poor needlewomen were sung in immortal lines by Tom Hood:—

"With fingers weary and worn,
With eyelids heavy and red,
A woman sat in unwomanly rags,
Plying her needle and thread.
Stitch! stitch! stitch!
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch,
She sang the song of the shirt."

The poet's words had their effect. Moving the heart and brain of Howe, they caused the creation of the sewing-machine, and put an end for ever to one of the greatest scandals and reproaches of modern civilisation.

The reader who has accompanied us thus far will, perhaps, rise from the perusal of this sketch of the recent march of British industry with extended notions of the powers of the human intellect, and with a keener appreciation of the mental energy of the race to which he belongs. Yet if the first thought be one akin to exultation, he will check it when he reflects on the many serious disorders which still infest our social state,—the wide-spread intemperance,—the too general improvidence and consequent misery,—the alienation between class and class;—and he will form the ardent hope that before the century closes England may be as well furnished with wise and far-sighted guidance in what regards morals and the conduct of life as she is this day in all that concerns her material interests.

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